

**Abstracts from the Fourteenth Annual
Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies
“Ethnic Identity: Visions and Revisions”
Fresno, California
February 26-March 1, 1986**

The following abstracts and respondent comments reflect the variety of responses to the Conference theme “Visions and Revisions” and suggest the multiple ways in which participants approached both the pedagogical and theoretical aspects of ethnic studies.

SESSION I — SOCIETAL DEFINITIONS

Chair: Helen MacLam, *Choice*

Samuel Henry, San Jose State University. **“Characteristics of Employment Equity in Academia.”**

The desegregation of the workforce in higher education has not been accomplished because the working concepts have been unclear. Attempts to inform practice from faulty models or create theory without analysis being grounded in situational behavior have left gaps in academic and public understanding of this social technology. To remedy errors in conceptualization and practice, we must make use of techniques which have closer linkage between theory and practice. This presentation uses emergent theory to build the characteristics of a model of employment equity in academia.

Paul R. Magocsi, University of Toronto. **“Are the Armenians Really Russian? — Or how the U.S. Census Bureau Classifies America’s Ethnic Groups.”**

This presentation analyzes the manner in which the Census Bureau classified the disparate open-ended answers to ancestry given by Americans of European origin. The open-ended question technique is appropriate and should be used again in 1990. However, the classification of the responses must be seriously reconsidered and revised, since many distinct ethnic groups were subordinated to other ancestry group classifications and therefore statistically ceased to exist. This detailed analysis, with its several appendices showing the 1980 classifications and proposed revisions for 1990, suggests that the number of ancestry group classifications for Europe should be increased from 50 to 85, although as many as 19 will probably be statistically insignificant and be subsumed under “Other,” reducing the basic revised list to approximately 66.

**Larry H. Shinagawa and Gary Kawaguchi, University of California, Berkeley.
"An Empirical Test of the Model Minority Thesis."**

Current literature of Asian Americans stresses the idea that Asian Americans are "model minorities"—a minority group that is racially defined yet able to surmount the barriers of skin color and racial prejudice by dint of hard work, quietness, and perseverance. Under the theoretical model of human capital, Asians have been depicted as either surpassing or possessing the same human capital characteristics of whites, thereby resulting in higher or parity wages vis-a-vis whites.

Respondent: Stewart Rodnon, Rider College

This session on societal definitions was impressive because of the variety and scope of the three papers. The first dealt with desegregation or "employment equity" in academia; the second focused on lack of clarity in defining ethnic groups; the third was an empirical analysis of the "model minority" view of Asian ethnics. A synthesis might suggest that the usual twin evils of money and racism are occurring here; if one adds bureaucratic insensitivity or ignorance to these two factors, probably there lie the operative commonalities.

Beginning with the concept that colleges are complex, Henry sees higher educational institutions as interested in "defending the elitism" of those who can afford it and who have had tradition of access to higher education; often excluded are those not familiar with the "practices and patterns of academia." He further asserts that the system places "women and minorities into ghettoized jobs or departments whose scholarship is always suspect." Henry's paper suggests seven adaptability problem areas, analyzes their contents, and suggested sensible routes toward implementing responses. His suggestion that we must "consciously engineer" the means for diverse groups to work cooperatively and efficiently together merits attention.

Magocsi's paper is learned not only in its delineation of the myriad of ethnic components but also in its precise analysis and classification of these complex groupings. His overriding logical arguments for compartmentalizing various geographical segments seemed eminently sensible. In addition, I liked his arguments on the moral, as well as scholarly, grounds for Jews to be recognized as a distinct ethnic group. A question which I found tantalizing was that of biases or ignorance in the original bureaucratic laying out of the various ethnic groupings.

The third paper, by Kawaguchi and Shinagawa, examined five propositions about Asian Americans, that "model minority." The economic system here likes to present "good news" about minority economic success, in effect saying "look you other minorities what hard work has done and can do; now you do it, too, instead of being lazy and shiftless." The fallacy, i.e., truly an unequal status role for people of color and for new immigrant groups, is perpetuated in several myths, five of which this paper focused on. In each case, the authors, using an empirical test model, demonstrate that these society-satisfying generalizations do not hold. This was a sensible and pragmatic analysis, which deserves publication.

SESSION II — HEALTH DELIVERY SYSTEMS

Chair: Carlos Ortega, California State University, Northridge

**Gordon Cappelletty, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno.
"Hmong Psychological Distress."**

Hmong are a minority group found in the countries of China, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. Beginning in 1980, the central valley of California began to experience a rapid influx of southeast Asian refugees, many of whom are Hmong. Hmong have experienced a great deal of difficulty adjusting to modern industrialized society. This presentation presents findings from a pilot study conducted at the Merced County, California, Community Counseling Center. The purpose of this pilot was to discern the manner by which Hmong express psychological distress and mental illness. The findings, based on twenty-nine Hmong seen at the Counseling Center, suggest that there are three main ways in which psychological distress is expressed by this group of people: 1) Hostility; 2) Depression; and 3) Anxiety/Tension.

Albert Inclan, University of Florida, Gainesville. "Communicating Across Cultures – The Importance of Connotative Meaning and Intent."

Language is the most powerful tool a therapist possesses when dealing with a client. And communication is the most powerful medium. But what happens when the cultural background of the client influences behavior in ways which a therapist from a different culture is not able to perceive? Likewise, when we translate an assessment tool into a foreign language the *intent* of the original version must be known, for how else can the proper word be chosen in the target language which would serve as an equivalent stimulus in another tongue? This presentation will address these questions and others which, taken cumulatively, will stress the importance of the subjective meaning of language, both in its written and oral forms.

Joseph Sacks, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno. "Cross Cultural Differences in Dream Content of Adolescents."

A dream questionnaire and measures of three personality variables were administered to 48 Chicano, 31 black, and 30 Anglo adolescents. Compared with the other groups, blacks reported more dreams of good fortune and friendly interaction; fewer dreams of aggression and misfortune; they scored lower on both external locus of control dimensions. Chicanos reported more dreams of aggression and scored higher on external-social locus of control. Anglos reported more dreams of good fortune than Chicanos, and fewer dreams of friendly interaction. For the combined groups, significant relationships were found between the personality variables of locus of control, perceived stress and death anxiety with dreamed aggressions, achievement outcomes and misfortune.

Ella Lacey, Southern Illinois University, School of Medicine. "Enhancing Interpersonal Skills for Ethnic Diversity in Medical Practice."

