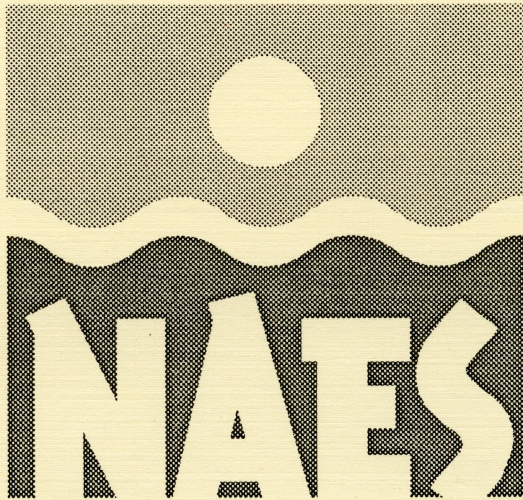


EXPLORATIONS
IN
ETHNIC STUDIES



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The National Association for Ethnic Studies

The National Association for Ethnic Studies (NAES) was founded in 1971. NAES has as its basic purpose the promotion of activities and scholarship in the field of ethnic studies. The Association is open to any person or institution. The Association serves as a forum to its members for promoting: research, study, curriculum, design as well as producing publications of interest to the field. NAES also sponsors an annual conference on ethnic studies. *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* is an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic peoples. The journal is refereed and provides a forum for socially responsible research. Contributors to the journal demonstrate the integration of theory and practice.

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Editor's Note

This issue of the journal contains a variety of articles which are related yet diverse in their focus on topics concerning ethnic studies. In the first article, David Hood and Ruey-Lin Lin extend previous research on sentencing disparities in the state of Washington for Hispanics, Native Americans and Whites. Even after the creation of the Sentencing Reform Act, a decade later, sentencing disparities exist. In her research on the Los Angeles riots of 1992, Theresa Martinez analyzes the role of rap music as being a reflection and/or cause of inner city despair, hopelessness and anger.

Suzanne Ortega and John Shafer investigate ethnic group differences regarding familism, filial responsibility and attitudes toward the elderly. Their findings suggest the existence of important cultural differences among various ethnic groups, although not consistent with common depictions of traditional ethnic "familism." In a related study, Karen Leonard examines the relationship between intermarriage and ethnicity in Punjabi Mexican American, Mexican Japanese and Filipino American biethnic communities. She concludes that second generation biethnic members evidenced considerable difficulty regarding ethnic identity and cultural pluralism, especially when impacted by the continued influx of "new" immigrants.

I am pleased to give special recognition to the article by Deborah Faltis. Faltis is the inaugural recipient of a first place award in the newly established NAES Student Paper Competition. Her paper on language policy and language repression compares the experiences of Spanish Basques and Mexican Americans. Her study highlights the stifling impact the "English Only" Movement and other similar organizations have had on bilingual education and multicultural education efforts. The Association hopes other undergraduate and graduate students will participate in future annual Student Paper Competitions.

We have included in this issue abstracts from our most recent national conference. This will be the last time we will include a collection of conference abstracts. Hereafter, the conference abstracts will be printed and made available at the conference where they are actually being presented. The new procedure makes the abstracts more readily available and, hopefully, more useful to conference participants in a timely manner. Finally, this issue includes a cumulative index for Volumes 10-16 (1987-1993) of *Exploration in Ethnic Studies*. It has been some time since such an index of the journal was compiled. It is our intention to continue to publish an annual or biannual cumulative index in the future.

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Sentencing Disparities in Yakima County: The Washington Sentencing Reform Act Revisited

David L. Hood

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This study expands upon an earlier exploration of sentencing disparity in the Yakima County, Washington judicial system. The Sentencing Reform Act was adopted in 1981, becoming effective in 1984, to end inequitable sentences imposed on individuals who are convicted of similar offenses. This work adds to the original study by including an investigation of "exceptional" sentences and "offense type" crime. Independent variables are defendants' ethnicity (Hispanic, Native American, and White), age, and gender. The period of investigation includes fiscal years 1986 through 1991. Data was provided to the researchers by the Washington Sentencing Guidelines Commission and was processed using a difference of means test (ANOVA program). The findings suggest that sentencing disparity, while not being widespread, does persist nearly a decade after the Sentencing Reform Act was adopted. Hispanic defendants who had no prior criminal history were apt to receive disproportionately more severe sentences for similar crimes than Native Americans or whites.

INTRODUCTION

An important issue confronting the criminal justice system is sentencing disparity. Sentencing disparity involves inequitable sanctions imposed on individuals who have committed similar offenses. These inequalities in sentencing patterns have allegedly centered around group differences and may reflect an ethnic or racial bias.

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Numerous studies¹ have explored this issue, sparking considerable controversy. Many of these early works report findings which support the view that sentencing bias against non-whites exist.² Neubauer³ suggests courts in the South strongly discriminated against African Americans—evident from a 70% execution rate of all prisoners since 1930. For cases of rape, 90% of all prisoners executed were Black. Application of the death penalty and racial discrimination was recently reviewed by the United States Supreme Court in *McCleskey v. Kemp* (1987). A 5-4 majority decided Georgia's capital punishment system was constitutional notwithstanding empirical evidence that indicated killers of White people are much more likely to receive the death penalty than killer of Blacks.⁴ Aside from capital punishment cases, Welch, Spohn, and Gruhl find in their comparative study of six local jurisdictions that Black males experience significant inequality at the conviction and sentencing stage of the judicial process, although the level is less than that which one would expect in society at large.⁵

Kempf and Austin⁶ argue that sentencing disparity is neither restricted to the South, nor limited to capital punishment cases. In their analysis of Pennsylvania data for 1977, sentencing disparity was observed in urban, suburban, and rural areas after controlling for prior record, and using tests of statistical significance and measures of association. Results indicated a greater disparity in suburban areas with a small minority population, but within easy commuting distance from a large African American population.⁷

Other researchers have focused on non-Black minority groups. LaFree,⁸ in a study of Hispanics and court processing in El Paso, observes that ethnicity has an indirect effect through bail status. Moreover, being Hispanic is the single best predictor of guilty verdicts in El Paso. Bynum,⁹ in a study of Wisconsin Native American defendants, discovers they are more likely to be sent to prison for offenses for which Whites receive non-prison sanctions. Additionally, when Whites are sent to prison for similar offenses, they are more likely to receive parole than Native Americans.

The racial characteristic of the judge has also been found to impact sentencing disparity. Welch, Combs, and Gruhl¹⁰ in a study of judges and sentencing reveals that while no significant differences were found between White and Black judges when sentencing Black defendants, African American judges were more likely to sentence White defendants to prison than were White judges.¹¹

Sentencing disparity has been observed in Washington. According to a study conducted by the Institute for Public Policy and Management, University of Washington (1986), during the 1980-82 period Blacks were nine times more likely to be imprisoned than

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Whites, Hispanics one and one-half times more likely, and Native Americans three times more likely. The study further indicates that minorities are: more likely to be “charged with serious and violent offenses,” “more likely to be detained prior to trial,” “less likely to plead guilty,” and “more likely to be sentenced to prison.”¹²

In an effort to reduce sentencing bias, among other goals, states have been moving away from indeterminate sentencing statutes which provide considerable sentencing discretion to determinate sentencing which supplies guidelines; thus, constraining discretion formerly enjoyed by judges and parole boards. Washington has joined this movement. It adopted the Sentencing Reform Act (SRA) in 1981, and the statute became effective in July, 1984. Two of the stated purposes of the SRA were: (1) Ensure that the punishment for a criminal offense is proportionate to the seriousness of the offense and the offender’s criminal history, and (2) Be commensurate with the punishment imposed on others committing similar offenses.¹³

To achieve neutrality in sentencing patterns, the SRA provides a sentencing grid with ranges of permissible sanctions. The grid is composed of two variables: Seriousness Level and Offender Score. Seriousness Level focuses on the current conviction and ranges from “I” (least serious, e.g., possession of stolen property) to “XIV” (most serious, e.g. aggravated murder). Offender Score is based on criminal history, including the number of current convictions and prior separate convictions which were concurrently served, and ranges from “0” to “9” (first-time offender to repeat offender). Excluding Seriousness Level XIV, which carries a life sentence without parole or the death penalty regardless of Offender Score, the sentencing grid has 130 active cells.

For every felony conviction, the SRA permits two possible sentence lengths dependent upon circumstances. The first is the standard sentence and may include a combination of total confinement (prison), partial confinement (work release), and community service. Under the standard sentence, the combination of these three must equal a total sentence which falls within the prescribed grid range. The second sentencing possibility is the alternative sentence which permits departures from the grid. Alternative sentences involve the First-Time Offender Waiver, Special Sexual Offender Sentencing Alternative, and the Exceptional Sentence. An Exceptional Sentence, which is one that is outside of the grid range, must be justified in writing by the sentencing judge based upon the unique and compelling circumstances included in the case. Of the two possible groups of sanctions, nearly three-quarters (73.6% in fiscal 1987) of all felony cases state-wide fell under the standard sentence. The First-Time Offender Waiver was used in 18.9% of the 1987 cases

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and the Exceptional Sentence was rarely used at all—only 3.6%, with the remaining cases included in the “Special Sex Offender” category.¹⁴ Thus, while alternative sentence options are available, the vast majority of felon offenders are given standard sentences based on the seriousness of the crime and criminal history.

Within the SRA, however, opportunities for sentencing disparity exist. While few cases in number, the Exceptional Sentence option does allow a judge to exercise discretion in sentencing based upon his/her perception of mitigating factors in an individual case. Moreover, SRA permits up to 30 days of the standard sentence of one year or less to be in the form of community service; thus 8 hours of service for each day of confinement. This, in turn, has an impact on the period of actual jail confinement. Given these condition options which can be imposed, this study seeks to expand on an earlier assessment of Yakima County under the SRA in achieving sentencing neutrality.

THE STUDY

Yakima County was selected as the original site of this exploratory study. With a 1980 population of 172,508, it ranks sixth in Washington. Moreover, Yakima possesses two large ethnic populations. It has the second largest Native American concentration in the state—6,656, and with a population of 25,455 it also has the second largest Hispanic settlement. Together these two minority groups constitute slightly under 20% of Yakima’s total population—thus, a sizeable ethnic contribution to the community’s population base for Washington. State-wide these two groups make up only 4.4% of Washington’s population.¹⁵ Aside from the large ethnic concentration, the county is overwhelmingly rural in character and is economically dependent on agriculture.

Raw data used for this study was collected by the Washington Sentencing Guidelines Commission and provided to the authors through the kind assistance of the Commission’s research director—Dr. David L. Fallen. The Commission supplied Yakima County data for fiscal years 1986 through 1991—a total of 6,784 cases over the time period.

