THROUGH FOREIGN EYES: INDOCHINESE REFUGEES IN AMERICA

Since 1975, about 700,000 refugees from the countries of former French Indochina have come to the United States, settling in urban and rural communities across the country. Many Americans think of the Indochinese as one homogenous group with a distinct culture very different from our own. Actually, the Indochinese represent three nationalities and at least five major ethnic groups: Khmer, Lao, Vietnamese, Hmong, and Chinese. Each group's culture, language, and politics is unique and political barriers and considerations of rank and status prevent much mixing.

Unlike migrants, refugees live in exile from their homeland and feel they can never return. Many have left family behind. In addition to the comprehensive economic, cultural, psychological, and social adjustments required of all immigrants, Indochinese refugees face particular difficulty since almost no established Indochinese communities existed in America prior to their arrival. Many refugees do not know what to expect from American life or how best to adapt. Yet many of the Indochinese refugees have fairly quickly become successful students, employees, and entrepreneurs. Much of their success probably can be explained (continued on p.2).
by their resiliency and the values they brought with them as well as by the aid made available from public and private agencies.

The following four commentaries, two written by Indochinese and two by anthropologists, give some insight into the refugees’ response to American culture. Le-the Bai, Vice President of the American Vietnamese Buddhist Association, and Vilay Chaleunrath, Director of the Indo-Chinese Community Center, give an Indochinese perspective on some of the problems the refugees encounter. Beatrice Hackett, who participated in the Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists Service Project involving Indochinese refugee resettlement, shares her observations about Indochinese frustrations and rewards when adjusting to a new and different life in America. David Haines, formerly with the Office of Refugee Resettlement, discusses the anthropologist’s role in helping not only the refugees in their resettlement but also Americans’ perceptions of these newcomers.

CULTURAL CONFLICTS

America is a “melting pot” holding many different cultures—or, at its best, it is a salad bowl holding many different ingredients...

When the Vietnamese first arrived in America, they were very skeptical of the American way of life, particularly the American credit system. In Vietnam you are more reliable and more respectable if you owe no money. Here in America you are encouraged to go into debt; the more credit cards you hold, the more trusted a client you become. If you don’t restrain yourself, you can owe thousands of dollars to a company overnight; and, if you cannot make the ends meet, you also can be dispossessed overnight!

To newcomers, it is a real culture shock to witness Americans sending their ailing elders to establishments which provide lodging, meals, and some nursing care instead of taking them in, as Vietnamese more often do, and caring for them until they die. Vietnamese feel deeply affected by adversities occurring to relatives as if they were their own problems. Members of a family are like fingers of a hand—if one digit is hurt or cut, the whole hand will feel the pain.

Contrary to the expected goal in America of achieving personal independence (which many Vietnamese do admire), the Vietnamese emphasize obedience to the wishes of elders and acceptance of responsibilities and obligations toward family and relatives. This extends to looking after ailing elders and being responsible for the care of siblings. The woman’s role can be expressed in the three golden rules: 1) to follow her father when she is young; 2) to follow her husband when she is married; and 3) to follow her eldest son when she is a widow. As a rule, women from respectable Vietnamese families cannot divorce and remarry.

Many Vietnamese men have not had the good fortune of finding work in the United States. In many cases their wives have become the breadwinners. Often the husband feels tormented by this reversal of roles and feels a loss of self-esteem in the eyes of his children. For others, the adjustment is more rapid and opportunities here,
regardless of sex, race, or religion, are appreciated and assist in maintaining traditional Vietnamese qualities known as the four virtues:
1) to be able to work; 2) to keep a clean and respectable image; 3) to speak justly and sweetly; and 4) to have a good manner.

America, the "melting pot," allows different cultural expressions but also presents cultural conflicts that we, as Vietnamese, must face living in this new land.

Le-the Bai

AMERICA LAND OF PLENTY

In order to understand refugee resettlement problems in this country, one has to be familiar with the background of the two waves of Indochinese migrations. The first wave of migration in 1975-1977 were people connected with the old government and the military as well as those who either worked for or were closely associated with American and other western diplomatic missions in Indochina. Some of these people were educated in the West, had professions, and understood and spoke sufficient English. They were sophisticated enough to cope with the Western way of life. The refugees from the second wave of migration, since 1978, are more often illiterate and many are single persons. Most had no familiarity with Western culture, and they experienced difficulty adjusting to a culture which was very new and strange to them.