Minority groups are overrepresented as patients in the medical care system; they are underrepresented as physicians in the same system. Statistical projections consistently predict increasing proportions of our future higher education student population will be minority group members. Such a scenario illustrates that medical education needs to prepare its students for understanding and appreciating perspectives of health and medical care that differ from one's own perspective. A model for such preparation was developed and tested at Southern Illinois University School of Medicine. Implementation of the model should be considered for similar settings and model modifications for other settings.

Respondent: Mary Ludwig, California State University, Fresno.

SESSION III – REFLECTIONS IN LITERATURE

Chair: Judy Antell, University of California, Berkeley

James E. Walton, Mount Union College. "The Student as Reader of *Invisible Man*: The Use of Culture and Artistic Freedom."

The position taken by Addison Gayle and other critics on Ralph Ellison's enduring *Invisible Man* is untenable. The position is that the novel is flawed because it does not advocate a specific solution to political and social problems. *Invisible Man* should be viewed as emblematic of the diversity and heterogeneity of the black cultural experience in America. Looking for the coherent statement and nurturing nascent feelings of racial pride and solidarity, many students sense an element of betrayal in *Invisible Man* for its unflattering portrayal of the nameless hero's various encounters with Trueblood, Bledsoe, the Brotherhood, and Ras the Destroyer. The challenge for the instructor is to get students to deal openly and honestly with Ralph Ellison.

Lee Hadley and Ann Irwin, Iowa State University. "A Problem in Double Vision."

Why doesn't Hadley Irwin mind her own business? Why doesn't she write a book about a Welsh Quaker who grows up in the little town of What Cheer, Iowa? If she were bright, she would. Unfortunately she is embarked on a journey outside herself, outside

her background, outside her vision. To be a Hapa (half Japanese, half Caucasian) searching for the family of her Japanese father only to discover the devastating account of the American concentration camps of World War II—something her history classes overlooked—is the problem of Kim, the central character in the work-in-progress, *Kim Kimi*. Several fine non-fiction young adult books have been written by Japanese Americans who experienced that trauma, but no one has attempted to explore in fiction the psychological effect of the camps on third and fourth generation Japanese Americans. The proposed presentation will discuss the problems Hadley Irwin is dealing with in the novel, the difficulties of shaping the research into fictional form, and the coming to terms with the author's own experience and sense of history.

Richard F. Fleck, University of Wyoming. “Kiowa Identity in *The Way to Rainy Mountain*.”

My final experiment with teaching N. Scott Momaday's *Way to Rainy Mountain* was to set up a traditional tipi at the site of ancient Plains Indian tipi rings north of Laramie. The class read the book inside a tipi with strength and with insightful inspiration. Their interpretations of passages, their questions after the reading were by far the most enthusiastic of any of my classes over a fifteen-year period of teaching *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. Oral interpretation on a spiritually significant site can greatly enhance the teaching of this significant literary work.

Gretchen M. Bataille, Iowa State University. “‘Pioneer’ Indian Women: Visions and Revisions.”

This presentation examines alternative views of the concept of the “frontier” and the images of “pioneers,” using as source material the autobiographies of American Indian women. Many of these life stories, some narrated and some written, reflect on the experiences of Indian women whose lives were contemporaneous with white and black pioneer women. The narratives of these women's lives provide a picture of the frontier from the other side of the mythical boundaries of “American” history.

Respondent: Chuck Grose, Mankato State University

The four papers examine identity issues of racial minority individuals and groups through the use of autobiographies, nonadvocacy artistic expressions, and a “novel” approach to developing fiction. The groups addressed are American Indian (Bataille and Fleck), black American (Walton), and Japanese American (Hadley/Irwin). Pertinent “outside-of-class” environs, oral rendition, student panels, and a hypothetical interview are among the action components designed to increase cognitive and effective involvement by the learner.

Overall, the main strengths of the papers seem to be in the choice of sources and appropriate learning methodologies. It could be fruitful to compare and contrast the identity struggles articulated in the papers with the struggles of persons from other minority groups. If the “common goal of all arts is to speak directly to our inner being,” then what new insights did those presenting papers contribute to the search for that goal?

Into the fabric of the four presentations are woven several themes. 1. Minorities need to speak for themselves. Then valid interpretations serve as a complement. 2. We are aware again in literature of how minorities engage in culture switching, moving back and forth between their own communities and the dominant community. 3. Sensitivity to one's inner “voices”/directions and encounters are the challenge to everyone. 4. Priority needs to be given to autobiography, both nonfictional and fictional. 5. Explicitly and implicitly, the presenters reminded us of how minority literature challenges us to raise questions.

SESSION IV — EVOLUTION OF THE FAMILY

Chair: Susan Middleton-Keim, California State University, Stanislaus

Patricia Bauknight, University of Arkansas at Little Rock. "The Impact of Parenting on the Black Teenage Mother."

The birth of a baby to a teenage parent is oftentimes a catastrophic event with significance for the present and future of both child and mother. To discuss teenage pregnancy and being a parent without discussing the influence of the surrounding environment is impossible. The birth of a baby to a black teenager has a double negative impact. This presentation explores the impact of being a teenage parent on the black child; factors associated with them are examined as they relate to the black adolescent female.

Linda M.C. Abbott, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno. "Ethnic Dimensions in Marital Satisfaction."

Forty married couples were drawn evenly from Fresno's Asian, black, Hispanic, and white populations to participate in taped interviews and questionnaire completion. Twelve hypotheses concerning the relationship of a number of variables to marital satisfaction were tested. A number of provocative findings emerged, although not always in the predicted direction. Subscales indicated some intriguing ethnic differences, although the sample size is too small to warrant generalizations. A major finding was increasing dissatisfaction with marriage reported as the number of children increased. Other findings, such as increased satisfaction when husbands worked more hours at home than away, warrant further investigation. Overall, the study indicates a need for increased attention to these issues.

D. De Beau Davis, Southeast Clinic, Los Angeles. "Children from Families of Addiction."

Children whose mothers were addicted to narcotics during pregnancy were found to score lower on neuropsychological and intellectual tests and to score in the more disturbed direction on behavioral measures than control group children. The children whose mothers were addicted to methadone displayed greater deficits and problem behavior than children whose mothers were addicted to heroin. Related clinical and ethical issues are discussed.