In an earlier study, Hood and Harlan¹⁶ found that sentencing disparity, while not widespread in Yakima County, did persist after the SRA. The impact was most observable on Hispanic defendants who received more harsh sentences in comparison with White or Native American defendants, controlling for the effects of seriousness of crime and defendant criminal history. This earlier work, however, neither explored the use of Exceptional Sentences, nor did it divide the sentencing matrix into particular offense type. The noted harsher

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sentences for Hispanic defendants may be a result of the particular offense charged, e.g., drug related crime. The Offense Type is divided into six crime related categories: felony traffic, burglary, drug, sex, escape, and serious traffic (a brief description of each may be found in Appendix A). This study attempts to explore these aspects of sentencing results in Yakima County during the SRA period.

When controlling for the seriousness of crime, past criminal history, and offense type, 18 useable cells were produced. Cells which contained less than five cases were excluded from the analysis. Three independent variables were selected for study. The independent variables included ethnicity (White, Native American, Hispanic), gender (female, male), and age (18-24, 25-30, 31-36, 37 and over). The dependent variable for the study was total confinement. Total confinement involves the sum of prison/jail sentence in months and authorized work release in months. Unfortunately, the Sentencing Guidelines Commission currently combines these two factors of the sentencing range.

Mindful of contemporary research in this area,¹⁷ the authors wanted to control for the possible impact of extralegal variables, e.g., socioeconomic status of the defendant. Limitations in the available data prevented such a line of inquiry. The data provided by the Sentencing Guidelines Commission did include, however, the verdict method used to arrive at conviction. As Table 1 indicates, the vast majority of felony convictions for the 1986-91 period were resolved through plea bargaining, without regard to ethnic group, gender, or age.

To assess observed deviations in sentencing means for each independent variable, a difference of means test¹⁸ (ANOVA program) was used for each of the 18 relevant cells. If sentencing neutrality has been achieved under the SRA, one would expect to observe no significant difference between various groups of felons when controlling for seriousness of crime, past criminal history, and offense type.

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Table 1

**FREQUENCY OF VERDICT METHOD BY ETHNIC GROUP,
GENDER, AND AGE FOR YAKIMA COUNTY, 1986-91^a**

Variable	Bench Trial		Jury Trial		Guilty Plea		Unknown	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Ethnicity								
White	1.4	(55)	2.9	(112)	95.6	(3646)	0.1	(02)
Native Am.	1.8	(06)	1.2	(04)	96.9	(316)	0.0	(00)
Hispanic	4.1	(92)	3.5	(80)	92.1	(2078)	0.3	(07)
Gender								
Female	0.4	(04)	1.4	(13)	97.9	(933)	0.3	(03)
Male	2.6	(153)	3.4	(197)	93.8	(5422)	0.1	(08)
Age								
18-24	2.1	(35)	2.1	(36)	95.7	(1627)	0.1	(02)
25-30	2.6	(61)	2.8	(65)	94.5	(2217)	0.1	(04)
31-36	2.5	(35)	3.4	(48)	94.1	(1341)	0.1	(01)
37 and over	2.1	(28)	4.7	(62)	92.8	(1218)	0.3	(04)

^aPercentages may not sum to 100% due to rounding-off error.

FINDINGS

Of the 18 cells investigated, only six indicated that the difference of means for total confinement was significant for at least one of the three independent variables. These six cells included offense categories for burglary, drugs, and sexual crimes. The results can be found in Table 2. For four of the six relevant cells, major differences in total confinement are observed along ethnic lines covering all three offense types. Gender is significant in one drug cell. In one of the two sexual offense cells age difference is significant.

In each of the ethnic relevant cells, Hispanic defendants received harsher periods of total confinement. For the offense of Burglary, Hispanics received a period of incarceration which was nearly 1.5 times that of their White counterparts. The disparity for drug offenses is greater. Hispanics convicted of drug offenses received periods of incarceration slightly more than twice as long on average than their White counterparts. The greatest variation can be found, however, in the area of sexual offenses. While only one of the two sex-related cells indicated that ethnicity was important, in that cell Hispanic defendants received periods of confinement which were nearly 3.5 times that of whites.

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Table 2

DIFFERENCE OF MEANS TEST INVOLVING TOTAL CONFINEMENT TIME ORDERED FOR ETHNIC, GENDER, AND AGE RELEVANT CELLS^a

Cell ^b	Variable	Mean ^c	N	Standard Deviation	Significance ^d Level
	Burglary:				
II,0	Ethnicity				
	White	.888	197	.720	
	Native American	.888	26	.486	
	Hispanic	1.163	117	.563	.006
	Gender				
	Female	.744	19	.768	
	Male	1.036	329	.852	.137
	Age				
	18-24	.854	120	.611	
	25-30	1.134	134	1.107	
	31-36	1.072	53	.662	
	37 or over	.976	49	.607	.133
	Drugs:				
III,0	Ethnicity				
	White	1.430	58	3.596	
	Hispanic	4.785	23	9.400	.046*
	Gender				
	Female	2.491	15	6.332	
	Male	2.463	74	5.608	.513
	Age				
	18-24	4.567	19	9.775	
	25-30	1.725	31	3.132	
	31-36	2.627	14	6.475	
	37 or over	1.675	26	2.702	.446
VI,0	Ethnicity				
	White	9.879	60	4.430	
	Hispanic	12.033	118	4.806	.018*
	Gender				
	Female	8.507	16	5.402	
	Male	11.531	165	4.660	.113
	Age				
	18-24	12.251	45	4.372	
	25-30	11.036	64	5.080	
	31-36	9.864	40	4.417	
	37 or over	12.080	32	4.947	.228

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Table 2, Continued

Cell ^b	Variable	Mean ^c	N	Standard Deviation	Significance ^d Level	
VIII,0	Ethnicity					
	White	19.372	23	9.817		
	Hispanic	22.682	88	6.282	.828	
	Gender					
	Female	13.128	16	9.662		
	Male	22.990	101	6.144	.000*	
	Age					
	18-24	20.499	41	3.615		
	25-30	23.136	37	7.761		
	31-36	20.737	19	9.363		
37 or over	23.071	18	10.084	.251		
Sexual Crimes:						
V,0	Ethnicity					
	White	2.650	23	3.589		
	Hispanic	6.750	11	2.775	.697	
	Gender ^e					
	Age ^f					
	18-24	6.672	8	3.192		
	31-36	6.773	5	4.075		
	37 or over	1.409	17	2.763	.023*	
	VI,0	Ethnicity				
		White	2.995	38	4.760	
Hispanic		10.390	11	4.954		
Gender ^e						
Age ^f						
18-24		5.257	13	5.965		
31-36		4.704	13	5.874		
37 or over		3.972	21	5.590	.678	

^aRelevant cells included only those in which one of the independent variables was significant. Values for variable with less than five cases per cell were ignored.

^bCells were defined by seriousness of current offense, "I" through "XIV", and by offender score based on criminal history, "0" through "9". The designation "I,0" refers to least serious crime level with no prior criminal history.

^cSentence mean given in months.

^dA probability of .05 was used as the level of significance—designated by "*."

^eDue to a limited number of "female" cases, the variable, "gender" was removed from the analysis.

^fDue to a limited number of specific age value cases, the value was removed from the analysis.

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Unfortunately, results for Native Americans are inconclusive. Because of their fewer numbers, they were excluded in five of the six relevant cells. The only cell which had sufficient cases—burglary—suggests that Native Americans received sentences that were similar to White defendants; sentences which were less oppressive than their Hispanic counterparts.

While ethnic differences in total confinement are observed in four of the six relevant cells, the variation may be due to the intervening effects of the other two independent variables. That is, Hispanics may receive longer total confinement sentences because they tend to be younger, or perhaps are more likely to be male. In one of the cells (VIII,O), gender was a significant indicator of sentencing; age was an important indicator of sentence in another (V,O). To test this possibility, multiple classification analysis was applied to the relevant cells for significant independent variables. Given two or more interrelated factors, this procedure explores the net effect of each variable when the differences in the other factors are controlled. In other words, it investigates the unique contribution ethnic heritage has on total confinement independent of age and gender. Table 3 contains the results of the multiple classification analysis for total confinement.

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Table 3

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF RELEVANT INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR TOTAL CONFINEMENT TIME ORDERED^a

Cell ^b	Grand Mean ^c	Variable	N	Adjusted Independent Effect ^d
		Burglary:		
II,0	1.00	Ethnicity		
		White	195	-.09
		Native American	25	.06
		Hispanic	117	.16
		Drugs:		
III,0	2.61	Ethnicity		
		White	58	-.90
		Hispanic	23	2.26
VI,0	11.31	Ethnicity		
		White	60	-1.20
		Hispanic	118	.61
VIII,0	22.00	Gender		
		Female	13	-8.14
		Male	98	1.08
		Sexual Crimes:		
V,0	3.71	Age		
		18-24	8	2.65
		31-36	5	2.85
		37 and over	17	-2.09
VI,0	4.67	Ethnicity		
		White	34	-1.87
		Hispanic	11	5.79

^aOnly those independent variables from Table 2 which had significance levels of .05 or less were included.

^bCells were defined by seriousness of current offense, "I" through "XIV", and by offender score based on criminal history, "0" through "9".

^cSentence mean given in months.

^dThe adjusted independent effect provides the actual impact of each value controlling for the impact of the other independent variables; thus, it controls for the possible interrelationship of "ethnicity," "gender," and "age."

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The adjusted effects for significant independent variables in Table 3 confirm the results observed in Table 2. In the first cell, all defendants serve an average of 1.00 month (Grand Mean) in total confinement for committing a Burglary Level II crime with no previous criminal history. Whites receive a total confinement sentence, however, which is .09 months (3 days) less than their Native American and Hispanic counterparts. Hispanics serve 6 days more than the average total confinement, or 9 days more than Whites. Among these two groups, Hispanics receive longer total confinement periods than Whites in all ethnic-relevant cells. It must be remembered that this situation occurs for defendants guilty of the same seriousness level crime, similar criminal record, and offense type, while controlling for gender and age effects.

A possible explanation for this phenomenon may rest with use of the Exceptional Sentence option. As indicated in Table 4, use of the Exceptional Sentence in Yakima County differs among ethnic groups. Non-Hispanic groups are more likely to receive Exceptional Sentences. Of White defendants who receive such sentences, there is a 49.2% chance that the sentence will be reduced below the range set by the SRA. When Exceptional Sentences are given to Hispanic defendants in Yakima County, however, the overall pattern suggests an increased sentence beyond the SRA range in nearly two-thirds of the cases.

