The New Restrictionism: Reviewing the Literature

By David M. Reimers

The hostility toward Asian immigrants that led to their exclusion began with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and ended with curbs on Filipinos in 1934. Severe limits on Europeans came in the 1920s with the passage of National Origins legislation. Anti-immigrant fervor showed little indication of abatement during the Great Depression era. The laws were strictly enforced, and refugees from European fascism had an uphill struggle to find a haven in the United States. In addition, several hundred thousand Mexicans, including their American-born children, were deported during the 1930s. Although the bracero program initiated during World War II brought Mexican workers to the United States, Congress was in no mood to open the door for mass immigration; braceros were meant to be temporary agricultural workers, and not to be a prelude to renewed mass immigration. Indeed, at the conclusion of the war several politicians suggested that immigration be cut further or suspended.

While it appeared in 1945 that the postwar years would not be kind toward potential immigrants, Congress and various presidents reversed the restrictionist trends, and postwar policies paved the way again for mass immigration. Beginning with the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion acts in 1943, the legislators passed a number of laws liberalizing policy. European displaced persons and refugees benefited from these changes during the 1940s and 1950s. The major overhaul of immigration policy occurred in 1965 with the repeal of national origins quotas, and placed Asian nations on the same footing as European. Special laws permitted about 800,000 Cubans and one million Indochinese to come to America. The Simpson-Rodino Act of 1986 gave an amnesty to nearly three million undocumented aliens who had been in the United States before 1982 (for agricultural workers a different timetable was used). To be sure, that act also outlawed hiring undocumented aliens knowingly. These curbs failed to deter illegal immigration, and Congress in the 1990s added to the budget of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Increased enforcement might have helped deter prospective undocumented immigrants, but most authorities estimated that 275,000 managed to settle in the United States annually in the 1990s. Finally, the Immigration Act of 1990 increased immigration about 35 percent.

The changes enabled millions once again to head for America. Moreover, new patterns of immigration developed. From 1945 to 1970 most immigrants from the eastern hemisphere hailed from Europe. From the western hemisphere, Mexico and Canada dominated the flow. After that time, migrants from Mexico, the Caribbean, South America and Asia provided the largest numbers. These changes did not come without a struggle. Especially as the new patterns and the growth in numbers developed, opponents of immigration organized to stem the tide of what they considered to be too many immigrants, especially nonwhite newcomers. When arguing for cuts in the legal migrant flow, the new restrictionists were unsuccessful, and they found allies only when discussing illegal immigration.


While not strictly an immigration issue, the attacks on bilingualism and the drive to make English the nation's official (and sometimes only) language won support from the nativism of the 1980s and 1990s. The best accounts of these attempts are James Crawford, Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only" (New York, 1992) and Raymond Tatalovich, Nativism Reborn? The Official English Language Movement and the American States (Lexington, KY, 1995).

Several pieces in scholarly journals and collections discuss the new restrictionism. The best is Charles Jaret, "Troubled by Newcomers: Anti-Immigration Attitudes and Action during Two Eras of Mass (continued on p. 8)
News from Libraries, Museums and Research Institutes...

Major Ethnic Research Institutions in Process of Change

The Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota will soon be moving its quarters from St. Paul to the new Elmer L. Andersen Library on the main University of Minnesota campus in Minneapolis. During the fall, the reading room has been closed on Thursdays in preparation for the move. Beginning December 22, 1999, the center will be closed entirely while moving of archives to the new library takes place. It is expected that the IHRC will open in the new facility in late January 2000. For updates on the current status of the move, telephone (612) 627-4208 or consult the IHRC web-page at http://www.umn.edu/ihrc

The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia is entering into a closer association with another institution, the Free Library of Philadelphia, which will open a branch library in space within the Balch’s facilities at 18 South Seventh St. Balch library and museum space is being reconfigured in anticipation of the branch library’s opening in mid-2000. Meanwhile, museum exhibitions are continuing on a regular basis. "Live Like the Banyan Tree: Images of the Indian American Experience" will continue through the end of December 1999. An exhibition from the Naprstek Museum in Prague, "Czech Settlers in America: Early Immigrant Life, 1848-1920," will be on display from Dec. 3, 1999 to Feb. 4, 2000. The Czech exhibition will be augmented by artifacts from the Balch collections. A traveling exhibition from the Michigan State University Museum will be at the Balch from February through August 2000: "A Community between Two Worlds: Arab Americans in Greater Detroit." A complementary exhibit, "Philadelphia’s Arab-Americans: Time and Again" will be shown from March through August 2000. Balch information on the web: http://www.balchinst.edu.org