Many of the recent Indochinese refugees arrived in America with high expectations and often misleading information they received in the resettlement camps. Everyone expected to have a new car, a beautiful home, good clothes, and to be taken care of by the "church." In reality, many overqualified refugees had to accept menial jobs, creating a serious loss of self-respect. Low cost housing has been very limited, forcing families to share living quarters, sometimes with as many as ten persons crowded into a two-bedroom apartment. These sudden and complete changes in ways of life have caused mental distress, depression, and homesickness in some people, which is likely to be with them for a long time.

Another important resettlement problem, which Indochinese refugees have made efforts to accept, is the decline in their cultural values. Traditional family ties slowly have been breaking down. Older children can no longer support and care for their aged parents, and youngsters are learning new ways in school. Many are becoming Americanized, taking on new social values, hair styles, and eating habits.

The value of large families, which ensures economic and emotional security and a family line of succession, is diminishing as many refugees face economic depression and hardship. Often husband-wife relationships become strained as wives begin to demand more rights once they are working and earning incomes as housekeepers, waitresses, and office clerks.

But, despite the many problems faced by Indochinese refugees, they are making a great effort in their acculturation as many have become regular wage earners, and some even store and restaurant owners.

Vilay Chaleunrath

WHAT PRICE FREEDOM?

Many different groups of Indochinese have settled in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: Vietnamese from urban areas, most of whom are Catholic; Lao from rural areas who are Buddhist; Khmer from both urban and rural Cambodia who are also (continued on p.14)
"The contents of this book are known to be dangerous." With this statement, Melvin Konner, a biological anthropologist and author of The Tangled Wing: Biological Constraints on the Human Spirit (Harper, Colophon Books, 1983), confronts the serious reader consulting the footnotes for the first time. The subject of the book, the biological aspects and determinants of human behavior, is indeed considered dangerous by many—dangerous to fairness, to decency, to equality of opportunity, and to the fragile co-existence of different peoples in a nuclear world.

If we concede that behavior is at all determined or even constrained by physiology, or anatomy, themselves determined in part by genes, then might not populations differ genetically in behavior just as they do in other genetically influenced traits? And behavioral genetics has a terrible history of misuse by social planners. It is only a short leap from the idea of inherited controls, or limits on behavior, to the conclusion that differences between the behavior or performance of different groups are inborn and cannot be changed. From that conclusion to the systematic neglect, oppression, or slaughter of "inferior" groups is a road too often taken in our century.

From its founding as an academic discipline, American anthropology has come down squarely on the other side. Anthropologists have stressed the shaping of a person's behavior by his or her culture. They have argued that hereditary differences in behavior among human populations do not exist.

In light of the two perspectives of anthropology and biology, Konner proceeds to review current theories on the origins, anatomy, physiology, and purpose of sex differences ("The Beast with Two Backs"); human emotions ("The Well of Feeling"); and our most characteristic trait, language ("Logos") whose uniqueness is not diminished by its presence, in very attenuated form, in our animal relations near and far. As the book progresses, Konner presents science as perhaps the most fundamental form of humanism. Science seeks not to reduce the human condition to a series of biological processes but to extoll and explore the furthest potential of the human mind, to recognize the limits of
the knowable, and to keep alive a sense of wonder and mystery. In the first efforts of a baby to name the objects of her universe,

"what we are looking at is the most rudimentary form of what may be the key to being human: a sort of wonderment at the spectacle of the world, and its apprehensibility by the mind; a focusing, for the purpose of elevation; an intelligent waking dream. In that capacity, it seems to me, we find our greatest distinction, and in that, and that alone, may be our salvation."