Table 4

EXCEPTIONAL SENTENCE OPTION USE BY ETHNIC GROUP

	Total	Decreased Sentence	Increased Sentence
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Hispanic	2.2 (50)	36.0 (18)	64.0 (32)
White	3.3 (126)	49.2 (62)	50.8 (64)
Native American	3.1 (10)	40.0 (4)	60.0 (6)

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Furthermore, there is no discernible pattern in sentencing judges' explanation for use of the Exceptional Sentence option. The reason most often cited—in 37.5% of the cases—for applying a more stringent sentence for Hispanic defendants was “drug offense involved an attempted or actual sale or transfer of controlled substances in quantities substantially larger than for personal use.” This may furnish a possible explanation for the more oppressive sentences Hispanics receive in drug-related crimes, but fails to supply answers for similar situations involving burglary and sexual crimes.

CONCLUSIONS

An earlier study of SRA sentencing patterns in Yakima County found that, while disparity was not a widespread problem, it did persist.¹⁹ It concluded that Hispanic defendants were more likely, within the sentencing ranges, to receive punishments which were more severe than Whites or Native Americans, i.e., longer periods of total confinement.

Subsequent explanations for this observation have revolved around the offense type—namely, Hispanics in Yakima County are more involved in particular crimes which, by the nature of the crime, leads to more extensive jail/prison time. Hispanic defendants as a group are more apt to be charged with a drug-related crime.

Table 5

CRIME OFFENSE TYPE BY ETHNIC GROUP

	Burglary % (N)	Drug % (N)	Sex % (N)
White	68.2 (682)	38.2 (205)	74.1 (117)
Native American	5.6 (56)	2.0 (11)	2.5 (4)
Hispanic	26.2 (262)	59.8 (321)	23.4 (37)

As Table 5 indicates, nearly six out of every ten individuals convicted of a drug-related crime in Yakima County are Hispanic. This study indicates, however, that Hispanic defendants tend to receive more severe sentences in each of the offense types listed in Table 5, not just those which are drug-related. It must be remembered that this situation exists when controlling for seriousness level of

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crime and previous criminal history. Moreover, Hispanics as a group are less likely to receive an Exceptional Sentence than are White or Native American defendants. When an Hispanic defendant receives such a sentence option in Yakima County, the defendant's sentence tends to be greater than provided by the SRA standard range.

The stated purpose of the SRA is to reduce the impact "of extra-legal factors such as local politics and attitudes, age, gender, race, pretrial incarceration, employment, education, or variation in judicial leniency. . . ."20 With the expanded data, the findings of this study confirm our earlier conclusion that disparity was not a widespread problem, though Hispanic defendants continue to experience inequalities in Yakima County for certain categories of crime.

The focus of this study has been on the effects of legislation designed to promote sentencing neutrality after court processing, i.e., after the question of guilt has been determined. In light of the findings that the sentencing inequalities were experienced primarily by those Hispanics who had no prior criminal history (Burglary—II,O; Drugs—III,O, VI, O, VII,O; Sexual Crimes—V,O, VI,O), and that over 90% of all the cases were the result of a guilty plea, the continuing problem of sentencing disparity might reflect some subtle form of institutional bias21 as a dysfunction of judicial discretion. At the same time, it might also reflect the defendants' individual differences in their manipulative skills during the prosecutory stage in plea bargaining. Since judicial discretion is an integral part of the judicial process, from policing to prosecution and sentencing, and manipulative skills will always vary from one individual to another, it is a foregone conclusion that a certain degree of sentencing disparity is inevitable, and that there are certain limitations in the promotion of sentencing neutrality through legislation.

NOTES

¹For an interesting review of problems found in the sentencing disparity literature see: Gary Kleck, "Life Support for Ailing Hypotheses: Modes of Summarizing the Evidence for Racial Discrimination in Sentencing," *Law and Human Behavior* 9 (October 1985): 271-285.

²M. E. Wolfgang, A. Kelly, and H. C. Nolde, "Comparisons of the Executed and Commuted Among Admissions to Death Row," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science* 53 (Summer 1962): 301-311; also see, H. A. Bedau, "Death Sentences in New Jersey." *Rutgers Law Review* 19 (1964): 1-55.

³E. Neubauer. *American Courts and the Criminal Justice System* (Monterey: Brooks/Cole, 1984), 370-71.

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⁴*McCleskey v. Kemp*, 107 S.Ct. 1756 (1987); also see *Furman v. Georgia*, 408 U.S. 238 (1972).

⁵Susan Welch, Cassia Spohn, and John Gruhl, "Convicting and Sentencing Differences Among Black, Hispanic, and White Males in Six Localities," *Justice Quarterly* 2 (March 1985): 67-80.

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⁸G. D. LaFree, "Official Reactions to Hispanic Defendants in the Southwest," *Journal of Research Crime and Delinquency* 22 (August 1985): 213-237.

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¹³D. G. Lovell. *Sentencing Reform and the Treatment of Offenders* (Seattle: The Washington Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1985), 13-21.

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¹⁴David L. Fallen. *Sentencing Practices Under the Sentencing Reform Act* (Olympia: Sentencing Guidelines Commission, 1987), 31.

¹⁵Office of Financial Management. *1988 Population Trends for Washington State* (Olympia: Forecasting Division, 1988), Table 11, 52.

¹⁶David L. Hood and Jon R. Harlan, "Ethnic Disparities in Sentencing and the Washington Sentencing Reform Act: The Case of Yakima County," *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* 14 (January 1991): 43-55.

¹⁷Cassia Spohn, John Gruhl, and Susan Welch, "The Effects of Race on Sentencing: A Re-examination of an Unsettled Question," *Law and Society Review* 16 (Winter 1981-82): 178-185; see also, David B. Griswold, "Deviation From Sentencing Guidelines: The Issue of Unwarranted Disparity," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 15 (1987): 317-329.

¹⁸An analyses of variance test was used because of the level of measurement used in the study. The independent variables "Ethnicity" and "Gender" are nominal measurements; "Age" is given as an ordinal measurement. The dependent variable "Total Confinement" is interval. Regression analysis assumes all variables are interval measurements.

¹⁹Hood and Harlan.

²⁰Fallen, 6.

²¹Marjorie S. Zatz, "The Changing Forms of Racial/Ethnic Biases in Sentencing," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 24 (February 1987): 69-92.

Appendix A: OFFENSE TYPE DESCRIPTIONS

Felony Traffic Offense— Vehicular Homicide, vehicular assault, attempting to elude pursuing police vehicle, or felony hit-and-run injury accident.

Burglary— Burglary in the first or second degree, or residential burglary.

Drug Offense— Any violation of the Uniform Controlled Substance Act except simple possession or forged prescription.

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Sex Offense—	Encompasses rape in the first, second, and third degrees; statutory rape in the first, second, and third degrees; indecent liberties; communication with a minor; incest in the first or second degrees; rape of a child in the first, second, or third degree; child molestation in the first, second, or third degree; sexual misconduct in the first degree; and any felony with a finding of sexual motivation.
Escape Offense—	Escape in the first or second degree; willful failure to return from furlough; willful failure to return from work release; or willful failure to comply with any limitations on the inmate’s movements while in community custody.
Serious Traffic Offense—	Driving while intoxicated; actual physical control while intoxicated; reckless driving, or hit-and-run an attended vehicle.

Source: “SRA Data Base Code Book,” Sentencing Guidelines Commission, 1991, 7.

Appendix B: WASHINGTON SENTENCING GRID^a

Seriousness Level	Offender Score ^b									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 ^c
XIV	Life Sentence Without Parole/Death Penalty									
XIII	240-320	250-333	261-347	271-361	281-374	291-388	312-416	338-450	370-493	411-548
XII	123-164	134-178	144-192	154-205	165-219	175-233	195-260	216-288	257-342	298-397
XI	062-082	069-092	077-102	085-113	093-123	100-135	129-171	139-185	159-212	180-240
X	051-068	057-075	062-082	067-089	072-096	077-102	098-130	108-144	129-171	149-198
IX	031-041	036-048	041-054	046-061	051-068	057-075	077-102	087-116	108-144	129-171
VIII	021-027	026-034	031-041	036-048	041-054	046-061	067-089	077-102	087-116	108-144
VII	015-020	021-027	026-034	031-041	036-048	041-054	057-075	067-089	077-102	087-116
VI	012-014	015-020	021-027	026-034	031-041	036-048	046-061	057-075	067-089	077-102
V	006-012	012-014	013-017	015-020	022-029	033-043	041-054	051-068	062-082	072-096
IV	003-009	006-012	012-014	013-017	015-020	022-029	035-043	043-057	053-070	063-084
III	001-003	003-008	004-012	009-012	012-016	017-022	022-029	033-043	043-057	051-068
II	000-003	002-006	003-009	004-012	012-014	014-018	017-022	022-029	033-043	022-029
I	000-002	000-003	002-005	002-006	003-008	004-012	012-014	014-018	017-022	022-029

^aSource: David L. Fallen, *Sentencing Practices Under the Sentencing Reform Act* (Olympia: Sentencing Guidelines Commission, 1987): 85.

^bAll indicated ranges are given in months.

^cColumn indicates an offender score of 9 or more.

Recognizing the Enemy: Rap Music in the Wake of the Los Angeles Riots

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The May 1992 riots in Los Angeles demonstrated more than anything in recent history that the inner cities are filled with despair, hopelessness, and anger. Some feel that rap music is responsible for both gangs and the lawlessness unleashed by the riots. This paper will seek to address this notion by looking at the rap lyrics of artists who have been considered the most radical and the most angry. By examining rap lyrics we can detect anger and frustration in the ghetto. Rap music did not cause rioting in Los Angeles but it effectively heralded measures taken by inner-city residents who are tired of governmental and societal neglect of their community, their homes, and their lives.

The Watts riots of 1965 shocked the nation and the world in their devastation and their intensity. And Watts was only the beginning: major riots broke out in Cleveland, Newark, and Detroit.¹ Today we are reeling from the aftershocks of yet another series of riots in Los Angeles and other major cities across the nation in May of 1992. The riots seem to be unnerving reruns of the early violence in Watts,² motivated by the same disillusionment with oppression and racism.³

Many sought causes for the rioting among the rioters—the poor area residents of South Central Los Angeles,⁴ citing a so-called “poverty of values”⁵ among the rioters. This is a disquieting echo of “riff-raff” theories that emerged after the ’60s rioting. Others have attempted to find different scapegoats, among them, rap music.⁶ In the aftermath of the Watts riots when Whites all across the country were blaming the rioting on the rioters, Black spokesmen responded. They said that “to blame the rioters would be like blaming the powder

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keg that exploded.”⁷ In the same way, this paper is an attempt to respond to those who blame rap music. It argues that blaming rap music is like blaming the messenger who brings the awful truth to light.

This paper is a response to the popular spate of “victim blaming”⁸ now pervading the country, specifically with regard to rap music. The author addresses those who look for the causes of rioting in “savages” and their “jungle music” instead of inner city poverty, institutional discrimination, and governmental neglect. Rap music lyrics are analyzed in an attempt to gain insight into this popular medium and its link to the urban unrest sparked off by the Rodney King incident. This work looks first at the theoretical linkages between the riots of the past and the riots of the present.

THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS OF RIOTING: PAST AND PRESENT

Many theorists have attempted to understand the reasoning behind urban unrest. Marx⁹ argued that the proletariat would necessarily rebel when they recognized that their life conditions were grossly unequal to those of the capitalist class even as society was growing and flourishing. De Tocqueville¹⁰ suggested that rebellion would emerge after people had lived for a long period of time in a degraded condition only to experience a brief weakening of the yoke of oppression. The rebellion, then, would occur due to the lightening of the burden of oppression and the promise engendered.

In the logic of Marx and De Tocqueville, Davies argued that people will rebel “when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal.”¹¹ These theorists converge on the notion of rebellion as it is related to social and economic unrest.

In the wake of the rioting of 1965, some argued, as noted previously, that ghetto “riff-raff” were responsible for the rioting in Watts. However, a body of research roundly refuted their view and pointed to social and economic unrest—an echo of past theorists—and the failed attempt of Civil Rights legislation to dole out more pieces of the American pie to altogether too many members of our society.¹² Gurr, for instance, asserted that it is only when people are deeply dissatisfied and angry that they will resort to violence. He argued that people will not rebel if they are given “constructive means to attain their social and material goals.”¹³ And, Tomlinson argued that “What produces riots is that most Negro Americans share a belief that their lot in life is unacceptable, and a significant minority feel that riots are a legitimate and productive mode of protest.”¹⁴ Tomlinson’s interviews with Blacks in the aftermath of the Watts riots demonstrated

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that these residents of Watts predicted or believed in the possibility of a second riot if conditions did not change.

In May of 1992 a second riot did occur. The nation was once again faced with violence in the streets of Los Angeles and other major cities—a situation which demonstrates clearly that once again there are people in our society suffering acutely. These Americans are no longer only Black Americans, but Chicanos, Samoans, Whites and other members of the disenfranchised in the Los Angeles inner city area.¹⁵ These ghetto residents have been forgotten and neglected in a profound and fundamental sense. Many suffer institutional and overt discrimination and oppression. It was no surprise to residents of South Central that Los Angeles police did not respond early during the riots.¹⁶ The police only felt it necessary to intervene when districts outside the ghetto were threatened, and made no move when the ghetto itself was going up in flames.

Some speculated that Gates, who is despised by the Black community, was deliberately holding his men back. “They want to us to burn ourselves out,” claimed a caller to KJLH, a black radio station that opened its airwaves to listeners after the city erupted.¹⁷

It is this author’s belief that the residents of Los Angeles’ inner city are feeling more than economic depression. They are also experiencing despair. The gangs are only a symptom, as is the drug abuse. As one nineteen-year-old gang member said to Leon Bing, Los Angeles is a “black-hole—the people here just get swallowed up by it.”¹⁸ Rap music and lyrics may provide a way of explaining the reasons for the rioting.

METHODS: RAP MUSIC AND RIOTING

“Popular culture is a viable and, if you will, a living and breathing phenomenon. It mirrors life in its extremity, its mediocrity, its absurdity, its distortion and in its profundity.”¹⁹ Music is an aspect of popular culture which can teach us much about what is happening in our communities and in our world on both a simplistic and a complex level.²⁰ “Moreover, music provides a window to the more private areas of experience, including the covert domains of cultural ethos, motivation, and meaning”.²¹ Music is rich in emotion expressing ideas and thoughts not normally expressed in spoken language.²²

Rap music is no exception. Having been on the American popular culture scene for only a decade²³—some argue that its roots are much

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older²⁴—it has already sparked much excitement, controversy, and speculation. It is music with energy and strength, and it is music with a lyrical message. This message can be flirtatious, blatantly sexual, comical, or absurd. It can also be serious, powerful and profoundly disturbing. “It is adored by millions in the streets and reviled by hundreds in the suites.”²⁵

The following analysis uses lyrics by: Public Enemy, NWA-Niggas With Attitude, Ice T, and Ice Cube. These rappers have been described as the most radical and outspoken “gangsta” rappers, who some have claimed predicted the rioting in Los Angeles.²⁶ This analysis focuses on the lyrics themselves as they reflect the emotions and experiences of the artists. It is, perhaps, this kind of examination which can render a real life picture of living conditions in the inner city, as this music reflects the experiences of those who live in the ghetto and the meanings attached to ghetto experiences. It is important to add that, as a sociologist, the author focuses this analysis on the lyrics, the texts, and not the musical component, that is, the complex of musical elements. These obviously require examination by those who are experts in the field of musicology.

By examining rap lyrics, the author hopes to demonstrate that rap music was not an instigator of the Los Angeles riots but was instead a herald of what was to come. Many themes emerge when rap music lyrics are examined. In the following section, these themes will be discussed and examples of each theme will be provided.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Some of the themes which became apparent during the author's examination of rap lyrics were: distrust of and anger with the police in this country; distrust of a racist system and its genocidal plans for the Black race; disillusionment with the health care system for poor people; a desire to fight back at a system which has turned its back on poor people in the ghetto; and a need, almost a plea, to be heard and understood.

The Police. The attitude and credibility of the police are called into question in the rap lyrics. The songs speak of corrupt policemen who are more racist than interested in upholding the law. The police are people you learn to distrust in “Get the F__ Outta Dodge” by Public Enemy:

Sgt. Hawkes and I'm down wit' the cop scene
I'm a rookie and I'm rollin' wit' a swat team. . . .
Up against the wall don't gimme no lip son
A bank is robbed and you fit the description. . . .

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Keep your music down or you might get shot
This is a warning so watch your tail
Or I'm a have to put your ass in jail
I'm the Police and I'm in charge
You don't like it get the f _ _ _ outta Dodge²⁷

This song clearly implies that the only reason the young man was stopped was because he was Black.

In "F_ _ _ tha Police" by NWA (Niggas With Attitude), the lyrics are cold and cynical about the police as a whole. The lyrics reflect a glaring distrust of this authority and also reflect a belief that police are much more racist than the general public would like to believe.

F_ _ _ tha police, comin' straight from the under-
ground
A young nigga got it bad because I'm brown
And not the other color. Some police think
They have the authority to kill a minority²⁸

Corrupt System Planning Genocide. Many of the song lyrics reflected a belief that the establishment—the system—those in power were less than trustworthy. There are also lyrics which suggest that the establishment is planning the genocide of the Black race. In "1 Million Bottlebags"—note the obvious allusion to "body bags"—by Public Enemy, the lyrics clearly question the reasons for the many liquor stores in black neighborhoods. The authors believe that the "plan" is to rid the nation of the Black people.

But they don't sell the shit in the white neighbor-
hood
Exposin' the plan they get mad at me I understood. .
. .
Say I'm yellin' in fact
Genocide kickin' in yo back
How many times have you seen
A black fight a black
After drinkin' down a bottle²⁹

In "I Wanna Kill Sam" by Ice Cube, the lyrics reflect anger at racist Whites who brutally enslaved Blacks, bringing them to this country and forcing families to separate. The lyrics suggest that this brand of racism is alive and well, pushing the AIDS virus and crack as a double-edged attack on the Black race.

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And now the sneaky mother f_____ wanna ban rap
And put me under dirt or concrete
But God can see through a white sheet. . . .
Try to gimme the H.I.V.
So I can stop makin' babies like me
And you givin' dope to my people chump³⁰

Disillusionment with the Health Care System. The rap lyrics reflect a strong disillusionment with and dislike of the health care/emergency system. They demonstrate a strongly cynical approach to hospitals and a disturbing knowledge that the dispensation of health care in this country is not at all equal. In "911 is a Joke", Public Enemy cynically describe the health care/emergency system as one which does not cater to the needs of poor people.

Now I dialed 911 a long time ago. . . .
The doctors huddle up and call a flea flicker
The reason that I say that 'cause they
Flick you off like fleas
They be laughin' at ya while you're crawlin' on your
knees
And the strength so go the length
Thinkin' you are first when you really are tenth
You better wake up and smell the real flavor
'Cause 911 is a fake life saver³¹

Ice Cube echoes this sentiment in "Alive on Arrival" as he describes the hospital emergency room that caters to the poor.

On the way to MLK
That's the county hospital jack
Where niggas die over a little scratch. . . .
Nobody gettin' help since we poh
The hospital it moves slow. . . .
People steppin' over me just to get to the TV
Just like a piece of dog shit. . . .
They call my name and put me in I.C.U. . . .
No respect and handcuffed to the bed. . . .
Just to get looked at by a overworked physician³²

Action in the Face of Oppression. Many song lyrics reflect the need of the people to do something about the conditions spawned by over two hundred years of oppression and the racism ingrained in American society. Some call for organized action and this can mean

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violence.

In “I Wanna Kill Sam” by Ice Cube, the lyrics call for violent action against the system of injustice. The lyrics suggest that once the Black people recover from the drug taking in the ghetto, they will turn against their oppressor.

And you givin’ dope to my people chump
Just wait till we get over the hump
‘Cause yo ass is grass ‘cause I’m a blast
Can’t bury rap like you buried jazz
‘Cause we stopped being whores stopped doin’ floors
So bitch, you can fight your own wars
So if you see a man in red, white and blue
Gettin’ chased by the lench mob crew
It’s a man who deserves to buckle
I wanna kill SAM ‘cause he ain’t my mother f_____’
uncle³³

In “The Nigga Ya Love to Hate” by Ice Cube, the lyrics are brutally harsh. The song suggests that Blacks need to get angry and become hardcore in the world they inhabit. There is an eye-opening phrase in almost every line of this song, which Ice Cube believes will teach the world something about what it is like to live in the ghetto.

It ain’t wise to chastise and preach
Just open the eyes of each
‘Cause laws are meant to be broken up
What niggas need to do is start loc’ in’ up
And build, mold, fold themselves in the shape
of the nigga ya love to hate!
F- - - you, Ice Cube!
Yeaah! Ha-ha! It’s the nigga ya love to hate!
F- - - you, Ice Cube!
Yeaah! Ha-ha! It’s the nigga ya love to hate!³⁴

A Plea for Recognition. There is a definite plea for recognition—for someone to listen to the songs they are singing in rap music. This plea is like a lost cry of pain. In “Freedom of Speech” by Ice-T, the lyrics are an action in themselves—an impassioned plea for free speech. They suggest that a “rose-colored” picture is being displayed for the public to peruse; while the realities of the ghetto—the tales of the rap artists—are being ignored and growing increasingly worse:

“You have the right to remain silent. . . .”