The Asian American Studies Center at the University of California at Los Angeles has published a new bibliographic guide to the extensive archival collection, the Japanese American Research Project, which is held in the special collections department of UCLA’s Charles E. Young Research Library. Extending the work of an earlier volume, the guide was compiled by UCLA historians Yuji Ichioka and Eiichiro Azuma, and is entitled A Buried Past II: A Sequel to the Annotated Bibliography of the Japanese American Research Project Collection, 1973-1998. For further information about the guide and the JARP collection see the center’s web-page: http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc

The Social Science Research Council has announced research fellowships for the year 2000-2001 in two different programs. "Religion and Immigration" offers predoctoral and postdoctoral research fellowships on the relationship of religion to the incorporation of immigrants into American life. "International Migration to the United States" offers predoctoral and postdoctoral fellowships that will advance theoretical understandings of the origin, processes and outcomes of immigrant and refugee settlement in the United States. Funds for the fellowships are provided by the Pew Charitable Trusts and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Applications must be postmarked by January 12, 2000. Address inquiries and requests for application forms to the specific program of interest at Social Science Research Council, 810 Seventh Ave., New York NY 10019. E-mail: either religion@ssrc.org or migration@ssrc.org Information also on the web at http://www.ssrc.org

The Museum of the City of New York, 1220 Fifth Avenue, currently has an exhibition, "Americanos: Latino Life in the United States," which features 120 photographs by thirty prize-winning photographers. Following its showing in New York, the exhibition will travel to the Eteljorg Museum in Indianapolis and to nine other museums across the United States over the next two years.

The University of Ottawa has processed and made available for research the papers of Jozef Mikus, Slovak diplomat and scholar in exile. A guide to the collection is available for CN $15.00. Address Slovak Archives, Room 603 Morrisset Library, Univ. of Ottawa, 65 University St., Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1N 6N5.

The University of Maryland Latin American Studies Center has announced the availability of residential fellowships beginning in the fall of 2000. The center "will particularly welcome proposals that address issues related to culture and democracy, governance and civil society, literature and ethnicity, and migration studies." The appointments are for post-doctoral work, involve teaching a seminar, and offer $16,000 for one semester. Further information and application forms on the web at http://www.las.umd.edu/LAS/grants or contact the Center at 4205 Jimenez Hall, Univ. of Md., College Park MD 20742. Telephone: (301) 405-6459. E-mail: al68@umd.edu

The University of Texas at El Paso Institute of Oral History has begun a project to collect oral histories on Mexican immigration to the United States, with a particular focus on the Texas border area and El Paso. The Institute hopes to collect both interviews and photographs, along with other artifacts, which will be in the collections of
a National Immigration History Center at the University. About 1000 interviews have already been collected. Information: Margo McBané, Institute of Oral History, Univ. of Texas at El Paso, El Paso Texas 79968. E-Mail: margom@miners.utep.edu

The M. E. Sharpe publishing house is undertaking the publication of a four-volume illustrated Encyclopedia of American Immigration, and seeks contributors. Articles of 8-30 manuscript pages are desired. A list of topics not yet assigned is available. Small stipends are offered. For further information, contact James Ciment, Encyclopedia of American Immigration, Box 79, 151 First Ave., New York, NY 10003; telephone (212) 473-0310. E-Mail: cimentjd@alp.org

The Hoover Institution at Stanford University has received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities for microfilming and preservation of the archival collections of the Museum of Russian Culture in San Francisco. The archives include collections on Russian culture and emigration from Russia. Inquiries about the project: Anatol Shmelev, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford CA 94305-6010; telephone (650) 723-3563. E-Mail: shmelev@hoover.stanford.edu

The Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois announces the availability of a Dagmar and Nila William Olsson Fellowship for 2000-2001. The fellowships cover a minimum of three weeks' work at the Swenson Center on any aspect of Swedish-American history. Stipends are $1,500. Application deadline is April 1, 2000. For information, contact Dag Blanck, Swenson Center, Augustana College, 639 38th St., Rock Island IL 61201. FAX: (309) 794-7443. E-Mail: swblanck@augustana.edu

The William F. Clements Center for Southwest Studies at Southern Methodist University offers the Clements-Degolyer Library Grant for research on any aspect of the Southwestern experience. Grants are for $400 a week for up to four weeks at the library, or an in-kind grant of accommodation in a campus apartment plus assistance with travel and living expenses. Deadlines for applications are March 15 and Sept 15, 2000. Obtain fuller information before applying; contact Jane Elder, Clements Center, Southern Methodist University, Dallas TX 75275-0176; telephone (214) 768-4129. E-Mail: swcenter@mail.smu.edu