Respondent: Pamela Hawkins, California State University, Fresno

So far we have peered through several windows in order to examine some of the factors which are relevant to the evolution of the family. Sociologists have always looked with great interest on the institution of the family, mainly because we tend to see the family as the most basic of all institutions, and perhaps also because there are such tremendous variations in family practices from one culture to another. These variations never cease to fascinate, and ethnocentrism plays a part in this fascination. Many people are convinced that their own way is the right and best way, and they are amazed to find other people behaving differently. This ethnocentrism is unfortunate. These issues can be placed in better perspective if we examine cross-culturally some similarities and differences in family structure.

If we look at the American family over the last hundred years or so, we can see a number of changes. The family is smaller than it used to be—there are fewer children and fewer adults. Birth rates have been dropping in the United States over a long period of time, with the result that the 1970s had the lowest rates on record. The American family is also small in that it is a nuclear rather than an extended family. The extended family of a century ago had aunts, uncles, parents, grandparents, and children all assembled under the same roof. Compare that with the nuclear family of today and think of the differences in roles, division of labor, diffusion of responsibilities, child care, expression of affection and emotion, and individual freedom. The change from the extended to the nuclear family brought tremendous changes in the roles of individual family members. The family of today is segregated: Each segment of that large extended family of one hundred years ago now lives by itself as a separate family unit.

Today's family is probably more egalitarian and less patriarchal. People share authority more than they used to, and women are making many of the important

decisions. The woman has developed equality in other ways relating to family structure. She is more likely to be working outside of the home while married. The possibility of career has given her alternatives to early marriage or even marriage at all. If she does marry, she has a greater say in which mate to choose and in the type of role she will play as wife. Likewise, equality has brought major changes in the role of males: unusual words like "househusband" and "paternity leave" are creeping into the vocabulary.

Among ethnically diverse groups, the family patterns reveal some similarities as well as tremendous variations from America mainstream families. Anthropologists have found that the structure of the family is almost infinitely variable around the world. Imagine almost anything, and there is probably a society someplace that practices it. Of course, the people there would be shocked if they knew the strange things we were doing! The point to be made is that there is a divergent pull of cultural heritage and American norms which poses additional stress and conflict on people within minority groups. They must struggle to maintain roots, while establishing an individual identity. In doing this, they confront the "isms" that are prevalent in our culture (i.e., racism, sexism, classism, ageism, etc.). The importance of this struggle cannot be underestimated. Cherrie Moraga writes in *This Bridge Called My Back*, "I think: What is my responsibility to my roots—both white and brown, Spanish speaking and English? I am a woman with a foot in both worlds; and I refuse to split" (Moraga, 1981:34).

An examination of family patterns in different cultures provided insight into the relativity of diverse roles and dispels the notion that the behavior aspect of families' members in American culture are innate. The use of the term "stability" implies a situation where husband and wife are both present. Some, however, might wish to extend the term to cover the one-parent family where the remaining parent keeps the children with him or her, and seeks to provide for and to socialize them. This situation is precisely the adaptation to reality that many families have evolved and that adaptation can indeed be labeled a stable or constant situation. The two-parent family is often referred to as the dominant family form throughout western society, not because it is considered to be better than any other form but because at the level of values it is what the majority of adults prefer.

The explanation for at least some of what is happening to the family is not difficult to find. Society changes and its institutions change as well. Fewer bonds tie family members together today, and the consequences are seen in divorce and in young people leaving home earlier. Both parents are more likely to be working, meaning that children may be supervised less closely than they used to be or that outside agencies, day-care centers for example, play an increasingly important role in family life. Less desire for having children, along with increased freedom and independence for women, have led to increasingly diverse arrangements for satisfying affectional and emotional needs. It is likely that we will see more changes and redefinitions in the family as other aspects in society continue to change.

Part of coming to grasp with the evolution of the family requires that the issue of family be demystified. Notions of family are often fixed firmly on "what was" or "what should be." We often forget that family issues fall in the cultural domain. Culture does not exist in a vacuum, nor is it fixed or unchanging. On the contrary, culture is in constant flux. More important, culture is an integral part of a larger social process.

Considering these points, the mandate for social inquiry is to not simply take family patterns/problems at face value but relate these patterns/problems to the larger social matrix in which they are embedded. Put another way, we must examine the internal divisions of our society by exploring various dimensions of the family while also scrutinizing the forms of social organization that foster integration and/or conflict.

The tendency of modern social thought has been to treat family as a given and to explore it without due consideration to its historical and structural foundations. Thus, to demystify the evolution of the family, the exploration of how social forces influence the form and content of family is required.

In conclusion, we need an examination of the specific relationships between families of all varieties and a broad array of historical, economic, political, and social factors if we are to come to terms with the evolving family.

SESSION V — COMMUNITY CONCERNS

Chair: Itibari M. Zulu, California Institute of Pan African Studies

Farah Gilanshah, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse. “Ethnic Identity and Community Formation: The Case of Iranians in The Twin Cities.”

The Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups in America lists the Iranian Americans as among the least studied ethnic groups in the annals of American ethnicity. At the same time, it is especially deserving of research as one of the more recent ethnic groups from the developing world and a group whose fate has been shaken by two major crises of the 1970s: the oil crisis and the hostage crisis, when members of the American embassy were seized by students at the same time the late Shah was given temporary asylum for medical treatment in the United States.

Jonathan A. Majak, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse. “Thomas Sowell On Civil Rights Vision: More Rhetoric Than Reality?”

This presentation reviews and analyzes Thomas Sowell’s critique of civil rights vision as presented in his book, *Civil Rights: Rhetoric or Reality?* It also examines his role in the increasingly acrimonious debate generated by the dissenting views of scholars like him, Walter Williams, Richard Rodriguez and most recently, Glenn Loury. Finally, it assesses the prospects of civil rights in the 1980s and beyond.

Carol Wilson, Adult Literacy Project, Fresno County Free Library. “Bias in English as a Second Language or English for Speakers of Other Languages Materials.”

One of the issues in presenting or designing instructional materials is bias—either racial or sexual. Much material designed to teach English to non-English speakers contains both types of bias. Some have argued that since most societies exhibit one degree or another of sexual bias, in particular, that it is unimportant to make an issue of it in language learning. This author argues that the historical existence of bias is no reason to perpetuate it. Some have said that the goal for many groups, especially refugees, is to quickly acquire enough language to survive in a difficult or different culture, so, that to be concerned with sexism/racism is distracting from the main goal of emergency language lessons. However, it seems to the author that this argument overshadows and inhibits the ability to break down such barriers in society as a whole.