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F_ _ _ that right
I want the right to talk
I want the right to speak. . . .
You can't hide the fact, Jack
There's violence in the streets every day. . . .
But you try to lie and lie
And say America's some mother f_ _ _ _ ' apple pie.
. . . .
PMRC, this is where the witchhunt starts. . . .
If you don't like what I'm sayin', fine
But don't close it—always keep an open mind
We only got one right left in the world today
Let me have it—or throw the Constitution away³⁵

From the above discussion it would seem glaringly apparent that rap music is a reflection of the lives of people who face the day to day struggle of life in the inner city. These are people who are leery of and angry about racist police; they fail to trust the government and fear a planned genocide; they are weary of an unresponsive health care system; they are living on the edge and with an anger so deep-seated that only a small match would be needed to ignite it. Yet, they are pleading to be heard.

These lyrics are uncannily related. They reflect the experience of general social unrest and economic hardship mentioned by earlier theory, and echo the findings of Tomlinson, who wrote in 1970 that ghetto residents had a major fear and distrust of the police, were disillusioned with the government, believed that discrimination still existed in major societal institutions, believed that rioting was a form of protest against injustice, and deeply desired social and economic change.³⁶

Rap music songs are voices against injustices, hoping that someone will pay them some attention. It is interesting to note that the FBI has sought to still the voice of NWA for the song "F_ _ _ the Police", arguing that this encourages violence against the police, when "millions of black kids all across the country applaud it as a kind of audio documentary of everyday police brutality in their communities."³⁷

CONCLUSIONS

You are now about to witness
The strength of street knowledge³⁸

This analysis was undertaken with the knowledge that many people would argue that rap music causes the kind of rioting that

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took place in Los Angeles. The dominant society would be much safer if it were true, because this would mean that nothing need change—institutional discrimination and structural disparity might go on unchecked with no break in the rhythm. After all, the rioters would be said to have some moral problems and these could be dealt with by dispensing a government bureaucrat who would promptly apply a bandaid solution.

However, this seems to be a questionable answer to a more deeply rooted problem. For the residents of the inner cities this is just the kind of attitude that leads to the rioting in the first place. Blaming rap music would only be tenable if the rioters had no other reason to create one of the largest civil disturbances since the founding of this country. This seems a spurious argument. The rap lyrics above should demonstrate to the reader that this music was not nor could it ever be created in a vacuum. The lyrics are there to see and to hear if the reader has the inclination.

These lyrics are an appalling reflection of what our society has created—slum areas so longstanding that decades have passed with little apparent change. The “bad” morals of the poor inner-city residents of South Central did not create these slums anymore than their “bad” morals created the Los Angeles riots. If “bad” morals are apparent, if young people are looking at the police more as an enemy than as the faithful neighborhood friend, then perhaps we should be looking at where this view originated.

This author would argue that rap music may serve profound functions within the Black community. It has certainly been a means of obtaining upward mobility for some Blacks in the ghetto where few opportunities exist.³⁹

At the same time, rap is a method of venting anger and rage at an unjust system. Certainly the rap music lyrics which were explored in this analysis reveal that rap emerges as a very angry popular cultural medium. And it is important to understand why rap has emerged so angry and so critical. As Michel Foucault argues, subjectivity is maintained in a discourse of domination—both in language and social structure.⁴⁰ And the core of rap music exists as a cultural form because of oppression.

However, this venting of anger at oppression that is so typical of rap can mobilize group action to promote social change. As professor and legal scholar Regina Austin asserts, rap can be “the paradigm for the praxis of a politics of identification”.⁴¹ A politics of identification, according to Austin, accepts the Black community in all its aspects—male and female, rich and poor, respectable and “deviant”—and must advocate on behalf of the Black community along a matrix of race, class and gender oppression. And Austin identifies rap as emblematic of what a politics of identification might accomplish.

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It has skirted the boundary between “the legal and illegal, the formal and informal, the socially acceptable and the socially despised”,⁴² and yet it has grown and thrived. It has flirted with the realities in the ghetto, voicing the silenced voices of the underclass to a strident rhythm. It has fostered a focus on real life issues and real life rhythm.

And unless we as a society also seek to work with the root of the problems that are reflected in rap music, the kind of violence we see today in the inner cities and the kind of violence unleashed on Los Angeles just this year may become part of our experience on a more regular basis. The roots of the problems in our inner cities are not found in the “bad” morals of individuals but in deep structural inequalities. The Los Angeles County Sheriff, Sherman Block, in an interview with Leon Bing stated

My feeling is that where we have failed—the collective ‘we,’ society, government in particular—is that we have not provided enough meaningful options and opportunities for young people in too many of these communities. . . .⁴³

This is a telling and an interesting comment in the wake of the Los Angeles riots. Before the general public begins to blame rap music, it should know that the culture that surrounds them—and yes, the music—is only a reflection of what we the public have become. It is hoped that this is a sobering thought.

NOTES

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Age and Ethnic Variations in Attitudes Towards Older Persons, Family and Filial Obligations ¹

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Two major interpretations have been advanced to explain the frequent finding that ethnic elders have more extensive kin support networks than Anglo elders. Structural interpretations argue that the exigencies of poverty and ill health cause minorities to rely more heavily on family members for help than Anglos, whereas cultural explanations rest upon presumed differences in family values and attitudes. Despite the prominence of these two explanations, direct tests of the cultural model are rare. In this study, we use data from a study of 100 African, Mexican, Vietnamese, European, and Native American adults to test the hypothesis that there are ethnic group differences in familism, filial responsibility norms, and attitudes toward the elderly. The role of age and socioeconomic status in explaining racial/ethnic variation in these values is also explored. Results suggest that there are important cultural differences among groups, that these differences are not a function of group differences in SES or age, and that the differences are not consistent with the common depiction of traditional ethnic "familism".

Over the last decade, the literature on aging and ethnicity has dramatically increased in both size and sophistication. Once limited

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to a handful of small, geographically bounded, descriptive studies, the literature now boasts a number of studies which are based on large representative samples, include respondents from multiple ethnic groups, and make use of multivariate statistical techniques. As a result, scholars have begun to identify a number of factors which empirically distinguish the social worlds of minority elders. Studies show, for instance, that minority elders experience a disproportionate amount of poverty and ill health;² that Black and Hispanic elders receive more help from their families than do older Anglos;³ and that older Hispanic and Asian American women are more likely to live with others than older non-Hispanic white women.⁴ Methodological advances have not been matched, however, by developments in theory. The field remains largely atheoretical. As Jackson notes,⁵ scholars have failed to define and distinguish even such basic concepts as race, national origin, ethnicity, and minority group status. As a result, while it is possible to identify family or quality of life differences between Anglo, Black, Asian, or Hispanic elders, it remains unclear how and why ethnicity impacts the life course.

Culture or Social Structure

Social gerontologists have usually explained ethnic/racial differences by making reference to one of two factors—either socioeconomic status or culture. A socioeconomic interpretation of kin relations among the elderly might argue, for instance, that Blacks and Hispanics receive more family support than Anglos because such support is a functional response to the exigencies of poverty and ill health. A cultural interpretation, on the other hand, might view intergenerational family relationships as a product of cultural differences in the values placed on family, filial obligations, and the aged themselves. As Mullings and others point out,⁶ a socioeconomic interpretation does not logically or necessarily preclude a cultural interpretation. (Although Marx and Weber disagreed about which came first, both believed that socioeconomic and cultural variables were casually related.) Nonetheless, recent work in minority aging has generally treated the two as alternative explanations and scholars have expended considerable effort trying to determine which is the most important source of variation in intergenerational relationships: structure or culture? For several reasons, research is far from conclusive on this issue. The biggest problems of interpretation stem from the rather perfunctory treatment often accorded to the concept of culture itself. Survey research, for example, often finds that minority elders are in more frequent contact with their children and other relatives than their Anglo counterparts and that much of this variation can be explained by racial/ethnic differences in socioeco-

conomic status.⁷ Unfortunately, this body of research seldom includes a direct measure of culture in the study design. Instead, in many studies, culture simply becomes the de facto explanation for any racial/ethnic differences left unexplained by structural variables, such as education, income, or occupation.

Conversely, those studies which have focused explicitly on cultural variables—attitudes toward family, elders, or filial obligations for example—have often focused on a single racial or ethnic group.⁸ In addition, whether comparative or not, studies that have directly measured aspects of ethnic culture have often failed to include an analysis of the effects of socioeconomic status.⁹ It is true that scholars, to date, have found little empirical support for the hypothesis that there are racial/ethnic differences in the value placed on the family, in perceived closeness to family members, or in satisfaction with familial support.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the conclusion that cultural differences are unimportant is not yet warranted. First of all, culture is not static; it changes as a result of changes in opportunity structures. At an individual level, values as diverse as those related to interest in public affairs¹¹ and parenting¹² have been demonstrated to be related to socioeconomic status. In the aggregate, changes in individual education or economic achievement may lead to changes in racial or ethnic cultures, including the values traditionally associated with intergenerational family ties.

Despite substantial and continuing inequalities, the last decades have seen significant improvement in the educational attainments of most minority groups;¹³ employment profiles may also be coming to be more similar.¹⁴ However, these changes have not been of equal magnitude for all racial/ethnic groups nor have they been equal for all members within these groups. Minority elders, for instance, are less likely to have benefited from the desegregation of schools and the workplace that followed the Civil Rights legislation of the 1960s. Consequently, they generally have less education and lower incomes than younger ethnic group members and they are more disadvantaged, vis a vis Anglos, than subsequent generations are likely to be.¹⁵ As a result of linguistic barriers, age differences in socioeconomic status may be even more pronounced among recently arrived immigrant groups. It is quite possible, therefore, that in failing to control for socioeconomic variables, studies of racial/ethnic culture have allowed within-group variation in SES and age to obscure continuing between group differences in values and attitudes.

Other Concerns

Most research on ethnicity, aging, and culture has focused on traditional cultural values such as familism, respect for elders, and

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norms of filial obligation. Whether formally stated or not, the hypothesis has usually been that racial and ethnic minority groups hold more traditional family values than do European American. Empirically, the question has not yet been resolved, partly because of the problems noted above: insufficient attention to the measurement of culture, and the failure to control for socioeconomic variables. In addition, most studies have been based on samples of persons 65 years of age and older.¹⁶ Research based only on the attitudes and expectations of the elderly always runs the risk of distorting the expectations, obligations, and respect that younger adults actually feel towards older family members. However, the problems associated with using an older sample are particularly pronounced in the study of ethnic communities, where processes of acculturation and upward social mobility can be expected to produce generational differences in commitment to traditional cultural values.¹⁷

In sum, although social scientists frequently invoke culture as an explanation for anticipated or observed differences in minority family ties, important questions remain. Because culture is seldom adequately measured, because it is viewed as a static system of beliefs, rather than an evolving system, and because research has generally failed to take age and class variation into account, we simply do not know the extent to which racial/ethnic groups differentially value family, elders, and filial obligations. We do not know the extent to which observed differences correspond to traditional cultural values and norms, and the extent to which they are products of recent experiences in the United States, and more specifically to changes in socioeconomic opportunity structures. These questions are of more than just academic interest. As Sussman notes,¹⁸ changes in the family and in intergenerational relationships are issues of considerable policy import. Differences in attitudes toward filial obligations and the elderly can generate serious intergenerational conflict within racial/ethnic communities, thereby increasing levels of psychological distress among minority elders. In addition, even in the absence of sound empirical research, the vision of an idealized (and perhaps romanticized) ethnic family support system can be used by policy makers to justify reductions in the formal supports available to ethnic elders;¹⁹ in an era of shrinking governmental services, any change in the willingness of families to support one another may have devastating quality-of-life consequences.²⁰ For theoretical, empirical, and applied reasons, then, it is important to understand the intersecting effects of age, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity on attitudes towards family, filial obligations, and the aged.

