Reform of Medical Experimentation

To safeguard against these unethical practices, the scientific community has established guidelines to protect human rights. Today, two of the most widely instituted guidelines followed by medical researchers include the Nuremberg Code and the Declaration of Helsinki. The overall objective of these guidelines was established to protect human subjects in medical research and to minimize the risk of exploitation and abuse of individuals.

The Nuremberg Code was established in 1947 as a result of the Nuremberg Trials of Nazi war criminals following the end of World War II; it laid the foundation to ensure that individuals have rights in medical research. Among the core principles of the Nuremberg Code, it is held that individuals must be voluntary participants in research, they cannot be coerced into medical experimentation, informed consent must be granted, and the benefits of the experiment must outweigh the risks of participation.

Similarly, the Declaration of Helsinki was established in 1964 by the World Medical Association to provide ethical standards for how physicians should interact with patients when conducting medical research. The declaration echoed the principles outlined in the Nuremberg Code, such as ensuring that medical experimentation be voluntary, informed consent be granted, and the benefits of the research outweigh the risks. In addition, it specified guidelines for medical research and experimentation to further protect human subjects in research. These include protecting the privacy and confidentiality of participants, establishing a research protocol by the researcher, establishing a review of the research protocol by an independent committee, and protecting children and other vulnerable populations by soliciting their assent. The Declaration of Helsinki has been adopted by most institutions that conduct any kind of research with individuals. Most universities, research institutions, and hospitals have developed an independent committee, or institutional review board, which requires all research with humans to be approved and monitored.

Reform in medical experimentation has been helpful in establishing protocols to protect human rights in medical research; however, violations of human rights persist, especially with marginalized groups. For example, as recently as 2001, the pharmaceutical company Pfizer was sued for conducting clinical trials of a drug for tuberculosis with African children. It is alleged that the experimentation was conducted without informed consent and that participation in the study was not voluntary.

Tracey Lewis-Elligan

See also African Americans; Eugenics; Holocaust; Holocaust Deniers and Revisionists; Scapegoats; Social Inequality

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Melting Pot

Few social metaphors have dominated American thought as pervasively as that of the melting pot—a key symbol for the United States. A melting pot is, literally, a vessel in which metals or other materials are melted and mixed; this metaphor compares America's sundry racial, ethnic, and religious groups to foundry-type metals that are transmuted, in the crucible of the American experience, into social gold. This entry charts the origins and ideological trajectory of this defining idea and that of its rival, cultural pluralism.

The verbal trope of *melting* as a code for Americanness can be traced to J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur (1735–1813), author of *Letters From an American Farmer* (1782). Here, he likened "Americans" to individuals from all nations being "melted" into a new race. As a full-blown descriptor of the United States, however, the term *melting pot* made its dramatic debut in Israel Zangwill's (1864–1926) play, *The Melting-Pot,* which opened in Washington, D.C., in October 1908.

The play's protagonist is David Quixano, a young Jewish immigrant bent on composing the great American symphony. The visionary Quixano heralds America as "God's Crucible, the great Melting-Pot" where "the Great Alchemist" (God) "melts and fuses" those who hail from "all nations and races" in coming to her shores. This prophetic exaltation of America

soon captured the public's imagination in New York, when in 1909, it was performed 136 times to popular acclaim, despite critical disdain.

This mythic image of America has had its share of demythologizers. The melting pot is perhaps defined more sharply by its detractors than by its proponents. Indeed, social reality in the United States has arguably belied the myth. The melting pot, for one thing, excluded African Americans. Proverbially, it was "the pot calling the kettle black," in that Jim Crow segregation was the polar opposite of Quixano's vision of integration. Among the most detailed and well-documented cultural histories of the initial reception of *The Melting-Pot* and its subsequent impact is that of Philip Gleason, who concluded that among intellectuals, the real challenger to the symbol of the melting pot is the concept of cultural pluralism.

Cultural Pluralism

Over time, the trope of the melting pot became tarnished, for it threatened to gradually destroy diversity, not preserve it. Ironically, a year before the image of the melting pot was popularized by Zangwill, the term *cultural pluralism* was coined and later, in 1915, was used to criticize Zangwill's gilded metaphor. Horace Kallen (1882–1974), a Jewish pragmatist philosopher, invented the term in 1907 at Oxford University, after refusing to attend a Thanksgiving dinner with Rhodes Scholars from the South because they had excluded Alain Locke (1885–1954), who earlier that year had won national acclaim as the first African American Rhodes Scholar.