Respondent: Gretchen Bataille, Iowa State University

The notion of language is common to the topics of the three presenters. Language gives shape to reality; it defines what the world is at a given moment. When Jonathan Majak quotes Thomas Sowell that we are in “post civil rights” era, what does that mean? Are we *beyond* civil rights? Are civil rights no longer a concern—and is it because we must assume all persons have achieved them or because we must now move on to another era, a new political agenda? Sowell, and others, will create a new reality. We can be lulled into believing that those who “have made it” speak for all those who cannot or do not speak for themselves. Anyone who viewed the television special on the crisis of black families knows that the term “post civil rights” is meaningless in any tangible sense.

Although language was not the focus of Farah Gilanshah’s paper, the results clearly indicate the importance of language in the methodology of her research. Her use of questionnaires and interviews was dependent on a shared language as well as a shared sense of cultural identity. Language, particularly for the Iranian Americans interviewed in the Twin Cities area of Minnesota, is a strong element for community cohesion. Religious ceremonies, family rituals, and community organizations are bound by a common language and the communal history is articulated through that language.

Carol Wilson also shows how language shapes reality. After an extensive analysis of textbooks, Wilson focuses on those books used to teach English to Southeast Asian refugees. She found numerous examples of English instruction which presented a reality that few native-born Americans would recognize. Although most American teachers have moved beyond the “Dick-Jane-Sally-Spot” primers, authors of books to instruct new immigrants appear not to have moved out of this time warp. The focus on white middle-class experiences and expectations must serve only to further alienate

immigrants attempting to understand a new culture and the language which describes it.

All three of these authors, in spite of varying topics, remind us that language is the medium by which we transmit culture. They ask us to consider what language we are using in politics, in education, and in mass media.

SESSION VI — THE VALUES DIMENSION

Chair: Cortland Auser, Bronx Community College

Rudy Busto, University of California, Berkeley. "American Ethnic Religion: Problems and Prospects."

The place of religion in American Indian traditions has been dominated by anthropology and biases within the study of religion. The nature of this situation is explored, reviewing anthropological literature and religious studies scholarship. The significance of religion's place in Chicano culture has been underestimated or submerged by Chicano studies scholarship. This presentation examines the work of recent theological work by Chicanos, focused on the symbol of the Virgin of Guadalupe. General issues of scholarship, documentation and the need for work within other ethnic communities are brought into the discussion.

Silvester John Brito, University of Wyoming. "American Cultural Motifs in Chicano Literature."

The purpose of this presentation is to bring about an awareness of the significant use of American Indian cultural motifs in Chicano Literature. Chicano authors' use of native motifs is a form of covert Chicano identity with their American Indian heritage.

William Oandasán, American Indian Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles. "Traditional Cultural Values in Contemporary American Indian Poetry."

This presentation shows how contemporary American Indian poets utilize traditional tribal values in their poetry. The scope of the presentation includes oral tradition in *Seasonal Woman* by Luci Tapahonso (Navajo), traditional identity in *Going for the Rain* by Simon J. Ortiz (Acoma Pueblo) and traditional song esthetics in *Round Valley Songs* by William Oandasán (Yuki). One should understand how tribal traditions are maintained and altered to meet changes brought by the modern world.

Respondent: Juanita Palmerhall, New Mexico State University at Alamogordo

SESSION VII — THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Chair: Francisco Ivarra, Gavilan Community College

Edward Chang, University of California, Berkeley. "Koreans in China."

The discussions of "minority" problems in the United States are generally presented as if it was the only country which has had to deal with this issue. As a result, comparative analysis of race relations in America is a much neglected area. In recent years we began to realize and understand that the "minority" problem is not just U.S. problem but a universal problem which many countries are experiencing—South Africa, England, Japan, and China are examples. Each country has dealt with its "minority" problem in its own way. In order to understand complex issues of race relations, it seems appropriate and necessary to conduct comparative analysis. In this presentation I compare and contrast minority policies of the United States and China by conducting case studies of the Korean minority in each country.

B. Singh Bolaria and G.S. Basran, University of Saskatchewan. "Racial Labour Policy and Exploitation: The Case of Sikh Immigrant Workers."

This presentation deals with the labor force participation and work-experience of

Sikh immigrants who arrived in Canada during the first part of this century. Primary data sources are intensive interviews with thirty-five "pioneer" immigrants in various parts of British Columbia.

Interview data show that Sikh workers faced racial discrimination and exploitation both at and away from the work place. At the work place racial labor policy was manifested in segregated living accommodations, differential wages, work assignments, type of work and promotion policies. Away from the work place they faced racial discrimination in public places, housing, and services.

Laverne Lewycky, Carleton University. "Equality Now."

This presentation deals with *Equality Now!*, a report issued by the Special Parliamentary Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society in 1984. The Canadian concept of multiculturalism has become part of Australia's state policy.

Frank P. Le Veness, St. John's University. "The Puerto Ricans: Immigrants in Their Own Homeland."

This presentation examines, from a political perspective, the plight of the Puerto Rican people, who have endured 450 years of colonialism under both Spanish and American rule, and who, though American citizens, are still treated as immigrants by many of their fellow-citizens as they move about this nation in search of employment or residence.

Respondent: Reed M. Coughlan, Empire State College, SUNY

The five papers encompass a range of perspectives and a variety of topics of international concern. They share in common excellence in scholarship, and depth in research; each author has grappled with a serious issue and has opened the door to intellectual exchange and debate in such a fashion as to push forward the frontiers of knowledge. My comments are designed to suggest some of the directions that emerge directly from these stimulating and evocative papers.

1. Chang's paper is broad and ambitious in scope. His analysis of minority policies in the United States, Japan, and China, however, presumes an analytical clarity regarding the nature and role of the state that is lacking in the text. The reader/audience might reasonably ask: Who formulates policy, and on the behalf of which social groups? How is policy enacted? What are the major political differences between the three countries? If, as Chang seems to imply, his intent is to evaluate the effects of government policy, he will need to make some methodological decisions: How will he measure the objective position of minority groups within the respective societies? Will he accommodate the subject measure of self/group perception? Will he anticipate a discontinuity between government claims and actual minority group statuses?

2. Bolaria and Basran's paper raises some issues at both the methodological and theoretical level. The first two thirds of the paper provides an analytical summary of Marxist views on the structural necessities that lead to the importation of foreign labor in western capitalist development. The last third discusses the subjective experiences, as reported by 35 interview respondents, of Sikh immigrants in Canada.