In this paper, we use data from five different racial/ethnic groups to answer the following questions about the cultural underpinnings of family support systems:

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- (1) To what extent do racial/ethnic groups maintain different attitudes towards the family, including attitudes towards filial obligations and old age?
- (2) Do observed differences in family values and attitudes result solely from racial/ethnic differences in socioeconomic status?
- (3) Within racial/ethnic groups, does age affect the degree to which individuals hold traditional cultural values?

These questions and the subsequent analyses are guided by the recognition that culture is mutable. Not only do we expect that age and socioeconomic status will impact individual values, we expect that in the aggregate they help to account for group differences in adherence to traditional cultural values. Since culture is continuously being modified, not only by changes in education, economics and age, but also by the host of other factors that define the American experience, after controlling socioeconomic status, we expect more recent immigrant groups to hold more traditional attitudes toward family and elders than earlier arriving groups.

DATA AND METHODS

The data are derived from a survey, conducted in Lincoln, Nebraska during Spring and Summer, 1987. A combination of disproportionate area probability sampling and snowballing techniques were used to create a sampling frame of Native, African, Mexican, Vietnamese, and European Americans, 35 years of age and older. Snowball techniques were used only when telephone screening in designated lower, middle, and upper class census tracts failed to identify a sufficient number of potential respondents in each age and ethnic group. The sample included 100 individuals, representing different points on the socioeconomic continuum, close to equally divided across age and racial/ethnic groupings. Although the sample is not strictly representative, it does include a cross-section from each group; only among Native Americans were more than one or two respondents located through snowballing. For this group, approximately 1/3 of the sample were so identified. The interview schedule was translated, and back-translated into Vietnamese and Spanish; few of the older Mexican Americans chose to be interviewed in Spanish, but most of the older Vietnamese chose to be interviewed in their native tongue. All interviews were conducted by well-trained, bilingual, "indigenous" interviewers.

Variables. There are four dependent variables in this study, each measuring a somewhat different aspect of attitudes towards intergenerational family ties. Familism is measured by a single di-

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chotomous variable, which asked respondents whether or not an adult child, who is offered a job promotion that would require him/her to move several hundred miles away from his/her parents (in-laws), should accept that promotion. Although this is a very specific, and somewhat limited, measure of familism, we use it for three reasons. First, it is generally consistent with the definition of familism as a value that requires the subordination of the rights of individuals to the needs of the family.²¹ Second, it is the aspect of ethnic culture which has received the most attention from scholars interested in ethnic social mobility processes. Third, although items derived from a number of commonly used familism scales were included in the survey, in no instance did those items form a reliable scale.

Following Osako and Liu,²² filial obligation is measured by two simple summated scales; each scale is a count of the number of affirmative responses to a series of statements. The first scale measures financial responsibility for an aging parent and has an alpha reliability coefficient of .69. It is worded as follows:

If an elderly couple needed money to repair their home, do you think their adult children should help them out if it means the adult children would have less money to spend for -

- (1) their children's education
- (2) their own leisure time activities
- (3) groceries and other household expenses
- (4) a new car or new furniture
- (5) a vacation

The second filial obligation scale has an alpha of .71 and measures the willingness of an adult child to take time off from work to help their parents:

Do you think that adult children should take time off from work in order to -

- (1) give their parents a ride to a funeral
- (2) take their parents to a doctor for a routine checkup
- (3) take their parents to visit a friend

Questions for the Attitudes Toward the Aged scale are a subset of those included in the National Survey of People of Mexican Descent in the United States. Respondents were asked how strongly they agreed with the following three statements:

- (1) The knowledge of older people should be passed on to younger ones.
- (2) Older people deserve respect from young people.
- (3) Older people are very important in keeping (_____) culture alive.

The scale was computed by summing responses to these items. It has an alpha reliability coefficient of .78, with scores ranging from 3 to 12. High scores reflect more positive attitudes towards older persons.

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The independent variables used in the analysis are age and ethnicity. Age was measured in 5 year intervals, and recoded to reflect an early, middle, and late stage of adulthood; ages 35-49 were coded as 1, 50-59 = 2, and 60 and over = 3.

Ethnicity was based on self-identification. Respondents were asked the following: "Some people describe themselves by their race, ethnicity, or national background. How would you describe yourself?" If more than one race/ethnicity was given, respondents were asked if one race/ethnicity was more important to them than the others. If so, that ethnicity was recorded. Because of our small sample, for the purposes of this study all respondents of European descent are considered Anglo and all respondents who identified themselves as Native American or American Indian are considered Native American, regardless of tribe. Clearly, there is cultural variability within each of these groups. Evidence suggests that there is substantial variation in the salience of ethnicity among older whites and that there are differences among "Anglos" in terms of cultural attitudes towards aging, independence, and the family.²³ Nevertheless, in the aggregate, it is precisely the attitudes of this group that constitute the dominant culture. Thus, this group provides a baseline to which ethnic minority cultures can be compared. Similarly, there is considerable cultural diversity among Native American tribes. Some authors, however, have argued that a Pan-Indian culture is developing out of the common experiences produced by federal policy and urban life; it is in this context that Native Americans are treated as a single ethnic group.

Educational and annual household income were used as indicators of socioeconomic status. Because we were interested in assessing ethnic variation, net differences in socioeconomic status, education and income were used as control variables throughout the analysis. Education was the highest grade or year the respondent completed in school and annual household income was a categorical variable, ranging from less than \$3000 = 1 to \$30,000 or more = 8.

Data were analyzed through Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA). Using this technique, we tested for both the direct and interactive effects of age and ethnicity. Mean scores on the dependent variables were presented for age and ethnic groups, both before and after adjusting for the effects of the other independent and control variables. MCA also yielded two strength of association indicators. Eta is the correlation ratio, associated with category effects at a zero-order level. Beta is a standardized regression coefficient, analogous to the beta used in multiple regression; it measures the strength of category effects, after controls are introduced. Results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Relationship Between Age, Ethnicity, and Norms

Ethnicity	Unadj	Familism (Grand Mean = .04)			Financial Help (Grand Mean = 2.21)			Time Off (Grand Mean = 1.77)			Attitudes Towards Older Persons (Grand Mean = 10.41)		
		Adj Ind	Adj Ind + Cont	Adj Ind + Cont	Unadj	Adj Ind	Adj Ind + Cont	Unadj	Adj Ind	Adj Ind + Cont	Unadj	Adj Ind	Adj Ind + Cont
African Americans	.05	.05	.03	2.30	2.48	2.49	2.20	2.30	2.31	10.25	10.26	10.27	
Vietnamese Americans	.00	.00	.06	1.45	1.23	1.19	2.50	2.43	2.28	10.76	10.71	10.49	
Native Americans	.00	.00	-.01	1.31	1.40	1.41	1.24	1.25	1.28	11.17	11.14	11.19	
Mexican Americans	.13	.13	.10	2.85	2.54	2.55	1.72	1.58	1.65	10.54	10.57	10.71	
European Americans	.04	.05	.02	3.14	3.30	3.31	1.19	1.25	1.37	9.56	9.60	9.68	
Age													
35-49	.06	.05	.03	2.70	2.86	2.88	2.03	2.01	2.06	10.84	10.72	10.79	
50-59	.03	.03	.02	2.14	2.08	2.05	1.82	1.85	1.87	9.87	9.90	10.03	
60+	.03	.08	.07	1.67	1.53	1.51	1.44	1.44	1.36	10.48	10.57	10.43	
Eta/Beta													
Ethnicity	.23	.22	.17	.47a	.51c	.52c	.47c	.47c	.42c	.38	.36b	.30a	
Age	.06	.05	.10	.27a	.35b	.36b	.22	.22	.27	.27a	.23a	.22	

NOTE: Unadj = unadjusted; Adj Ind = adjusted for independent variable; Adj Ind + Cont = adjusted for independent and control variables.

a<.05 b<.01 c<.001

FINDINGS

Contrary to conventional wisdom, neither age nor ethnicity significantly affects familism, at least as it is measured in this study. This is noteworthy, because there has been significant debate in the literature about the extent to which social mobility is impeded in some ethnic groups by an unwillingness to accept jobs that require relocation away from the family. Although a higher proportion of Mexican Americans do agree with the "familistic" position, very few individuals in any group think that promotion opportunities should be foregone. Only 4% of the sample (one African American, two Mexican Americans, and one European American) actually agreed that children should not accept a promotion, if it means moving away from parents or parents-in-law. It is possible that differences between Mexican Americans and other ethnic groups would be significant in a study with a larger sample. Even so, such differences would probably derive, in large part, from socioeconomic differentials; income is related to attitudes toward family and promotion at the .04 level of significance and education is related at .07 (data not shown).

There is virtually no evidence, then, of ethnic variation in this aspect of culture. Furthermore, it is unlikely that ethnic differences which existed at an earlier time have simply disappeared as a result of some process of acculturation. Age is unrelated to promotion attitudes; it is unlikely, therefore, that failure to find an ethnic effect stems from the fact that younger cohorts have less traditional family values than their elders. At least with respect to promotion opportunities, then, there is little reason to expect significant intergenerational conflict over attitudes toward the family.

Because "familism" has occupied a prominent place in the literature on ethnic social mobility, particularly for Hispanics, one final point is probably in order here. It is true that socioeconomic variables influence attitude toward family and promotion. However, the suggestion that this attitude is a cause of ethnic differences in social mobility and socioeconomic status seems most unlikely. First, almost no one favors giving up a career opportunity for family, and second, groups do not significantly differ on this value.