Part II of The Tangled Wing takes up one by one the biological basis of seven human emotions: rage, fear, joy, lust, love, grief, and gluttony. Each discussion moves from historical views to new explanations; from the societal level of human interaction to the psychology of the individual to the molecular level of brain biochemistry; from the conclusions of rigorous laboratory investigation to the insights of poetry. Konner also examines the existence of such states as grief, love, and joy in non-human societies, especially those of our nearest animal relatives, pointing out as well what we know of these emotions' accompanying physiology. Each chapter ends on a dual note: the biological continuity we share with other species and our human uniqueness. Although the latter may also derive in part from our biology, it is ultimately mysterious.

"What we must hope for, with [Wallace] Stevens, is some sort of recognition that the grieving is part of what makes life precious, that we would not love life nearly so well without it. We could perhaps be less angry at it. We could try, at least, to stop taking it out on each other. Perhaps we could get together sometime and shout turbulent praises at the sun."

In a similar way, the chapter on gluttony ends on a note of anguish for the children of our middle class society whose endless and insatiable demands for material goods, encouraged by us, are beyond all reasonable needs of the human organism. If we do not teach them to distinguish need from want, fear, or anger, "we leave them languishing eternally, like Clacco [the glutton of Dante's Inferno], in the rain; a vividly Dantesque fate in which the very source of life's plenty becomes an instrument of torture without end."

Overall the book is beautifully written and displays a broad range of humanistic and scientific scholarship, a worthy successor to the tradition of such anthropological writers as Loren Eiseley. Yet the sections dealing with physiology, and biochemistry will be tough going for those unfamiliar with the rudiments of these sciences. In large part, this is due to the total lack of illustrations, which in turn suggests that our reliance on "Logos" can always be improved with some communication along a more common animal channel.

(continued on p.6)
In the concluding sections, Konner faces and argues down the chimera of biological determinism. Behavioral biology is dangerous, difficult, and potentially explanatory. It flies in the face of seventy years of anti-biological-reductionism arguments in American anthropology. Yet our biology includes our plasticity, by which biological, environmental, and cultural forces change and direct our individual natures and our common behavior. While the biology of behavior could lead to pessimism about the perfectability of human society, not to understand our biology is to lose control of our destiny. Our biological potential and our destiny together are "the tangled wing" of the title, the twisted fossilized wing of an archaeopteryx, "a piss-poor reptile and not very much of a bird" but the herald of a magnificent future.

Alison S. Brooks

**THE WYOMING PROJECT**

The Smithsonian is once again involved in an anthropology teacher training program— in Wyoming! A new, cooperative program between the National Museum of Natural History and the University of Wyoming (UW) will provide expanded educational opportunities for Wyoming teachers this spring. Co-sponsored by the UW departments of Anthropology and American Studies and the Smithsonian's Museum of Natural History, the "Anthropology and the Humanities Pre-College Teacher Development Program" is funded by the Wyoming Council for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The program involves a new UW graduate credit course "Anthropology and the Humanities," a one semester, interdisciplinary class specifically designed for Wyoming teachers interested in integrating anthropology into various curricula. Four monthly topics involving four consulting scholars from UW focus on: Human Origins and Adaptation (George W. Gill); Plains Indians (Anne Slater); Growing Up in Nonwestern Cultures (Audrey Shalinsky); and Diversity and Change in American Society (Eric Sandeen). Former Smithsonian fellows Loretta K. Fowler and George Prüfer, now head of the UW Anthropology Department, will participate as guest lecturers. The course combines workshops, lectures, slide presentations, films, and the creation and sharing of teaching units.

The new program is modelled on the highly successful NSF-sponsored George Washington University/Smithsonian Institution Anthropology for Teachers Program, offered from 1978-1982 in the Washington, D.C. area. This program gave rise to AnthroNotes and enrolled over 350 teachers. Ruth O. Selig, assistant to the Director, National Museum of Natural History, who worked with the Washington, D.C. program, is director of the new Smithsonian/University of Wyoming project.

"Teacher training is a priority need of the nation as recognized in several recent nationally commissioned reports," explains Selig. "The goal of this program is to enrich teacher education in America and to further develop a training model for other universities and museums to follow."
TEACHER'S CORNER: RANDOM STRATEGIES IN ARCHEOLOGY

I. To introduce the principles of archeology and the importance of material culture:

A. Have each student, at home, list on a 3x5 card ten of his/her personal possessions which would survive a fire (these can be parts of things, such as the pulls on a chest of drawers, etc.). Do not put names on cards. You might put in a card for yourself also.