Columbia University Press plans a three-year project to produce the Columbia Documentary History of Race and Ethnicity. General editor for the work is Ronald Bayor, professor at the Georgia Institute of Technology and editor of the Journal of American Ethnic History. Authors are sought for overview essays of various chronological periods of American ethnic history. Contributors will be compensated. For further information, contact Ronald Bayor, Georgia Institute of Technology, Dept. of History, Technology and Society, Atlanta GA 30332; telephone (404) 894-6384. E-Mail: RB2@prism.gatech.edu

The Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota has acquired the following manuscript collections: papers of Wasyl Dombrowsky, Ukrainian-American civic leader; papers of Henry A. Christian III, scholar on Slovene immigration and on the writer Louis Adamic; papers of John Gera, collector of Carpatho-Rusin materials; papers of John Odezynsky, Ukrainian-American politician. The World History Association invites membership applications from "scholars and teachers who share our interest in global and cross-cultural comparative approaches." The association holds an annual meeting and an annual conference and publishes the Journal of World History. Annual dues are $30. Contact Richard L. Rosen, Exec. Director, Department of History and Politics, Drexel U., Philadelphia PA 19104. E-Mail: rosenrl@mail.drexel.edu

The University Press of Florida plans a new book series, "Southern Dissent," which will "explore and analyze the complexities of southern dissent on a broad, multi-ethnic plane." Send requests for information to Randall Miller, History Dept., St. Joseph's Univ., 5600 City Ave., Philadelphia PA 19131. E-Mail: miller@mailhost.sju.edu

Ohio University Press has announced a new book series on Polish and Polish-American Studies. The series "will recruit manuscripts on Polish immigration and ethnic communities, the country of origin, and its various peoples in history, anthropology, cultural studies, political economy, current politics, and related fields." Contact the general editor, John J. Bukowczyk, History, 3094 Faculty/Administration Bldg., Wayne State Univ., Detroit MI 48202; telephone (313) 577-2799. E-Mail: aa2092@wayne.edu

Greenwood Press has announced plans for an encyclopedia of post-1965 immigration issues. Publication is scheduled for 2001 and deadline for entries is July 1, 2000. For information and a list of available topics, contact Jeanne Armstrong, Western Washington Univ.; telephone (360) 650-7667. E-Mail: jeanne.armstrong@wwu.edu

The Journal of American Ethnic History is planning a special issue on "Migration and the Making of 'North America.'" The Journal is interested in articles dealing with migration among the various nations in North America, including U.S., Canada, Mexico and Central America. 250-word abstracts should be received by Dec. 15, 1999; deadline for manuscripts accepted will be July 1, 2000. For further information and inquiries, address the guest editor of the issue: Donna Gabaccia, History, Univ. of North Carolina at Charlotte, Charlotte, NC 28223. E-Mail: dgrgabacc@email.uncc.edu

THE IEHS SYLLABUS PROJECT

...is temporarily "on hold." Personnel changes at the Balch Institute have held up collection of syllabi. A few sample syllabi are already on the web-page. Collection of syllabi will resume by February. The IEHS web-page will also be updated shortly. Look for further information on the IEHS web-page:
http://www.balchinstitute.org/iehs
Conferees and Meetings...

The Polish American Historical Association will hold its annual meeting in connection with that of the American Historical Association in Chicago, Jan. 6-9, 2000. PAAH sessions will take place in the Chicago Marriott Hotel. Program is included in the AHA program, pp. 51-54.

The annual meeting of the Association for Jewish Studies will be held in Chicago, Dec. 19-21, 1999. Contact: AJS, Brandeis Univ., Waltham Mass. 02454-9110, telephone (781) 736-2981; or on the web at http://www.brandeis.edu/ajs


The Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion and the University of Southern California will sponsor a conference in Los Angeles Feb. 6-7, 2000. Theme: "The Reappearing American Jew: Identity and Continuity." Information: Jeremy Schoenbe, Unv. of Southern Calif.; telephone (213) 740-3405; e-mail: schoenbe@usc.edu

The Forum on European Expansion and Global Interaction will hold its biennial conference Feb. 18-19, 2000 at Flagler College in St. Augustine, Fl. For information: Jane Landers, History, Vanderbilt Univ., Box 1802 Station B, Nashville TN 37235. E-mail: jane.landers@vanderbilt.edu

A joint conference of the National Association of Asian Studies, the National Association of African American Studies, the National Association of Hispanic and Latino Studies, and the National Association of Native American Studies will take place Feb. 21-26, 2000 in Houston, Texas. Information: Lemuel Berry, Jr., Morehead State Univ., Morehead KY 40351. Telephone: (606) 783-2650.