In his most famous essay, "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot" (1915), Kallen had already subjected Zangwill's conceit to a searing critique. Yet it was not until 1924 that the term *cultural pluralism*—antipode of the melting pot—first appeared in print. Kallen defined cultural pluralism as the view that democracy is an essential prerequisite to culture and asserted that culture can be and sometimes is a fine flowering of democracy, as illustrated by U.S. history. The counter-metaphor that Kallen proposed is that of the *philharmonic,* in which American civilization may be seen to embody the cooperative harmonies of European civilization—a multiplicity, but unified in a sort of orchestration of humanity in which every type of instrument contributes to the symphony that is civilization.

Among other critics of the melting pot, Randolph Bourne, John Dewey, and Isaac B. Berkson, author of the 1920 book *Theories of Americanization,* figured prominently, as well as Alain Locke himself. Like Kallen, Locke called into question the assimilationist paradigm of the melting pot. In one lecture, Locke reportedly characterized America not as a melting pot, but as a crucible for enrichment. In a speech titled "The Negro Renaissance," held in Chicago at the Women's City Club and reported in the *Chicago Defender,* Locke advocated the continuing development of African American culture, rejecting both Zangwill's "melting pot" and Kallen's "symphony of civilization" in favor of a Bahá'í-inspired vision of "unity through diversity," where cross-fertilization is made possible only when cultural identity is preserved and intergroup reciprocity encouraged. Yet Locke conceded that ultimately the races would, in the distant future, disappear. Beyond Kallen's own formulation of cultural pluralism, Christopher Buck showed how Locke enfolds cultural pluralism into a multidimensional theory of democracy.

To be fair, the melting pot concept continued (and continues) to have its proponents, such as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., who listed the melting pot as among America's ten great contributions to civilization. Rather than one or the other, perhaps both or neither of the concepts will embody the hope and enthusiasm they once did.

Beyond the Melting Pot

The idea of the melting pot held sway among many U.S. sociologists until the 1950s and 1960s. The publication of *Beyond the Melting Pot* in 1963 was a watershed event that overturned the metaphor by sheer force of sociological analysis. While the rhetoric of the melting pot was still in play as a patriotic ideal, social reality in the United States was a thing apart. Chronicling the ethnic and religious cleavages of New York City at midcentury, Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan's sociology remains a classic work, although subsequent waves of immigration have altered New York's racial, ethnic, and religious landscape so considerably that the dream of cultural pluralism was as unlikely as any hope of a melting pot.

Assimilation operated on immigrant groups in different ways to change them but still make them identifiable. This finding suggests that the reality of U.S. society is in equipoise between the ideals of the melting pot and cultural pluralism and that the future course of U.S. civilization may be difficult to chart

with precision. An overarching American ideology may be one thing, but a sociological theory—especially one with explanatory power and predictive potential—remains elusive.

The melting pot, and its rival, cultural pluralism, are by no means the only theories of Americanization—or of minority socialization in the North American context generally. Added to Zangwill's assimilationist paradigm and to Kallen's and Locke's pluralist models are the sovereigntist examples of Quèbec and *Nunavut* ("our land," in the Inuktitut language). Generally, an overarching policy of multiculturalism, officially adopted in 1971, both informs and structures Canada (with English and French as its two official languages).

Canada offers its official brand of multiculturalism expressed in the trope of the *cultural mosaic*—which may be thought of as a kind of "tossed salad" of ethnic, racial, and religious minorities. Somewhat anachronistically, perhaps, Canadians contrast their social model of the mosaic with the American ideal of the melting pot. While this alternative Canadian paradigm has its appeal, its critics can still show the dominance of the founding British and French cultures and argue that successive Québécois referenda have come dangerously close to sundering Canada as a nation.

The huge Aboriginal Canadian land claim settlement that led to the redrawing of the map of Canada in the formation of the territory of Nunavut in 1999 illustrates Kallen's model in the extreme. Furthermore, too great an emphasis on multiculturalism (which is the modern progeny of Kallen's and Locke's cultural pluralisms) can lead to hyphenated identities and ultimately to "ethnic ghettoization." To make matters worse, that not-so-well-hidden prejudice known as "polite racism" continues to vitiate Canada's multicultural ideals such that its model—just like Canada's nationalized health care system—affords neither an easier nor a readier solution for North Americans south of the forty-eighth parallel.