In class the next day redistribute the cards at random. Make sure that no student has his/her own card. Have students write a description of the person whose list they receive. Mention such things as: can you tell the age and sex of the person? his/her likes and dislikes? the kinds of activities he/she engaged in? his/her hobbies?

Then have students read both the artifact lists, and their interpretations of them. Discuss with students the accuracy of their interpretations, the nature of the evidence they had to work with, the problems associated with interpreting fragmentary evidence, etc. You might also discuss other sources which could help in interpreting the evidence, such as wills, deeds, census records, public school records, etc.

B. Ask students to suggest definitions of archeology and list these on the board. Then show one of the following films: "Doorway to the Past," "Search for a Century," the Martin's Hundred early 17th century site filmed as it was excavated, (both films issued by Colonial Williamsburg); "Other People's Garbage" (Odyssey film available from Documentary Educational Resources, 5 Bridge St., Watertown, MA 02172). After discussing the film, have students re-evaluate their original definitions, making changes where necessary.

II. To get students involved in the techniques and questions of archeology:

A. Divide students into teams. Each team is secretly assigned to a different area of the school grounds (i.e., cafeteria, playground, parking lot, front of school along road, etc.). Each team is to survey its assigned area and come back with:

--a collection of the artifacts they picked off the ground from their area.
--a description of the physical characteristics of the area they surveyed (caution: do not refer to the area by name; only describe).

(continued on next page)
Then: exchange team artifact lots and site descriptions. Each recipient group analyzes the evidence from the surveys and tries to guess:

a. the functional name of the area surveyed.

b. the kinds of behavior/activities which took place in the area; and

c. how recently this behavior took place, and how long (time span) it has been going on there.

Follow-up:
1. How did your interpretive group arrive at its conclusions? (method of analyzing the data)
2. What other kinds of information would have been useful to you in arriving at the conclusions or answers to the questions posed?
3. What would happen to your interpretation of the artifacts if the site description were changed?

B. To focus student attention on artifacts and features: Show Part I of the film "The Hunters." Instruct students to view the film from the perspective of an archeologist doing a site survey 100 years from now. Ask them to make a list of the artifacts and features they might find while surveying this site.

C. To sharpen skills of classification and illustrate how evidence can be manipulated to gain maximum information from it:

Take student-gathered artifacts from the site survey; or have each student contribute five dissimilar artifacts from his or her home.

Divide students into groups. Each group takes one assemblage or group of artifacts and develops a system of classification for that assemblage. (They will probably classify on the basis of the material from which each artifact was made.) Ask them to explain their system.

Then suggest that other systems might be used. An easy one is that of classifying all these items by their function. Another one is by date (i.e., how old) or context (location derived from). Follow-up: Ask students what kinds of questions they might be able to answer by using these systems of classifying:

- material: what kinds of resources were available to the society? what kinds of technology did the society have at its disposal?

- function: what kinds of activities did the people of this society engage in?

- date: how long did the society endure?

D. Excavating a wastebasket:

To prepare: for one day, do not empty your classroom wastebasket (better yet, get another teacher to prepare the wastebasket for you). Instead, compact the material in it after each class or activity period. Then:

Next day: have students "excavate" this site. See if they can reconstruct the previous day's activities.

E. The ultimate: Play "Dig," a simulation, which takes five to six weeks, available from Interact, Inc., Box 262, Lakeside, CA 92040. It asks students to
**Do You Know?**

- that Robert McCormick Adams, the new Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, is a distinguished anthropologist/archaeologist whose fieldwork, mostly in the Middle East, has resulted in important publications on the development of early civilizations.

- that *Natural History* magazine ran a series of articles on the theme of human origins, in conjunction with the exhibition "Ancestors: Four Million Years of Humanity" which ran from April 13 through September 9. The articles recount recent discoveries and various interpretations of the origin and evolution of the human species.