The National Association for Ethnic Studies will hold its annual conference March 22-25, 2000 at Northeastern University in Boston. Theme: "Perceptions of Race and Ethnicity, and the Pursuit of Rights." Information: Susan Rockwell, English Dept., Arizona State Univ., Tempe AZ 85287-0302. Tel.: (480) 965-2197 E-mail: NAESF@asu.edu Web site: http://www.ethnicstudies.com

The Organization of American Historians will hold its annual meeting in St. Louis, March 30-April 2, 2000. OAH president David Montgomery has announced as the title of his presidential address: "Immigrants and the Reshaping of American Political Life."

The Huguenot Library in London will host a conference April 5-7, 2000: "From Strangers to Citizens: Integration of Immigrant Communities in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, 1550-1750." Details from Huguenot Library, University College, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT, UK. E-mail: c.littleton@history.bbk.ac.uk

Tulane University's Jewish Studies Program and the Museum of the Southern Jewish Experience will hold a conference in New Orleans April 7-9, 2000. The general topic is "The Jewish Experience in the Southern Americas," and will deal with Jewish history in the American South as well as Latin America. Information: Chris Brady, Jewish Studies Program, Tulane Univ., New Orleans LA 70118; telephone (504) 862-3077. E-mail: targuman@religions.com

Stavanger College in Stavanger, Norway will hold a conference May 3-6, 2000, commemorating the beginning of Norwegian migration to America with the sailing of the sloop Restoration from Stavanger on July 4, 1825. The conference will concentrate on two themes: the domestic consequences of European emigration, and the sources of emigration history. A companion conference will focus on "heritage tourism." Information: Hans Storhaug, Norwegian Emigration Center, N-4005 Stavanger, Norway. FAX: + 47 51 53 88 63. E-mail: detu-hs@online.no

The Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest at the University of Washington will sponsor a conference in Seattle, May 5-7, 2000, on the history of the Japanese communities in the Pacific Northwest. For further information, contact the center at Box 353587, Seattle WA 98195-3587. E-mail: fiset@u.washington.edu

The Massachusetts Historical Society will sponsor a scholarly conference May 18-20, 2000 on the topic "Immigrant Massachusetts, 1840-2000." Information: M.H.S., 1154 Boylston St., Boston MA 02215

The Pennsylvania German Society will hold its annual meeting June 2-3, 2000 at Sunbury, Pa. Information: Paula Fischer, e-mail pgs@fast.net

The Society for German-American Studies will hold its annual meeting and symposium June 11-17, 2000 in Bremerhaven, Germany. Information: Giles R. Hoyt, IUPUI Max Kade German American Center, 425 University Blvd., Indianapolis IN 46228.

The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies at the University of Amsterdam is planning a conference on "The Economic Embeddedness of Immigrant Enterprises," to be held in Jerusalem, Israel, June 18-20, 2000. Information on the web at http://home.pscw.uva.nl/rath

A workshop is planned for Bergen, Norway on August 14-20, 2000: "Practices of Exclusion: Xenophobic Movements and the State." The workshop is part of a conference sponsored by the International Society for the Study of European Ideas (ISSEI). For information about the workshop on xenophobia, contact Christhard Hoffmann, Dept. of History, University of Bergen, Sydnesplasse 7, 5007 Bergen, Norway. E-mail: christhard.hoffmann@hi.uib.no Information about the larger conference on the Web: http://www.uib.no/issa2000
A Message from the President...

Having done some work myself on the historiography of immigration/ethnicity — the results of which can be found in *Imagined Histories* (1998), edited by Anthony Molho and Gordon Wood — I was particularly interested in the forum on the state of the field published in the summer 1999 issue of *JAEH*. The essays by Jon Gjerde, George Sanchez, and Erika Lee, along with responses from Rudy Vecoli, Donna Gabaccia, and Elliott Barkan constitute a rare feast, one rich in bibliographic information, interpretive insight, and argumentative challenge. We owe a major debt of gratitude to Betty Bergland, who arranged this panel at the 1998 AHA convention, and to *JAEH* editor, Ron Bayor, for bringing it before the universe of interested scholars. What follow are a few thoughts prompted by my reading of these pieces.

First, I want to associate myself with Gjerde’s view, which is more emphatically re-stated by Vecoli, that we can still learn from classic writers of the past like Robert E. Park, Marcus Lee Hansen, and Frank Thistlethwaite. Of course, Gabaccia is correct in suggesting that the sixties cohort of bottom-up historians didn’t take their cue from Theodore Blegen. But that simply testifies to the fact that historians have short memories too. For that matter, sixties-and-after social historians gave no evidence that they had ever heard of the larger genre to which Blegen’s “grass roots history” belonged — that is, the “social history” promoted in the 1930s and 40s by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., and his collaborators on the 11-volume “History of American Life” series!