Evidence for ethnic variation in attitudes towards filial obligation is much more compelling than that for "familism." Ethnicity is strongly related to the willingness to take time off work and to financially help ones' parents. However, the pattern is not the same for both variables, and thus does not support the view that ethnic minorities are consistently more willing to support older family members than are Anglos. With an unadjusted mean (\bar{x}) score of 3.14 on a 5-point scale, European Americans are, in fact, the most willing

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to financially assist their parents. Note, however, that their unadjusted mean score of 1.19 makes them among the least willing to take time off work to help. On the basis of this finding, it might be tempting to conclude that time and money are simply alternative modes of satisfying filial obligations. Since European Americans are often more occupationally successful than members of other groups, it is easier for them to give their parents money than to give them time. Vietnamese Americans, on the other hand, who are the least willing to make personal financial sacrifices for their parents ($\bar{x} = 1.45$), are the most generous group with their time ($\bar{x} = 2.50$). Time and money, however, are simply functional alternatives. The two scales are not significantly correlated ($r = .15$). Furthermore, some groups are low on willingness to help with *both* money and time. As a group, Native Americans have few monetary resources. Perhaps as a result, they are among the least willing to give financial assistance to parents ($\bar{x} = 1.31$). Note, however, that they are also among the least willing to take time off work ($\bar{x} = 1.24$). African Americans, who as a group are also economically precarious, nevertheless rank in the middle, in terms of willingness to make financial sacrifices ($\bar{x} = 2.30$). At the same time, they rank near the top in willingness to take time off work to help ($\bar{x} = 2.20$).

Age is significantly and inversely related to both measures of filial obligation; younger persons believe adult children should make greater sacrifices for their parents than older persons do. Since analysis reveals no significant age/ethnicity interaction effects, this pattern holds for all ethnic groups. Some scholars have suggested that the willingness to support older family members has decreased among succeeding generations of Asian and Mexican Americans.²⁴ They have argued that acculturation and the decreasing importance of family ties have exacerbated intergenerational conflict in ethnic communities. There is nothing in these data to suggest that this is the case; regardless of ethnic identification, persons 60 years of age and older expect adult children to take the least financial responsibility for their parents and are the least willing to have children take time off work. Ethnic norms and ethnic differences in filial obligations do not, then, seem to have changed, nor do they seem likely to do so as the next generation reaches older adulthood. It is unlikely, therefore, that conflicting values and expectations for intergenerational support have jeopardized the mental health of older ethnics. Of course, the data presented here deal with what people say, not with what people do. As Rosenthal notes,²⁵ variation in norms of filial obligation may not be matched by corresponding differences in actual filial support and the discrepancy between expectations and behavior may still be a source of distress to minority elders.

To reiterate an earlier point, ethnic differences in actual

intergenerational support have been well-documented in the literature; racial/ethnic minority elders are usually found to be in more frequent contact with their children than Anglo elders, and are also found to give and receive more help. The question, of course, has been whether those differences reflect the effects of culture or socioeconomic status on need for support or on the availability of alternative sources of support. However, it is possible that socioeconomic status also influences ethnic intergenerational support by affecting filial obligation norms, i.e., culture. Our results, however, do not support such a model. The ethnic group differences observed in this study—in attitudes towards financial assistance and taking time off—do not derive from group differences in socioeconomic status; education and income are unrelated to both filial obligation scales (data not shown). Furthermore, introduction of socioeconomic controls does not significantly change the effects of ethnicity; for financial assistance, the beta coefficient for ethnicity changes from .51 to .52 when SES is added to age in the analysis. For willingness to take time off from work, the effect of ethnicity is only marginally reduced by including education and income in the analysis, from a beta of .47 to a beta of .42. If, as previous studies have suggested, socioeconomic differentials account for racial/ethnic differences in intergenerational/family support behavior, it appears that the underlying explanation must be structural, not cultural.

Ethnic variation in attachments to norms of filial obligation cannot be explained by socioeconomic status, but the patterns observed in these data cannot be explained by traditional cultural explanations either. Despite all the rhetoric and debate, we find little evidence that the values and commitments of adult children to their parents are consistently higher among Vietnamese, Mexican, African, or Native Americans. In addition, age is inversely related to strong norms of filial obligation. Thus, there is little support for the proposition that filial obligation has declined among ethnic communities, as a result of the acculturation and upward social mobility of younger age cohorts. Cultural differences are substantial, but the differences do not simply reflect the traditional Latino or Asian values of family and filial obligation; more likely, current ethnic attitudes are a product of recent urban-American experiences. This is an important point, and we will return to it in the conclusion.

Finally, ethnicity is significantly related to attitudes toward older people. Results for this variable are consistent with the literature that suggests ethnic minorities place more importance on the aged than do Anglos. Consistent with Schweitzer's work,²⁶ Native Americans express very positive attitudes toward the aged. The unadjusted mean score for Native Americans is 11.17, followed by Vietnamese, Mexican, and African Americans, with means of 10.76,

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10.54, and 10.25, respectively. European Americans place considerably less importance on the aged than other ethnic groups, with a mean of 9.56. Introduction of control variables does reduce the correlation between ethnicity and attitudes towards older persons, from an eta of .38 to a beta of .30. However, with one exception, the introduction of age and socioeconomic status does not change the overall pattern. (The one exception is that Mexican American attitudes toward elders become more favorable than Vietnamese American attitudes, once the effects of education and income are controlled.) Note, however, that neither education nor income has statistically significant main effects.

Before controlling socioeconomic status, the effects of age are significant at the .05 level. Even after controls are introduced, age effects approach statistical significance, having a probability of .055. Individuals, aged 50-59, have less favorable attitudes than either younger or older people. It is interesting to note that in all ethnic categories, this age group expresses a substantial willingness and expectation to support older family members (see results for financial and time commitment variables). At the same time, results suggest that these individuals value the contributions of older people the least. This pattern may reflect a "second-generation" phenomenon, with value conflicts being most pronounced between the foreign-born generation and the first generation to be born, or grow up in, the United States. More likely, it reflects the ambivalence of middle-aged individuals attempting to care for their own aged parents. Younger adults, who express the most positive attitudes towards older persons and an even greater willingness to support aging parents, may have yet to face the necessity and the reality of caring for aging family members.

CONCLUSIONS

Because results are based on a small non-representative sample of residents of a single midwestern community, they must be viewed with some caution. Specifically, given the small number of cases in each ethnic group and modest variation in socioeconomic status, it is likely that the magnitude of ethnic differences and the ability of income and education to explain those differences has been underestimated in this study. More importantly, variation in the density and size of ethnic populations may produce regional differences in commitment to traditional family values; theoretically, acculturation, i.e., the diminution of traditional attitudes, should be most pronounced in communities where racial and ethnic minorities constitute a small percentage of the population. Because the racial/ethnic minority population in Lincoln is relatively small, ethnic

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differences in familism, filial obligation, and attitudes toward the aged may be further underestimated in this study. It is important to note, however, that there are no theoretical or empirical reasons to believe that the direction of the relationships uncovered here or the causal dynamics underlying those relationships would be any different given a larger, nationally representative sample. Thus, even given limitations due to the nature of the sample, the findings have three important implications. First, data demonstrate a point that has often been made, but seldom directly tested, that there are important cultural differences between and among minority groups. On the basis of observed differences in attitudes towards elders and towards filial obligations, it is not only appropriate to describe African, Vietnamese, Native, and Mexican Americans as minority groups, i.e., as groups defined by limited access to power and resources, but also as ethnic groups, i.e., groups that have unique cultural attributes.²⁷ Furthermore, cultural/attitudinal differences among these ethnic groups, and between them and European Americans, cannot be explained by socioeconomic inequalities alone; cultural differences persist, even after controlling for education and income.

Findings suggest, however, that explanations which rely on notions of traditional culture are not complete either; results from this study simply do not conform to the idea that non-European ethnic groups are more familistic, overall, than European Americans. Although ethnic minorities score significantly higher on some family attitude scales, there are no differences, or they score lower, on others. The notion that older ethnics or more recently arrived groups are more traditional than their younger or earlier arriving counterparts receives only mixed support; age often has effects directly opposite those predicted. The Vietnamese, the most recently arrived group, are not the most traditional with respect to any of the variables included in this analysis. Results strongly suggest the need for a more sophisticated and more dynamic view of ethnic cultures or subcultures. Attitudes and values regarding the family, filial obligations, and the elderly are likely to be affected by the racial and ethnic differences in average life expectancy, health, and the need to support older family members; they are also likely to be affected by changes in the availability of and experience with the formal support system.

In sum, our findings present a picture quite different than that found in ethnographic accounts of traditional, often rural, African American, Native American, Vietnamese, and Mexican communities. It seems clear that certain aspects of each of these cultures, aspects relevant to the elderly, have been shaped or modified by the American urban experience. Further research is clearly required to identify the most relevant historical and structural influences. In an era of health and welfare reform, the need for such research is both

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urgent and compelling, given the strong tendency for cultural explanations to provide policymakers with a justification 1) for ignoring the special service needs of minority elders, and 2) for minimizing the importance of racial discrimination and economic factors as deterrents to the appropriate use of services by this population and their families.

A second important finding is that, with respect to the attitudes studied here, age and ethnicity do not interact. It is unlikely, therefore, that conflicts over values will create unusual hardships for ethnic elders, even among the newest immigrant groups. It also appears unlikely that cohort flow alone will lead to a diminution of ethnic cultures. While the meaning of ethnicity may change over time and over the life course,²⁸ the change does not seem to be one of lessened concern or lessened traditionalism.

Finally, it is important to note that the relationship between socioeconomic status and attitudes towards family, filial obligations, and older persons is weak to nonexistent. A history of oppression and poverty may lead to gradual cultural evolution, and changing patterns of intergenerational mobility may lead to some change in individual commitment to traditional values. However, among these current adult cohorts there is little in our data to indicate that education and income are important causes or important consequences of attitudes towards family, filial obligation, or the elderly. A full understanding of the impact of ethnicity on family forms and family attitudes, thus, will require a more careful theoretical grounding in both history and the life course.

NOTES

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¹⁹ Linda Liska Belgrave, May L. Wykle, and Jung M. Choi, "Health, Double Jeopardy, and Culture: The Use of Institutionalization by African Americans," *The Gerontologist* 33(1993): 379-85; see also Brian Gratton, "Familism Among the Black and Mexican-American Elderly: Myth or Reality?" *Journal of Aging Studies* 1(1987): 19-32; Brian Gratton and Vanessa Wilson, "Family Support Systems and the Minority Elderly," *Journal of Gerontological Social Work* 13(1988): 81-93; David Maldonado, "Aging in a Chicano Context," in *Ethnicity and Aging Theory, Research, and Policy*, ed. Donald Gelfand and Alfred Kutzik (New York: Springer, 1979): 175-83.

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²¹ Brian Gratton, "Familism Among the Black and Mexican-American Elderly: Myth or Reality?" *Journal of Aging Studies* 1(1987): 19-32.

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²⁵ Carolyn J. Rosenthal, "Family Supports in Later Life: Does Ethnicity Make a Difference?" *The Gerontologist* 26(1986): 19-24.

²⁶ Marjorie M. Schweitzer, "The Elders: Cultural Dimensions of Aging Societies," ed. Jay Sokolovsky (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1983): 168-78.