There is a certain incongruity between these two parts of the paper. The first part draws on dialectical materialism which assumes that political and economic forces, in a sense, operate behind the backs of social actors. The second part of the paper is based on a methodology that accords recognition to the subjects own understanding of political, social economic and cultural circumstances.

3. Laverne Lewycky: What might account for the shifts evident in the three phases of Canadian ethno-history? Can this periodization be linked to stages in the development of the Canadian economy?

What are the connections between government policy and pronouncements on matters of ethnic group relations and actual social values and attitudes prevalent in Canada?

What is the relationship between theoretical frameworks expounded by academics (such as Porter's Vertical Mosaic) to explain and analyze ethnic relations in Canada and government initiatives and policy?

How have academic accounts filtered through Canadian culture to shape what might be called the ethnic sensibility?

Lawycky's account of the history of ideas, academic and popular, about ethnic groups in Canada is suggestive in many ways. It raises questions about ideology, power, and culture that go to the core of both social structure and individual consciousness.

4. Dr. Samarasinghe: What are connections between the economic location or role of an ethnic group in the labor market, and ethnic solidarity or mobilization?

Many scholars have assumed that there is a positive correlation between economic and political inequalities and ethnic solidarity and conflict.

Smarasinghe has developed a careful analysis that demonstrates the salience of material and historical conditions in giving shape to strong group identity. As he says, "cultural identity, political institutions, and economic structure reinforce each other to produce ethnic solidarity."

The question we face is: What will become of ethnic solidarity when the structural foundations, the economic and labor market forces, which undergird a sense of corporate identity, change substantially? Will the elimination of inequality, income differentials, and unequal access in the labor market, lead to a decline in ethnic group solidarity? Will these changes eventually lead to a decline in ethnic conflict? Does economic incorporation necessarily lead to social and political incorporation? Is ethnicity only or primarily a vehicle for the expression of political and economic interests? Or does ethnicity serve other functions that will survive the elimination of inequities in the labor market and in politics?

5. Frank LeVeness has presented a political history of Puerto Rico which highlights the dilemmas and contradictions of the island. But implicit in the title and in the analysis is a model of internal colonialism that raises the question: Who benefits from the political and economic arrangements that characterize Puerto Rico?

The reader/audience is left wanting to know more about the notion of cultural imperialism and about the structures of dependency that seem to be implied in references to the political, legal, and economic arenas.

Then, too, once we have sorted out the issues surrounding political membership and rights, we need to move directly to a central question that the author does not address: What impact does political enfranchisement have upon ethnic identity and ethnic solidarity?

SESSION VIII — DEAF AMERICANS: AN ETHNIC MINORITY?

Chair: Joan Randall, University of California, Davis

Larry Fleischer, California State University, Northridge. "**The Emergence of Deaf Studies.**"

Carol Padden, California State University, San Diego. "**Bilingualism in the Deaf Community.**"

John S. Schuchman, Gallaudet College. "**Differences among Disabled Communities.**"

Although individuals with a profound hearing loss have long identified themselves as a separate group within American society, scholars have not reached any consensus about the appropriateness of the deaf community as a minority. Most research related to deafness focuses on the handicapping condition, the disability of hearing loss, and seeks or advocates some type of remediation or rehabilitation. Historically, the deaf community has resisted efforts at assimilation with both the larger hearing community and other disabled groups. It is suggested that an ethnological perspective will foster a better understanding of what has been described as a forgotten minority.

A majority of deaf adults in the United States use some form of sign language, and, since the mid-1960s, the deaf community increasingly has identified itself with other minority groups. One consequence has been greater interest in humanistic studies of deaf people, collectively and as individuals. Despite a limited number of scholarly works in history, sociology, and anthropology, some universities already have

initiated "deaf studies" programs. The purpose of this presentation, then, is to share characteristics which we interpret to have ethnographic significance and to invite the audience to critique or make suggestions for further research about the deaf community as an appropriate subject for ethnic studies research.

The panel will present and discuss three examples of the deaf community as a minority: (1) a preliminary study of the differences of the deaf community from other disabled groups, (2) a study of bilingualism and deaf ethnicity, and (3) a description of the emergence of deaf studies programs. The comment will present a general discussion of ethnicity and make a case for the inclusion of the deaf community.

1. The deaf community—how is it different from other disabled groups. Sociologist Paul Higgins has described deaf persons from the perspective of deviance as "Outsiders in a Hearing World." Deaf have their own social clubs, insurance societies, theatrical, sports, and cultural organizations, retirement homes, and language. These are all characteristics which are common with other ethnic and minority groups. More importantly, since the 1960s, more and more deaf persons describe themselves as a minority. Yet most of the prevalent scholarship in the field of deafness refers to medical, rehabilitative, or pedagogical models which clearly include deaf persons with other disabled groups. This paper presents a preliminary analysis of the history and culture of deaf people which distinguishes it from other disability groups.
2. A study of bilingualism and deaf ethnicity. The presenter will share stories of how deaf children in deaf families discover that they are deaf and hence, different from the deaf community and the implications of this research for deaf ethnicity.
3. A description of the emergence of deaf studies programs. Since the 1960s, there has been an increasing effort by both deaf people and scholars, led by linguists and anthropologists, to achieve a perceived equity with other minority groups in the form of deaf studies. This paper describes current programs and issues for further research.

Respondent: John Van Cleve, Gallaudet College

SESSION IX — ETHNIC PUBLICATIONS

Chair: June Murray-Gill, University of California, Santa Cruz

Phillips G. Davies, Iowa State University. "Welsh Ethnic Newspapers and Other Publications in the United States."

Little seems to have been written on this topic. One book (1967) has eleven pages, mostly about the more short-lived and less important newspapers and magazines; another (1985) has only three pages on this subject. This presentation deals with the two newspapers, one possibly the oldest continuously published ethnic newspaper in the country, and on the other, which began publication in 1975. They are set in the context of the broad spectrum of Welsh-American journalism and book publishing.

Rudolph L. Espinoza, San Francisco. "Quinto Sol: Its Emergence, Role, and Contributions to the Chicano Reaction Period (1967-1972)."

There is as yet an inadequate literature and scholarship surrounding the recovery of Chicano social history and a study that attempts to document the growth of Chicano publications, writers, and presses is much desired, however handicapped it may be by lack of existing materials. This presentation discusses the contributions of *Quinto Sol*, a Mexican-American student organization as a Civil Rights group at U.C. Berkeley (1966-1967) in the development of a self-supporting Chicano Press and its journal *El Grito* (Vol. 1, No. 1) Fall 1967.