It is a commonplace that, for Americans, the latest is always the best. And except when it impinges directly on their professional work, historians sometimes can be as dismissive of the past as the rest of their countrymen. This national tendency is surely reinforced by historians’ predilection for “revising” the interpretations of earlier scholars. Insofar as it succeeds, revisionism can’t help discrediting and trivializing older work. Coupled with the brevity of graduate school generations, it doesn’t take long for all but the most outstanding names to be completely forgotten. And those who are remembered run a good chance of being stereotyped as illustrations of this or that outmoded interpretation.

As a relevant example, consider the case of Oscar Handlin. He rates only passing notice as a relict of the Chicago school in Gjerde’s historical sketch; Sanchez and Vecoli accord him even more fleeting mention (implicitly negative in both cases); and Gabaccia points out that since Vecoli’s critique of *The Uprooted* appeared in 1964, most immigration historians “have dismissed almost all of Handlin’s main arguments.” This hardly does justice to a scholar who gave immigration history unprecedented visibility in the academy and in the general reading public; who dominated the field for two decades as no individual did before or since, and who trained a brilliant group of graduate students, including important writers on immigration and ethnicity like Gunther Barth, Rowland Berthoff, Thomas N. Brown, Moses Raschin, Barbara M. Solomon, and Stephan Thernstrom.

A case that illustrates the danger of being completely forgotten is that of Timothy L. Smith. I can hardly take the high ground in noting that his name is not mentioned by any of the contributors to the forum, for it doesn’t occur in my own review of the literature either. But Smith definitely deserves to be remembered. His “New Approaches to the History of Immigration in Twentieth-Century America” (AHR, July 1966) sounded an early call for a fresh look at the field. He was prominent among the founders of the Immigration History Society. He pioneered in collecting and organizing source materials for what evolved into the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota. And his “Religion and Ethnicity in America” (AHR, Dec. 1978) remains the most ambitious and systematic treatment of a topic that, as both Gjerde and Vecoli observe, is grievously neglected by historians (and, according to sociologist R. Stephen Warner, by social scientists as well).

Smith’s focus on religion, which other workers in the field evidently regard as marginal, no doubt made it easier to overlook his work. But of all people, historians should be most on their guard against forgetting the past. For while the *JAEH* forum makes clear that our field is changing, it also suggests that a deeper understanding our professional past can assist us in discerning what is genuinely new and significant in recent developments.

*Phil Gleason*

President, IEHS

PERSONALS

Barry Cheswick (Univ. of Illinois, Chicago) received a Distinguished Alumnus award from Brooklyn College at its 1999 commencement. He also served as John M. Olin Visiting Professor in the University of Chicago.

Victor Greene (Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) received an exchange grant from the United States Information Agency. From April to June 1999, he gave lectures on American immigration and multiculturalism at the Catholic University of Lublin, Poland, and at United States Information Service centers in Europe.


Julie Leininger Pycior (Manhattan College) received the T. R. Fehrenback prize from the Texas Historical Association for her book *LBJ and Mexican-Americans: The Paradox of Power*.

M. Mark Stolarik (University of Ottawa) was presented a silver medal by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic for his scholarship on Slovak immigration to North America.

Robert Tabak has been appointed Director of Programs at the Batch Institute for Ethnic Studies, Philadelphia.

Min Zhou (UCLA) and Carl L. Banks- ton received the Thomas and Znaniecki Award from the American Sociological Association for *Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States* (Russell Sage, 1998).
New Publications Noted...


Buckowczyk, John J. ""Who is the Nation?" or, 'Did Cleopatra have Red Hair?'" A Patriotic Discourse on Diversity, Nationality and Race." *MELUS* 23:4 (1998), 3-23.


Grant, Hugh M. and Ronald R. Oertel.


Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 25:2 (1999) is a special issue on "Caribbean Migration to Europe and North America."


Loussuann, Martha O. and Mary Sánchez-Bane, eds. Life, Death and In-Between on the U.S.-Mexico Border: asies la vida. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 1999.