- that you can obtain the heavily illustrated exhibition leaflet *Ancestors: Four Million Years of Humanity* for $1.75, including postage, by writing to: American Museum of Natural History, Attention: Museum Shop, Central Park West at 79th St., New York, NY 10024. Also a set of 14 slides (K set 153) of the exhibit is available for $10 from the American Museum of Natural History, Library Services Dept., Photographic Collection.

- that "Treasures of Shanghai Museum" is on exhibition in the Evans Gallery, National Museum of Natural History through November 30. Free films on China are being shown Fridays at noon in the Baird Auditorium.

- that "Praise Poems: The Katherine White Collection" of masks and sculpture from west and central Africa are on exhibit at the National Museum of African Art until February 24. In conjunction with the exhibition, the museum is presenting a film and lecture series. To receive a Calendar of Events call 287-3490.

- that a national exhibition of Maori artifacts can be viewed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Photographs of a few of the objects can be seen in "Maori Power" in the September issue of *Natural History*.

- that a new biography—Margaret Mead: *A Life* by Jane Howard (Simon and Schuster, $17.95) was reviewed in the September 1984 issue of *Smithsonian*. Also out is *With A Daughter's Eye: A Memoir of Margaret Mead* and Gregory Bateson by Mary Catherine Bateson (William Morrow and Co., $15.95).

(continued on p.10)
that Jane Goodall received the J. Paul Getty Wildlife Conservation Prize, a $50,000 gift, for her long devotion to the study of chimpanzees in the wild.

that you can obtain "Songs Jumping In My Mouth", by Pamela Brooke, a humanities activity guide full of innovative anthropologically oriented activities and suggestions for classroom and after-school use. To order this free guide, write: "Songs," WETA, Box 2626, Washington, D.C. 20013.

that Faces is a new anthropology magazine for young people published by Cobblestone Publishing Inc, (see "New Resources: Native Americans, p. 13).

that Alison Brooks will be representing the American Anthropological Association at the annual meeting of the National Council for Social Studies, November 15-19. She will also exhibit educational materials on anthropology/archeology for precollege teachers. Brooks will appear on a social science task force panel (see below) with representatives of four other professional organizations to discuss the guidelines for social studies curricula in grades K through 12, published in the April issue of Social Education.

that the October AAA newsletter includes a report "Support for Precollege Anthropology" submitted by Patricia Higgins, Ruth Selig, and Marion Rice to the AAA Executive Committee and an article on the Social Science Task Force "established to improve the teaching of the social sciences at the precollege level."

**create and bury a culture. Other teams of students then excavate the culture using valid archeological techniques.**

### III. Finale: Judging archeological interpretations:

A. Show the film "In Search of Ancient Astronauts" (an exposition of von Daniken's theories about extra-terrestrial visitors). Ask students to analyze the film:

--- what is von Daniken's basic assumption/hypothesis?
--- what kinds of evidence does he use to support his hypothesis? (Give reasons for skepticism or belief)

B. Show any of the films listed above in IB and ask the same questions. Which hypotheses are more convincing, given the data?

### IV. Field trips and guest speakers in the Washington, D.C. area:

A. Alexandria Archaeological Research Center: Pam Cressey, 838-4399. (speaker or trip)

B. Fairfax County Archeological Survey will take interested student volunteers on historic and prehistoric digs. Call 642-5807.

C. Take students to Turkey Run Farm and Woodlawn (or similar) plantation. Ask them to systematically compare the material culture exhibited by each site. (Woodlawn has a "What is a House?" information retrieval sheet which also can be adapted for Turkey Run Farm.)

Martha Williams
George C. Marshall High School
Fairfax, Virginia
NEW RESOURCES: NATIVE AMERICANS

Elementary school explorations of Native American cultures too often focus on traditional arts and crafts—making tipis, totem poles, baskets, pottery, and bows and arrows. Unconscious stereotypes persist so that, in the minds of students, North American Indians and Eskimos still live as they did in the 1700's. Any real understanding of many different peoples with distinctive cultures never emerges. Fortunately, some recent books and classroom materials can help correct such biases as well as provide rich learning experiences. The reading level of these materials ranges from kindergarten through ninth grade.

BOOKS


A readable, caring history of the Cheyenne is told movingly from their viewpoint. The book also chronicles why the Tribal Council voted in 1973 to cancel all Northern Cheyenne coal leases and exploration permits, and why, instead, the tribe itself is trying to exploit possible oil and gas reserves on their land.