Donald Guimary, San Jose State University. "Are Newspapers in California Meeting the Goals of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Hiring More Ethnic Minorities?"

The American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1978 set out to have newspapers increase the number of ethnic minorities in their newsrooms so that the percentages would be proportional to the population on a regional basis by the year 2000. In 1978,

the percentage of non-white employees in newsrooms was four percent. In 1985, it was 5.8 percent.

Are small and medium sized dailies in California hiring a higher than national average of ethnic minorities in their newsrooms? With 25 percent non-white population of the state's 25 million, do smaller dailies employ a percentage of non-white professionals similar to the national average? This study surveys small and medium sized dailies examining their patterns of non-white employment and compares the data with the results of an ASNE study.

Respondent: Helen Jaskoski, California State University, Fullerton

The three papers consider publications as defined by readership: by language/ethos in the case of the Welsh archives and *Quinto Sol*; by geographical area in the case of the California dailies. Each paper raises questions for further investigation.

(1) *Guimary*. This paper raises important questions regarding the significance of ethnically plural representation on newspaper staffs. In the paper the terms *minority* and non-white are used more or less interchangeably, and leave open the question of Latino representation. Further studies might look at the correlation between pluralism on newspaper staffs and wideness of coverage. My question here is, "Can a study making such correlation be designed?" Finally, I believe it fruitful to follow up an issue raised early on in the paper: How can members of ethnic groups who are not now well represented on newspaper staffs be encouraged to become journalists? In addition, while the paper has focused on hiring of minorities, another question to be explored is *ownership* of dailies by minority owners.

(2) *Davies*. The Welsh periodicals have a particular interest for me as a literary scholar when I read about these song festivals and contests: I would like to know more. The paper also reminds us of the rich resources in non-English publications in the U.S. Now that two Polish Americans—or two American Poles—have won the Nobel prize (Czeslaw Miloso, who lives in Berkeley and writes in Polish, and Isaac Bashevis Singer, who lives in New York and writes in Yiddish) we may see wider support for scholarly interest in non-English American literature. Recognition of the richness of these archives also brings to our attention the problem of access and raises the important question: how are we to encourage development of the bilingual skills and professional choices that will foster wider appreciation and use of these materials? For instance, there are many many Asian language publications in California, dating to the last century. However, few individuals have undertaken preparation for scholarly investigation of this material.

(3) *Espinoza*. Is/was *El Grito* in English, in Spanish or in both? The paper brings out the importance of humor/satire in raising consciousness: a relatively neglected area of investigation. We can look forward to the analysis of the relationship between the learned journal, *El Grito*, and the social/political student-originated movement, *Quinto Sol*. This prospect in turn raises the very important issue of class struggle in relation to ethnic groups: e.g., what relationship(s)—if any—can be traced between the farm-worker movement, the student movement of *Quinto Sol*, and the learned journal *El Grito*? Comparative studies suggest themselves: can the Polish Solidarity model of an alliance of intellectuals and workers be compared with the Chicano movement of *Quinto Sol*?

Conclusion. Each paper focuses on issues of importance to readers of and writers published in special-focus periodicals in a pluralist society. Each paper suggests many new avenues for research—and activism.

SESSION X — TEACHER EDUCATION

Chair: Alice Deck, University of Illinois

James H. Bracy, California State University, Northridge. "Ethnic Identity in the Classroom Setting: A Cross-Cultural Understanding of African-American Behavioral Patterns."

In the social scientific community, a number of preliminary findings concerning black Americans in the classroom are causing college/university teachers to re-

evaluate their teaching strategies. This presentation addresses specific factors in the classroom setting which affect the performance and cognitive identity of the black student. Such factors as Africanisms, cognitive styles, immediacy and pragmatism over abstraction, teacher and student roles, styles and procedures of classroom behavior, modes of debate behavior, and teaching strategy suggestions are examined in terms of black-white interaction patterns in the university classroom setting. Developing and maintaining a strong ethnic identity in the university setting requires a crucial re-examination of classroom racial interaction patterns to ensure cross-cultural understanding.

Joan W. Graham, Devry Institute of Technology. "The Effects of Reading Ethnic Literature on the Attitudes of Adolescents."

In an investigation of the influence of ethnic literature on white adolescents' attitudes toward Vietnamese, much change was manifested. A case study approach was used with five sophomore subjects from a public high school. Fiction and nonfiction were read by these subjects. Before and after reading the texts, levels of prejudice were ascertained by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and an essay. During the reading, subjects' responses to the literature were taped, and the subsequent analysis of these tapes revealed positive changes in attitudes toward ethnic issues.

Margaret Laughlin, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay. "Promoting Equality Through Curriculum Development Efforts."

As a result of the various national and state educational reform reports within the past two years, which now number approximately 300, many states are currently in the midst of major curriculum reform efforts in several content areas, e.g., social studies, language arts, science. These various curriculum reform efforts at the state and local district levels present educators with marvelous opportunities to include equity (multicultural/nonsexist) content, issues, and learning activities in their curriculum revision efforts. Often these new curriculum development activities provide educators with additional opportunities for ongoing professional staff development which may include attention to equity concerns and issues. The efforts of one professional organization and the efforts of one state are cited for illustrative purposes. These examples can be applied to other curriculum content areas and to other state and district efforts.

Respondent: Cary Wintz, Texas Southern University

Graham's study is based on the impact that ethnic-related literature had on the attitudes (as expressed in oral and written responses) of five white adolescents. Graham suggests that exposure to ethnic literature causes adolescents to reexamine and perhaps even revise their perception of ethnic minorities.

I agree with Graham that literature can be an effective tool for teaching students the richness of the ethnic experience, and especially for adding a human dimension to that experience, and while I *suspect* that literature is useful as a means of effecting attitudinal change, I am not certain that five students represents a sufficient sample size from which to draw this conclusion with any confidence. To further validate this experiment I would like to see other types of students tested (in addition to those who had exhibited overt, and rather extreme manifestations of prejudice). At this point Graham's findings must be labeled tentative; it would be worthwhile to expand the study with a larger, randomly selected sample (and perhaps a control group).

Bracy's paper focuses on three issues. First he suggests that college and university instructors are re-evaluating their teaching strategies because of new findings regarding black culture, cognitive style, and social behavior. He then examines the nature and source of these cultural and behavioral differences, linking them to the cultural heritage of black Americans—especially their African roots and the ghetto experience. He then explains how these cultural and behavioral differences manifest themselves in classroom behavior, and suggests teaching techniques appropriate to this behavior.