Perez, Vincent. 'Heroes and Orphans of the Hacienda: Narratives of a Mexican..."
The New Restrictionism...
(continued from p.1)

Immigration to the United States," Journal of American Ethnic History 18 (1999): 9-39. Jaret's essay has the virtue of comparing recent attitudes with those of 1880-1924. More limited in scope is George J. Sanchez, "Race the Nation: Race, Immigration and the Rise of Nationalism in Late Twentieth Century America," International Migration Review 18 (1998): 33-62. Dorothy Nelkin focuses on the radical right's racism in "Biological Categories and Border Control: The Revival of Eugenics in Anti-Immigration Rhetoric," International Journal of Social and Social Policy 18 (1998): 33-62. It should be noted that such extreme views are not used in congressional debates or by most anti-immigration groups. Sara Diamond has written several articles on Christian conservatives, found in organizations like the Christian Coalition. She reported a lack of interest about immigration, and even a pro-immigrant stance among some evangelical Christians. While she noted that many members of the Christian Right probably voted for California's Proposition 187 (a 1994 measure that placed severe limits on access of undocumented immigrants to public services, including schools), most evangelical leaders thought in terms of a growing multicultural Christianity. Moreover, they were aware of the strong family values of the latest newcomers and their conservative social views. See Sara Diamond, "Right-Wing Politics and the Anti-Immigration Cause," in Susanne Jonas and Suzie Dod Thomas (eds.), Immigration: A Civil Rights Issue for the Americas (Wilmington, DE, 1999): 175-190. A collection of essays on the new nativism, biculturalism, English only, and anti-immigration sentiment is Juan F. Ferea (ed.), Immigrants Out! The New Nativism and the Anti-Immigrant Impulse in the United States (New York, 1997). Some of the essays are carefully crafted and well researched, but others border on polemics against the restrictionists. Scholars have also turned their attention to public opinion polls and the media. A good summary can be found in Rita Simon and Susan Alexander, Ambivalent Wel-


Mexican Americans and other ethnic groups have also been the object of study. Both David Gutierrez and Peter Skerry note that since the 1960s Mexican American and other Hispanic leaders favor a liberal immigration policy, but that polls indicate that Latinos generally had ambivalence about large scale immigration and even a willingness to cut back on the numbers admitted annually. Gutierrez is especially thorough on Mexican American attitudes. See David G. Gutierrez, Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants and the Politics of Ethnicity (Berkeley, 1995) and Peter Skerry, Mexican Americans: The Ambivalent Minority (New York, 1993). For blacks see Lawrence H. Fuchs, "The Reactions of Black Americans to Immigration," in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology and Politics (New York, 1990), 293-314. Relations between African Americans and Hispanic groups in Miami are discussed in Alexander Portes and Alex Stepick, City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami (Berkeley, 1993). For material on blacks, Latinos and Asians consult Leland T. Salo, Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb (Urbana, 1998).


There is a growing literature on legislation that considers the political opposition to immigration. Michael LeMay, Anatomy of a Public Policy: The Reform of Contemporary Immigration Law (Westport, CT, 1994) deals with the Simpson-Rodino Act of 1986 and its aftermath, while James G. Gimpel and James Edwards, Jr., look at legislation in The Congressional Politics of Immigration Reform. (Needham Heights, MA, 1999). As the title indicates, they examine Congress and analyze votes on immigration since passage of the 1965 act. Like most other commentators on the immigration debates, they note that debates about immigration reveal a division between the Republicans and Democrats but also a pattern of strange bedfellows. Groups and organizations such as the Christian Coalition, the Cato Institute, large corporations, the Wall Street Journal, and the National Rifle Association find themselves allied to maintain a steady flow of immigrants while The National Review, Patrick Buchanan, and some environmentalists want a more restrictive policy. The book has the insider view of Edwards, who served as a staffer on a key House committee.

Labor unions have generally been quiet about immigration, worrying instead about their loss of members and the movement of manufacturing jobs overseas. Some unions have attempted to organize new immigrants. Hector L. Delgado tells of attempts to organize illegal aliens in New Immigrants, Old Unions: Organizing Undocumented Workers in Los Angeles (Philadelphia, 1993). To understand the debates there is no substitute for the voices of the restrictionists themselves even though their views make unpleasant reading at times.


**New Publications...**

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Communications...

In the May 1999 Newsletter, Prof. Paul Spickard (Univ. of California, Santa Barbara) wrote about a classroom exercise designed to stimulate student awareness of changing popular perceptions of ethnic hierarchy. Following is a response received from Prof. David Hollinger (University of California, Berkeley).

Paul Spickard (IEHS Newsletter, May 1999) invites comment on a classroom exercise he cites as proof that “We do not live in a post-ethnic America.” A book of mine entitled Postethnic America also denies that such an America has been achieved. Hence I may be an appropriate respondent.

Spickard’s well-meaning exercise does not prove what he says it does. Nor does it provide any opportunity to voice whatever postethnic sentiments might exist in the minds of his students and of others on whom he has imposed the exercise. By insisting that participants rank ten ethnocratic groups “according to how closely they approximate the core of what it means to be an American,” and by then refusing to answer queries about the terms of the assignment, Spickard encourages exactly the answers he gets: those expressing the old “unspoken understanding,” as Spickard himself puts it, that certain groups are “more American than others,” and that the “English” (surprise!) are the most American of all.