Between 1870 and 1890, George B. Grinnell collected these dramatic tales which come from the Pawnee of Kansas and Nebraska, the Blackfeet of Montana, and the Cheyenne of Wyoming and Colorado. The aptly illustrated and engaging stories reflect the world of Plains Indian peoples, their hunting methods, family lives, warfare, values, and beliefs.


The important role music played among all North American tribes is described with illustrative musical examples from the late 18th century to today, from the major culture areas of North America. Both of Bierhorst’s books include bibliographies of other excellent works, including Bierhorst’s earlier books.


A beautifully retold legend from the Comanche people in which a young girl gives up her beloved doll to save her people, and in return they receive the gift of the bluebonnet flower.

Vivid colored pictures dominate the text that describes Navajo history, land, and traditional and present lifestyles. At times the writing is simplistic, but the book provides the Navajo viewpoint which is often missing from books on Native Americans. In addition, contemporary issues such as strip mining, oil and gas mining, health problems, education, and housing standards are discussed.


The most recent effort of Paul Coble, this beautifully told tale is based on a legend from the Great Plains and is richly illustrated by the author. Coble has written other highly recommended books for young people such as the 1979 Caldecott Medal winner The Girl Who Loved Wild Horses, and has illustrated many other fine collections such as The Sound of Flutes and Other Indian Legends, transcribed and edited by Richard Erdoes (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), appropriate for grades 4-9.


Through the descriptions of daily life of a representative Eskimo family living near the Bering Sea today, the book not only introduces Eskimo culture as it was and is but also portrays the conflicts between subsistence hunting and fishing and the prevalent cash economy. The reader learns how each family member lives, how school, sports, and religion are arenas for value conflicts, and what resolutions have been found.


Since the well-known 1973 book by Theodora Kroeber (Ishi, Last of His Tribe) is too difficult for younger students, Meyer's book provides an authentic and engaging narrative for elementary school children. The book recreates Ishi's childhood, describing the arts and skills he used, how the Yahis were slowly decimated over the years, and what Ishi's life was like once he came out of hiding and was befriended by anthropologist Alfred Kroeber. In this excellent series, Dillon Press also publishes books on Crazy Horse, Maria Martinez, Chief Joseph, Sacagawea, Sitting Bull, Tecumseh, and Jim Thorpe.


A captivating story about the people in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and the Delaware Indians, and how trombones kept peace between them during the French and Indian War.


Beautifully illustrated in color, Song of Sedna retells in detail the powerful, ancient Eskimo legend of Sedna, and how she came to rule the seas. The book can be usefully compared to the also highly recommended version by Beverly McDermot (Sedna, New York: Viking Press, 1975), which is illustrated in dramatic indigo and violet block print drawings, and is geared for the same age group. Also recommended is SanSouci's earlier book, The Legend of Scarface (New York: Doubleday, 1978).
This recent collection of oral history stories and legends from Southwestern Alaska reflects the changing culture of Alaska's native peoples. The stories were collected by students interviewing older residents in their communities.

Illustrated with attractive pencil drawings, this detailed study demonstrates the structural sophistication of the tipi, the aesthetic and spiritual significance of its design and decoration, and the central role it played in the adaptation of the Plains Indian peoples.

GUIDES

Guidelines for Evaluating Textbooks from an American Indian Perspective. Report No. 143. National Education Improvement Center. Education Program Division, $5.00. To order write: Publications Department, Educational Commission of the States, Suite 300, 1860 Lincoln St., Denver, CO 80295; (303) 830-3820.

An annotated list of books about American Indians for children, arranged by title with indexes by tribe, region, and subject. The annotations have been largely written by Native Americans or by evaluators who work with Native American children and include judgements concerning historical and cultural accuracy and suitability for use with Native Americans.


An older but still useful resource which includes many classroom activity and role playing suggestions as well as guidelines for sensitizing students to stereotypes.