I think that the time has come for scholars to look more closely at the accuracy of "Africanisms" as an explanation for contemporary black behavior. Anthropologists are not in agreement about the degree to which seventeenth and eighteenth century

African cultural patterns are reflected in the behavior of late twentieth century black Americans. The studies that have argued this position have presented interesting theories, supported, however, by little hard data. It is time that cross cultural studies be done, perhaps comparing the classroom behavior and response to varying teaching strategies of West African and black American students. Likewise, I am not certain that “divergent thinking” as opposed to deductive or inductive reasoning is an ethnically or racially fixed pattern of conceptualization; educational background is more likely to influence one’s patterns of conceptualization.

I agree with Bracy’s statement that “a number of preliminary findings concerning black Americans in the classroom are causing college/university teachers to re-evaluate their teaching strategies,” but not in the way that he suggests. The overriding concerns in the late 1980s are: (1) the failure of minorities (especially blacks) to perform well on standardized tests—at a time when these tests are becoming more widespread, and (2) the mounting evidence (again, especially among minority students) of the lack of basic skills among high school and college graduates. Perhaps “white universities” can play the game of accommodating the “cultural differences” of black students (and explain away the failure of minorities to perform well on standardized tests), but (historically) *black colleges can not!* They (black colleges) are measured by the criteria of “mainstream American culture,” and, if they are going to survive, they must measure up. I also suggest that in taking this approach, the black colleges are in tune with the “pragmatism” of “street culture”; they are addressing the “stark realities of life,” the criteria of the real world, criteria by which black college graduates will be evaluated, and criteria that black students must master if they are going to succeed in the “real world.”

Bracy does discuss a number of teaching strategies that he feels will better address the needs of black students. These techniques may assist us in reaching students who might be otherwise lost to the college or university. But we must always remember that in the end our students will be expected to perform to standards that will not be adjusted for their cultural or ethnic background.

Laughlin provides us with a brief overview of educational reform in post World War II America. She identifies two trends: the effort to upgrade the quality of education, usually promoted by the federal government in response to a challenge to national security (such as Sputnik in the late 1950s); and the effort to make schools the agent for promoting equity (as mandated by the 1954 *Brown* decision and the federal programs of the 1960s). Laughlin notes that public education faces a new “crisis” today, and that the concerns outlined in *A Nation at Risk* bear a striking resemblance to those of the 1950s. However, she also notes that the lack of clear and consistent national educational policy objectives has undermined the effectiveness on individual federal education programs and reform efforts.

Implicit in Laughlin’s analysis is the question, “What is the function of public education?” Is the purpose of our schools to “educate” (i.e., impart a body of knowledge), to “socialize” (i.e., impart an existing set of values or beliefs), or to “revolutionize” (i.e. impart a new set of values or beliefs)? More important, who defines the purpose of education; who defines the knowledge, or the set of values and beliefs that are to be imparted to our students? Until these questions are answered, we are unlikely to achieve the consistent national educational policy that Laughlin calls for.

Laughlin devotes the bulk of her paper to a call for “equity education,” and the description of curriculum reform efforts to achieve this goal in Wisconsin. While this seems to be an excellent way to promote equity in our public schools, it does not address the broader questions of educational policy.

SESSION XI — MEDIA

Chair: Barbara Hiura, University of California, Berkeley

Judy Yung, University of California, Berkeley. “**Breaking Stereotypes: Chinese American Women’s Quest for Identity and Equality.**”

“Breaking Stereotypes” is a half-hour slide presentation that traces the development of stereotyped images of Chinese American women from their first arrival in 1834 to

the present. Images of Chinese American women as exotic curios, heathens, and prostitutes in the nineteenth century and as China Dolls, Dragon Ladies, and "office wives" in the twentieth century were shaped by political and economic events in China as well as in the United States. Manifestations of racism and sexism, these images worked to reinforce Chinese American women's subordinate position in America's socioeconomic strata and prevent their equal participation in American society. "Breaking Stereotypes" highlights the efforts of Chinese American women to break these stereotypes in order to achieve a positive ethnic identity and a greater degree of socioeconomic equality.

Ibrahim Abou-Ghorra, California State University, Fresno. "Becoming American." (Iris Film & Video)

The opening scene of *Becoming American* shows a refugee family looking out of the airplane window in anticipation of the new land that will be their home. *What does it mean to "become American?"* This film traces one refugee family's experiences from their home in Laos to a refugee camp in Thailand, and from there to Seattle, Washington, where they have finally resettled. Their story is but one of thousands, of millions of people world-wide who are awaiting the chance to begin again. The experience of this Hmong family has basic human elements in common with those of any refugee family. They are uprooted from all that is familiar and forced to wait (often for years) until beginning a new life in a culture far different from their own.

Shelly Lieberman, Copeland Griggs Productions. "Going International: Living in the U.S.A."

Relocation has a profound impact on both international visitors and Americans. Their cultural exchange has the possibility of furthering international understanding and achievement; however, without proper orientation of both parties, the American workplace, school and community may become a milieu where cultural ignorance causes alienation, confusion and disorientation. These two films were made to ease the acculturation process of the foreign national to the United States by demystifying American culture and exploring American lifestyles, values and customs. For the American viewer, the films' contrasting of cultures leads him/her to a better understanding of American culture and a greater ability to identify fundamental cultural differences.

Respondent: Linda M.C. Abbott, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno

Each of the presentations highlights a particular facet of the phenomenon that is immigration. That experience is a highly personal and compelling one, as these media messages make clear. I would like to reflect on this personal or psychological aspect for a moment by focussing on the similarities of experienced stages for both the immigrant and the host culture. At the psychological level, both experience an initial expectation phase, followed by reality testing, and finally, some level of adjustment. The quality of that final adjustment stage—its success or failure—is, I believe, largely controlled by the reality testing that goes on for both parties. For the immigrant and for the host two components are critical: the nature of existing barriers to information processing, and the nature of available informants. The first is impacted, as we have seen, by fears, restrictions, and physical limitations of an impressive variety. The second aspect, available informants or experts, serves as a resource for overcoming these barriers. It is here that professionals, educators, and human service workers play a significant role in assisting the immigrant and the host to move beyond inaccuracies and stereotypes. These media productions serve to provide useful role models and challenge us to improve our own functioning as humane, articulate, knowledgeable, and effective informants.

SESSION XII — IDENTITY

Chair: Stewart Rodnon, Rider College

Phylis C. Martinelli, Arizona State University. "Identificational Ethnicity: The Quantitative and Emotional Responses of Italian Americans in the Sunbelt."