Spickard acknowledges that “almost every time, some member of the audience chooses to rank all the ethnic groups equally,” but such mavericks are not playing by Spickard’s rules. “Nearly every person” who chose to actually “participate” understood what he was trying to get at, Spickard assures us. What might have happened had he built into his exercise an opportunity to challenge its assumption of ethnocratic hierarchy? Might a few more people have ranked all the groups equally? Or, what might have happened had Spickard distinguished between 1) what ethnocratically defined attitudes about “the core of what it means to be an American” are felt by participants to dominate the society, and 2) the participants’ own sense of what that core is and what ethnocratic considerations may or may not have to do with it? The results would not likely prove that we’ve achieved ethnocratic equality. But the results might yield a more complicated and lessportentous picture than the one Spickard reproduces.

Spickard’s Newsletter piece invites these reactions because it a) pretends to measure the progress of equality while it serves only to perpetuate the articulation of inequality, b) contains no evidence to refute the unnamed persons who “insist that we live in a ‘post-ethnic’ America,” and c) associates the latter term only with arguments about what the United States now is as opposed to visions of what it might become.

David A. Hollinger
University of California, Berkeley

Professor Spickard responds:

I am gratified that Professor Hollinger took the time to respond. I respect his work highly. I share what appears to be his vision of an America without racial/ethnic hierarchy. I think we may disagree as to how the existing hierarchies were created and how they might be ameliorated. And I’m pretty sure we do not agree about how much progress our society has made to date on that project.

Because Professor Hollinger accuses me of not playing fair, of forcing students to make hierarchical distinctions they would not otherwise have made, I asked my students. I have a class of graduate students who frequently are frank in their assessment of my limitations. They did this exercise some weeks ago. This week I read them Professor Hollinger’s letter and asked them to what extent they agreed with his assessment. Although I expressed sincere willingness to rethink my position and pushed them to agree with him, they refused, and insisted he had misread the impact of the exercise.

They thought, as do I, that this exercise does something quite important. It gets students to dig deeply into their understanding of the society around them, to articulate the prejudices and hierarchies that they see every day, and to begin to think systematically about their origins and impact. Professor Hollinger accuses me of not giving students “an opportunity to challenge [the] assumption of ethnocratic hierarchy.” On the contrary, every day in every class they are encouraged to do such challenging. This is an exercise, not to solve a problem, but to expose it. The main theme of almost every one of my classes is to challenge and overturn received notions of racial hierarchy. In order to do that, we must first look clearly at such hierarchy. This exercise is one small part of that looking.

In the end, perhaps my difference with Professor Hollinger is a strategic one. I do not believe that we will get beyond racial/ethnic hierarchy and oppression by ignoring them. “Can’t we all just get along?” is not a sufficient strategy. We need to expose the assumptions that underlie much public discussion and behavior, and then work to overturn hierarchy. I believe my exercise is one tool that will help students understand the assumptions of racial and ethnic hierarchy that have long existed in our society and that continue to affect it mightily.

Paul Spickard
University of California, Santa Barbara

The Newsletter discussion on this topic will be closed at this point.

—editor

NECROLOGY

The Newsletter belatedly takes note of the passing of John J. Appel, Professor of American Thought and Language at Michigan State University, who died on April 6, 1998 at the age of 76. Appel was educated at the University of Miami and at the University of Pennsylvania, where his doctoral dissertation studied the development of immigrant historical societies. He became best known for his studies of ethnic stereotypes in popular culture. With his wife Selma Appel he undertook the collection of images, primarily cartoons and caricatures, reflecting popular conceptions of ethnicity. He prepared slide presentations of the images for educational purposes, and furnished materials for many museum exhibitions. The John and Selma Appel collection of ethnic images is now housed in the Michigan State University Museum.
IHS News Notes...

THEODORE SALOUTOS BOOK AWARD

Closing date for submissions for the annual Theodore Saloutos Book Award is December 31, 1999. To be eligible, a book must be copyrighted 1999. A book may be nominated by the author, the publisher, a member of the prize committee, or a member of the Immigration and Ethnic History Society. Inquiries and nominations should be submitted to the chair of the Saloutos Prize Committee, Prof. John McClymer, History Department, Assumption College, Worcester MA 01610-0005. E-mail: jmcclyme@assumption.edu

Copies of the book must be received by all three members of the committee by December 31, 1999. Send books to Prof. McClymer at the address above; and also to: Prof. Reed Ueda, History Dept., Tufts Univ., Medford MA 02155; and Prof Ewa Moraw ska, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia PA 19104.