(Anthro. Notes editors wish to thank Professor Barbara Chatton of the University of Wyoming for her assistance in preparing this article.)
Buddhist; and Chinese Cambodians, many of whom converted to Christianity in the refugee camps. Anthropologists are working directly with these refugees in programs focusing on family and social services, mental health, English language and culture training, and job counseling.

Many of these refugees have learned to make major compensations and adjustments as new residents of the United States. Some aspects of American life are deeply disturbing, particularly those which touch most closely the basic social structures and values of the new immigrants. Rural people living in city apartments long for land to farm. Tiny garden plots for planting mint and eggplant must suffice. For former entrepreneurs, banking procedures for borrowing money to start a business, and state and federal tax requirements seem burdensome and intrusive. In the refugees' former societies, businesses are financed by family savings, and earnings are not always counted on a purely cash basis. Furthermore, earnings are a private matter within the family domain. For Indochinese women, male obstetricians and gynecologists cause dismay for childbirth is the business of women and birth a home event watched over by an attending midwife, with mother and sisters close by to provide comfort.

But, ask any Indochinese refugee what he or she likes most about America and chances are the answer will be "freedom." Being free includes not only political freedom but perceived economic opportunity and its symbols—an apartment, a television, perhaps a car, a better job, saved money for one's own business, and unrestricted travel around the country to visit or join relatives and friends.

On Saturday mornings, Indochinese refugees gather at the many grocery-restaurants which have emerged as social centers. Friends meet and exchange information, buy familiar foods and other commodities, eat traditional foods too difficult for small families to prepare at home, converse with relatives and friends in a familiar language, and in general enjoy the leisure of the day.

We are a nation of immigrants and adaptation takes time, but it is happening once again in our generation.

Beatrice Hackett

ROLE OF THE ANTHROPOLOGIST

Anthropology has always been concerned with the understanding of, direct experience with, and ability to explain cultural differences. Anthropologists typically point out that particular American assumptions about the nature of society are often a poor guide to other cultures. Predictably, anthropologists have attempted to sketch some of the details of culture and society among Indochinese refugees: the way Vietnamese look at jobs, the nature of clans and family alliance among the Hmong, patron-client networks among the Lao, and conflict between Vietnamese and American views of how to fish off the California coast. Anthropologists thus perform their traditional role of challenging ill-examined and over-generalized assumptions about people, opening a window onto a more culturally sensitive and diverse view of others.

The initial anthropological effort has often taken the form of emphasizing polar distinctions such as the American nuclear family versus the Asian extended family; Western individualism versus Eastern emphasis on the individual's immersion in the social group; the role of the unappreciated American teacher versus the great honor attached to the teacher in Southeast Asia; and the independence of the American wife versus the submissiveness
of the wife in Southeast Asia. Such distinctions are useful, but they do not apply generally to all Southeast Asian refugees. The patrilineal, extended structure of Vietnamese and Hmong kinship is counterpoised to a far more bilateral pattern among the Khmer and Lao. The notion of the subordinate role of the Asian wife is challenged by the long established autonomy of Vietnamese women, particularly in the public economic domain. The anthropologist is thus necessarily at the forefront of the unending task of greater specification among diverse ethnic groups. The increasing public acceptance of a five-fold categorization among Indochinese refugees of Khmer, Lao, Hmong, Vietnamese, and Chinese is an important step forward.

One difficult aspect of the anthropologist's efforts is the necessity to understand the situation of refugees, the kinds of cultural and social resources they bring with them, and the kinds of difficulties they face and usually overcome—all within the context of an exceedingly complex governmental assistance program. The attention the refugee program receives at the national, state, and local levels ensures that the national dialogue about refugees is conditioned as much by political goals and perceptions of American society as by the realities of the refugees' situation. Current discussions about refugee "dependency" and refugee "impact," for example, reflect far more the internal workings of American government than they do the adjustment of refugees to the United States and the actual effects they have on the communities in which they settle.

The anthropologist, then, in attempting to work with the refugees and understand and explain their situation, must distinguish among issues that relate to refugees, those that relate to the interaction of refugees with American society, and those that relate more directly to the complexity of the refugee aid program. That complexity, in fact, provides a challenge to the anthropologist that rivals that entailed by the cultural and social complexity of the various Indochinese refugee groups.

David Haines
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