Identificational ethnicity or ethnic identification is seen by some researchers as an increasingly important component of the "new" less ascriptive ethnicity that has begun to emerge for white ethnics. To study identificational ethnicity geographically, mobile and upwardly mobile Italian American migrants to Scottsdale, a Sunbelt community, were interviewed. The respondents showed a moderate degree of identificational ethnicity that was consistent within most of the subgroups in the sample. When identificational ethnicity was correlated with several other measures of ethnicity in the study a strong, positive relationship was found with most scales. This indicates that for this sample identificational ethnicity was not an individualistic response to ethnicity as has been suggested by some researchers. Instead it seems to be part of contemporary ethnicity for middle-class white ethnics.

Michael Thornton, Cornell University. "Black Japanese Americans: A Microcosm of Intergroup Identity and Cooperation."

With white conservatism growing in America, racial minorities are forming new alliances with other non-white groups. However, because communication between these groups has long lay dormant, alliance-building is hindered by mutual misconceptions. The pitfalls involved in this effort are seen in microcosm in an examination of the identity formation of Black and Japanese mixtures. The thirty-five informants reveal their social psychological efforts to cope with multiple identities. While some choose other options, and some try but fail to do so, others are able to span within themselves the gap between the two groups of which they are a part.

Homer D.C. Garcia, Pitzer College. "Exploratory Factor Structures and Correlates of Chicano Stereotypic Perceptions."

Many social scientists agree that stereotypes, those "unscientific and hence unreliable generalizations that people make about other people..." (Bogardus, 1950, p. 50), have highly negative effects on the psychological, ethnic identity, socioeconomic, and political characteristics of minority group individuals. Despite the recognized importance of stereotypes, little is known about the nature of stereotypes and how they operate to hurt minorities. A conceptualization and operationalization of stereotypic perceptions is carried out in the presentation which differs from that of contemporary research.

Arthur J. Hughes, St. Francis College. "Geraldine Ferraro and the Election of 1984."

Geraldine Ferraro has become one of Italian American womanhood's principal symbols. Her startling skyrocket to fame at the Democratic National Convention of 1984 focused attention on all women but especially on those with whom she was most identified. Her relationship with males in positions of dominance: father, cousin, husband, Speaker of the House O'Neil, Walter Mondale, and Cardinal O'Connor is fascinating and instructive. She has frequently stated that her gender was the foundation of her political career and this continues to be the case as she moves through the upper echelons of America's celebrity-leadership class. The study explores this phenomenon, its causation and its possible effects on the future course of American politics.

Respondent: Delo Washington, California State University, Stanislaus

Books on "identity" were the popular domain of Erik Erickson from 1950 through the 1970s. Addressing notions related to critical stages of development, his references to "identity crisis" have been used in a variety of ways in the literature. The titles of the papers presented in this section fit fairly neatly under this designated category. Furthermore, it is useful to think about their themes as representing special ideas that are considered "critical" and, if they are received well, that can be used as appropriate guidelines for interpreting change. All papers grounded their data within a theoretical orientation which values the way people interact with themselves and with others to create images.

Thornton questioned the value of using traditional approaches to explain how people are classified according to their *ethnic* identity. Thornton described ways that individual and group identity are tied together. He challenged the either/or argument made by looking at an approach that is dichotomous and by making suggestions regarding its relevance and power. Thornton wondered whether scholars are prepared to act in new ways which, in his opinion, would serve their social interest best. A child whose parents are black American and Japanese should identify with both cultures. To be designated black according to the U.S. Census categories is to be denied one half of one's identity and the social scientists should be willing to consider the limitations of such classifications.

Martinelli focused on a subgroup that is receiving increased attention among scholars—white ethnics. Information about minority group characteristics has been taken for granted, according to the presenter, and limited references have been made to their distinctive traits. A random sampling of Italian Americans in a suburban sunbelt setting in Arizona was taken and vignettes of their experiences reported. Martinelli relied on a blend of quantitative and qualitative techniques in order to identify representative information. The scale of items used was significant since special areas of inquiry were isolated, but the numerical value given each item was questionable. Such assignments suggest that a predetermined judgment has been made. Any outcomes linked to those assignments are influenced by the values of the researcher. In reporting that “ethnic identification is one of the social bonds that can be used to establish contact and build relationships,” the author shared a familiar observation. In “an environment or social milieu so characterized by rootlessness,” Martinelli concludes that a sociologist who finds common social bonds in one ethnic group should be able to relate those bonds to other people and places. Ethnic roots run deep and social roots are wide.

Garcia's presentation is an acknowledged exploratory approach. He challenged conventional wisdom by demonstrating the need to use two views of “stereotypes” when investigating how Chicanos identify themselves. Using references to “stereotypes” as the critical units of analyses, Garcia argued that informants should be asked to give negative as well as positive perceptions of images. Under these conditions, more correct interpretations can be made. When the biases of the informants can also be taken into account, the investigator has more leverage for engaging in research that can include other populations.

“Geraldine Ferraro and the Election of 1984” was an engaging presentation where Hughes used a case example to account for a special identity. He addressed the merits of a uniqueness that was bound by characteristics associated with being a woman in a male-dominated workplace, a woman who is of Italian ancestry and of New York heritage, a woman who grew up in a one-parent family, and a woman who represents a congressional district mistakenly thought by some to be peopled by Archie Bunker types.

When Hughes described Ferraro as being “current,” not “super,” he was also cautioning us against the use of descriptive terms—“beautiful” is one of them—that inadequately describes the subject under scrutiny. When new, more complicated issues are involved, social scientists must take on the role of artists who systematically paint their pictures with color and compassion for detail. As if he kept this in mind, the author refers to the influences of background—the setting of East Harlem in 1905 and the common sites where bonding activities were shared. The block, the parish, the school and the family were shaped by events like musicals, dancing and ethnic festivals. These things built character and commitment where people and their neighborhoods were concerned.

Ferraro was achievement-oriented. Her college and law school experiences were undertaken when they were not considered the most popular ones an upwardly mobile woman, with her heritage, would choose. Having married, raised children, and having run for vice-president of the United States, she is considered to be a “thinking” woman who can handle housekeeping at home and in Congress. *The New York Times* identified her as an Italian American superstar in one of its features not long ago. How should she be given credit for what she is? Should one focus on her as an ethnic? as a woman? as an American? Hughes has portrayed her as being all of these—a winning and an admirable combination.