One of the most thought-provoking recent reflections is Werner Sollors's chapter on "Melting Pots" in his book, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture;* he argues that ethnicity is nothing more than a key metaphor, a typological rhetoric that serves as social symbolism for defining a group (rather than a nation). This is somewhat akin to Alain Locke's theory of race as a social construct, arguing that "race" is far more socially than biologically determined and that race consciousness, like individual personality, is always in flux in an ongoing process of "transvaluation."

Among contemporary advocates, Michael Barone, senior writer at *U.S. News & World Report,* expresses renewed support for the old social paradigm in *The New Americans: How the Melting Pot Can Work Again.* (Space does not permit a survey of other contemporary examples.) Social metaphors, such as the melting pot, are condensed paradigms: constellations of competing American values collapsed into symbolic slogans. All of these—from Walt Whitman's "orbicular" vision of American democracy, to Zangwill's "melting-pot," to Kallen's "symphony of civilization," to Locke's "unity through diversity" (and "the New Negro"), to the Canadian "mosaic," and to everything in between—shows how identity politics is not only highly topical, but intrinsically tropic. In the fusioning crucible of Zangwill's melting pot, a more unifying vision of America may someday emerge.

Christopher George Buck

See also African Americans; Assimilation; Canada, First Nations; Civil Religion; Cosmopolitanism; Cultural Relativism; Culture of Poverty; *Desi;* Identity Politics; Internalized Racism; Jewish Americans; Jim Crow; Marginalization; Minority/Majority; Multicultural Social Movements; Nativism; Pluralism; Race; Race, Social Construction of

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MENNONITES

Mennonites, members of a Protestant group that originated in the 16th-century Anabaptist movement in Europe, migrated to North America in several waves that began in 1683 and continued into the mid-20th century. Differences in ethnicity, history, and convictions have produced some thirty different Mennonite groups in the United States. Some Mennonites have a Swiss-German lineage, while others come from Dutch-Russian stock. Sizable numbers of Asian, Latino, and African American members also add color to the ethnic mosaic. Mennonites in Los Angeles and Philadelphia, for example, worship in nearly a dozen languages. The different immigrant groups exude distinctive cultural, historical, and theological flavors. All of these factors create a complicated but fascinating story of ethnicity.

History

The Mennonite story began in 1525, in Zurich, Switzerland, when a group of young radicals secretly baptized each other. In 16th-century Europe, baptizing an adult was a defiant act of civil disobedience—a capital crime that could lead to execution. The young reformers were soon nicknamed "Anabaptists," meaning "rebaptizers," because they had already been baptized as infants in the Catholic Church. They refused to baptize their babies, raised questions about the mass, scorned the use of images, and criticized the morality of church officials. The Anabaptist refusal to baptize infants, swear oaths of allegiance, or follow the dictates of established tradition incensed political and religious authorities.

Leaders of the new movement were promptly arrested, imprisoned, and banned from several cities and regions. Within 4 months of the first rebaptism, the first Anabaptist was killed for sedition, and the "heretics" began to flee for their lives. Meetings were often held secretly and in secluded places to avoid detection. Thousands of Anabaptists were imprisoned, tortured, branded, burned, and drowned. Nevertheless, Anabaptism mushroomed in many areas of Europe. Stories of the harsh persecution can be found in the *Martyrs Mirror,* a book of some 1,100 pages, which chronicles the bloody carnage.

Anabaptism surfaced in the Netherlands about 1530. Menno Simons, a Dutch Catholic priest, had growing sympathies for Anabaptist convictions. He joined the movement in 1536 and soon became a leader and writer with a sizable following. As early as 1545, some followers of Menno were called "Mennists," and, by 1550, they were the dominant group of Anabaptists in North Germany and Holland. Anabaptists in other areas soon carried the Mennonite name as they migrated to Prussia, Russia, and, eventually, North America.

Swiss and South German Mennonites settled in Pennsylvania throughout the 18th century and soon became known as outstanding farmers. They gradually moved westward and southward with the frontier, settling in Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and other states, as well as in Ontario, Canada. Mennonites with Dutch-Russian roots came in later waves of immigration in the 1870s and settled in the Great Plains, the far West, and Canada.

Old Order, Transitional, and Assimilated Mennonites

In terms of assimilation into U.S. society, there are three broad types of Mennonites: Old Order (10%), transitional (20%), and assimilated (70%). On the traditional end, the Old Order groups preserve and perpetuate many older Mennonite customs. At the other end of the spectrum are assimilated Mennonites, who have absorbed mainstream values in the United States related to dress, technology, and lifestyle. In the