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

In 2000, the Immigration and Ethnic History Society will fill the position of Vice-President and President-elect. This position will be open when the present vice-president succeeds to the presidency at the annual meeting. The Society will also fill three positions on the Executive Board for terms ending 2003. Members may send suggestions for any of these positions to the co-chairs of the nominations committee: Philip Gleason, History Dept., University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame IN 46556 (E-mail J.P.Gleason.2@nd.edu) or Jay P. Dolan, History Dept., Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame IN 46556 (E-mail Jay.P.Dolan.1@nd.edu) Suggestions may also be sent to any member of the committee: Mark Bauman, Atlanta Metropolitan College (mbauman@peachnet.campuscwix.net); Melvin Holli, Univ. of Illinois-Chicago (mholl2@uic.edu); Deborah Miller, Minnesota Historical Society (debbie.miller@mnhs.org); or Suzanne Sinkle, Clemson U. (current e-mail address hiusi@uta.fi). Ballots will be mailed in mid-February 2000.

GEORGE POZZETTA DISSERTATION AWARD

The Immigration and Ethnic History Society announces competition for the 2000 George E. Pozzetta Award. It invites applications from any Ph.D. candidate who will have completed qualifying examinations by Dec. 1, 1999, and whose thesis focuses on American immigration, emigration, or ethnic history. The award provides $750 for expenses to be incurred in researching the dissertation. Applicants must submit a 3-5 page descriptive proposal in English, discussing the significance of the work, the methodology, sources, and collections to be consulted. Also included must be a proposed budget, a brief curriculum vitae, and a supporting letter from the major advisor. All materials must be received by each committee member by Dec. 15, 1999, which is the submission deadline. Send materials in hardcopy (no FAXes accepted) to: Josh DeWind, Social Science Research Council, 810 Seventh Ave., New York, NY 10019; Diane Vecchio, History Dept., Furman U., Greenville SC 29613; and Thos. J. Curran, History Dept., St. John's Univ., Jamaica NY 11439.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Immigration and Ethnic History Society will take place jointly with the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians in St. Louis, March 30-April 2, 2000. The annual dinner will take place the same weekend. Further details about these events will be included with the ballot which will be mailed to all members in late February.

JAEH ON-LINE

Beginning with the Fall 1999 issue, the text of articles in the Journal of American Ethnic History will be available on-line to current subscribers. Non-subscribers will be able only to read the table of contents. Subscribers may obtain a registration number and other information at the website: http://www.catchword.com

Activities Report for the Immigration and Ethnic History Newsletter

Mail your information for the next Newsletter to:

James M. Bergquist, Department of History, Villanova University, Villanova PA 19085-1699

or FAX a copy to (610) 519-4450 or send information via E-Mail to: jbergqui@email.villanova.edu

Your name and affiliation:

THE IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC HISTORY SOCIETY

...was founded in 1965 as the Immigration History Group. It was chartered in 1972 as the Immigration History Society. In 1998 the Society, which had traditionally dealt with ethnicity as well as immigration, changed its name to the Immigration and Ethnic History Society.

The purpose of the Society is to promote the study of the history of immigration to the United States and Canada from all parts of the world, including studies of the background of emigration in the countries of origin; to promote the study of ethnic groups in the United States, including regional groups, native Americans and forced immigrants; to promote understanding of the processes of acculturation and of conflict; to furnish through the Immigration and Ethnic History Newsletter information as to research, organizations, meetings and publications in the field of immigrant history; to help organize sessions on immigration and ethnicity at meetings of learned societies; and generally to serve the field of immigration-ethnic history with special reference to professional scholarship.

MEMBERSHIP

...in the Society includes subscriptions to the quarterly Journal of American Ethnic History and the semiannual Immigration and Ethnic History Newsletter. Dues for individuals: one year, $30; 2 years, $55; 3 years, $75. Dues for institutions: one year, $100; 2 years, $194; 3 years, $268. Students: 1 year, $15. For domestic first-class mail, add $32 per year. For all subscriptions outside U.S.A. and Canada, add $30. Membership dues should be sent to Journal of American Ethnic History, Transaction Periodicals Consortium, Rutgers University, 35 Bernue Circle, Piscataway NJ 08854-8042.

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Inquiries about the Society should be directed to the appropriate officer. This newsletter was edited with additional assistance and support from the staff of the Library, Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies. Newsletter submissions and questions about editorial matters should be sent to the newsletter editor at the address above. Requests for back issues should be sent to the editor; to purchase back issues, send $2.00 per copy (by check made out to Villanova University).

Subscriptions to the Immigration and Ethnic History Newsletter are part of membership in the Society. Members' changes of address should be sent to Journal of American Ethnic History, Transaction Periodicals Consortium, Rutgers University, 35 Bernue Circle, Piscataway NJ 08854-8042.