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Intermarriage and Ethnicity: Punjabi Mexican Americans, Mexican Japanese, and Filipino Americans

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The problem is intermarriage, specifically intermarriages patterned by gender (all the men are from one ethnic background and almost all of the women from another) which produce significant biethnic communities. The author's original research on Punjabi Mexican Americans, people whose fathers came from India's Punjab province and whose mothers were of predominantly Mexican or Mexican American heritage, combined field work and interviews with California county records and local historical materials to show the flexibility of ethnic identity. She compares the Punjabi Mexican Americans to Filipino European Americans and Mexican Japanese, using studies done by Barbara Posadas and Chizuko Watanabe. She finds that in all three cases members of the second biethnic generation evidence considerable flexibility with respect to their ethnic identity; they also insist upon cultural pluralism and claim the dominant national identity, particularly when confronted by new immigrants from the fathers' countries.

The ethnic identity of immigrants is strongly shaped by the historical context and other actors in it. In California in the early twentieth century, some 400 immigrant men from India's Punjab province married Mexican and Mexican-American women. These couples and their children formed a biethnic community in rural California. Called by others "Mexican-Hindus," "Mexidus," "Punjabi Mexicans," or "half-and-halves," they generally called themselves "Hindus." Elsewhere, I have shown how the Punjabi Mexican families contested and negotiated ethnic identity within marriages, within families, and in arenas beyond the family over the decades. In

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particular, a new wave of immigrants from South Asia after 1965 helped push the second generation toward an “American” identity which is consciously pluralistic.¹

Two other communities comparable to the Punjabi Mexican Americans—the Mexican Japanese studied by Chizuko Watanabe and the Filipino Americans studied by Barbara Posadas²—also feature intermarriages between Asian immigrant men and non-Asian women and a sharp difference between descendants of earlier immigrants and later immigrants from the same place of origin. All three cases raise important questions about intermarriage and ethnic identity and about the nature of ethnic or cultural pluralism. All three cases show the historical contingency of ethnicity as people define themselves vis a vis others in their environments over time.

Intermarriage and Ethnicity

The general public and scholars have viewed intermarriage as a measure of social change. In the past, marriage outside of “one’s own group” was often feared. Scholarly interest in intermarriage arose in the context of fears about new immigrants and debates about U.S. immigration policy. The arrival of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and South Asian immigrants in the Pacific Coast states spurred successive anti-Asian federal immigration legislation and agreements (the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the 1907-08 Gentlemen’s Agreement with Japan, the 1917 “Barred Zone” Act). Western states also enacted laws to block Asian access to agricultural land (starting with California’s 1913 Alien Land Law) and to prevent racial intermarriages.³ In the eastern United States, people were concerned that immigrants from southern and eastern Europe might dilute by intermarriage the “American” intellectual and cultural standards set by earlier immigrants from northern and western Europe. When Edmund deS Brunner studied immigrant farmers and their children in New York, Wisconsin, and Nebraska in the 1920s, he was interested in the newer immigrants’ impact upon the older farming population through intermarriage. He used marriage license applications to measure the marriage choices of the foreign-born and their children, tabulating “in-choice” and “out-choice” for Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, Teutonics, Slavics, and Latins.⁴

Intermarriage studies done in California in the 1930s tried to ascertain the conditions which produced marriages across racial and ethnic boundaries. The state’s anti-miscegenation laws prohibited marriages between whites and blacks and between whites and Mongolians, but until 1933 marriages between whites and Filipinos were allowed. With the 1933 prohibition on white/Filipino marriages, Constantine Panunzio undertook a study of intermarriage in Los

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Angeles from 1924 to 1933. He classified the population into three categories: whites, Negroes, and "yellow-browns," the last category including Mexicans, Japanese, Filipinos, Chinese, and American Indians. He found 4,652 interracial marriages (2.7% of the 170,636 marriages) in Los Angeles County during that period, a relatively high rate, and he postulated that sex ratios for these groups would be the main determinant of marriage choices. Panunzio also resorted to "common sense" remarks about culture to explain many of the patterns in the data.⁵ Filipino and Mexican intermarriage ratios were the highest, 229 and 116 per 100 respectively. Panunzio stated that because Mexicans were classed as whites in the United States censuses of 1910 and 1920, they "could pass as whites." He berated those "Mexicans" who, "legally permitted to do so, evidently described themselves as whites in applying for licenses, whereas in reality they were persons born in the United States of Mexican parentage," a propensity necessitating closer examination of his data and a statistical "correction."⁶

Just as Panunzio assumed that laws did prevent intermarriage (he ended his study in 1933, since the most active participants, Filipinos, were prohibited from marrying whites in that year), later scholars assumed that intermarriages would follow the repeal of California's anti-miscegenation laws in 1948.⁷ While legal constraints did have an impact on marriages, people could work around them,⁸ and the folk categories did not always coincide with the legal ones. The folk categories Panunzio used in his 1942 study were quite revealing about the groups within which marriages were popularly sanctioned. His "yellow-brown" category lumped together some who could and some who could not legally marry whites; the category included "Mexicans" who legally were whites! In practice, it was the rare and exceptionally nasty county clerk who tried to prohibit marriages between members of groups within the "yellow-brown" category (or between "yellow-browns" and blacks).

In contrast to much earlier work on racial and ethnic intermarriage which tended to regard it as deviant behavior, most recent work views intermarriage as a form of structural assimilation that follows or coincides with cultural assimilation or acculturation.⁹ Research done in the 1950s on intermarriage rates for Mexican-Americans found that they were about three times more likely to intermarry than Anglos and that Mexican-American women were more likely to intermarry than Mexican-American men.¹⁰ In 1982, Arce and Abney-Guardado summarized a whole range of recent studies of Chicano intermarriages. The consensus was that women are consistently more exogamous ("outmarrying") than men; that the higher one's social status the greater the rate of exogamy; that there is more exogamy among persons of native stock and least among the foreign-

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born; and that lower rates of exogamy are found in rural areas than in urban areas.¹¹ Most of these results come from the analysis of macro-level aggregate data—marriage licenses, the census, or social survey questionnaires—and the results are not similar to those obtained in my detailed sociohistorical study of the Punjabi Mexicans. In fact, Arce and Abney-Guardado remark that sociopsychological investigation of Chicano intermarriage is virtually nonexistent.¹² Certainly most of the studies they cite shed little or no light on matters like language, religion, and ethnic identity within the marriages.

The Punjabi Mexican Americans

The Punjabis who came to the Pacific Coast from the turn of the century were almost all men and most of them were Sikhs, members of the religious group founded in northwestern India in the late fifteenth century. Called “Hindus” by others because they came from “Hindustan,” the men were largely illiterate peasants from farming backgrounds. Many had served in British military or police service, in India and in China’s treaty ports; in California, they became farm laborers and farmers.

The first Punjabi Mexican marriages took place in California’s southernmost agricultural valley in 1916 and 1917. Prevented by tightening federal immigration laws and policies¹³ from bringing wives and children to the United States, four or five hundred of the Punjabi immigrants married local women, primarily Mexican and Mexican-American Spanish-speaking Catholics. Just as the Imperial Irrigation District was being set up in the Imperial Valley along the Mexican border and Punjabi farmers, among others, were developing cotton there, the Mexican Revolution sent refugee families across the border looking for work. Punjabi men in their thirties and forties married women who were usually much younger, often sets of sisters or a mother and daughter, who were working as cotton pickers in their fields. Typically these couples settled in the Imperial Valley, although some settled in Arizona, Texas, and central and northern California.

These Punjabi immigrants broke the rules of caste and religious endogamy so characteristic of Indian society. They did so to a surprising degree—recent studies of Punjabis and Indians overseas have found strong endogamous patterns and little evidence of outmarriage.¹⁴ However, the indications are that early Punjabi immigrants, particularly Sikh men, were open to intermarriage. Barrier found that Sikh soldiers in Burma in the 1980s wrote back to Sikh journals in the Punjab to ask if Sikhs should intermarry with Burmese

girls,¹⁵ a query presumably reflecting the occurrence of such marriages. About the early Sikh immigrants to Canada, Buchignani and Indra remark that “there are some weak indications (of) long term liaisons with native Indian women living on reserves around Vancouver, but this has not been researched.”¹⁶ Because Canada removed the ban on the immigration of Asian Indian wives and children in 1919, Canada’s Asian Indian population was able to follow marriage practices like those in India,¹⁷ in great contrast to the population in California which developed Punjabi Mexican biethnic communities.

The Punjabi Mexican marriages were not always successful (in the Imperial Valley there were many divorces), but a large second generation was raised with the biethnic community as its major reference point. The children had names like Manuela Singh, Armando Mohammed, and Jose Chand. They spoke Spanish and English and almost all were Catholic; very few learned the Punjabi language or know much about Sikhism, Islam, or Hinduism (the religions of their fathers.) The fathers and mothers participated in the *compadrazgo* system of godparenthood sponsored by the Catholic church, with Sikh and Muslim fathers standing as godparents to each others’ children in some cases. Since almost all godparents were drawn from within the biethnic community, the *compadrazgo* system did not incorporate the Punjabi Mexican families into the growing Mexican-American communities in California. Contrary to a prediction that the Punjabi men would be assimilated into American society through the Mexican-American “subculture,”¹⁸ there was prejudice against the couples and their “half-and-half” children from Mexican-Americans. With the 1923 U.S. Supreme Court decision that Asian Indians could not become U.S. citizens, California’s Alien Land Laws were applied to the Punjabi farmers, and they, like the Japanese farmers against whom the bill had been designed, could not lease or own agricultural land. But their children were citizens and the Punjabi men could put property in the names of their minor children and manage it through county probate courts.¹⁹

As the children matured, tensions within the Punjabi Mexican families increased. Many of the fathers tried to control their children’s dating and marriage choices, while the mothers, closer in age and domestic culture to their children, sided with them. Family problems were exacerbated by national and international developments. In 1946, the Luce-Celler bill extended to Asian Indians the right to become naturalized United States citizens, so that the men could own land in their own names (often reclaiming it from their children). In 1947, India and Pakistan became independent, so the men could travel to their former homelands and reestablish meaningful contact

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with their Punjabi relatives (many had left wives and children there), perhaps sponsoring their immigration. Where family difficulties had arisen, the Punjabi Mexican family could be displaced by Punjabi relatives.²⁰

An even greater impact on the California biethnic families followed from the 1965 Immigration Act and the large numbers of South Asian immigrants who came to the U.S. as a result. While the majority of these new immigrants were urban professionals, several thousand Punjabi farming families joined the dwindling group of oldtimers in northern California (Yuba City and Marysville in particular), numerically overwhelming the small number of Punjabi Mexican families there.²¹ The new South Asian immigrants are almost entirely ignorant of the history of the early immigrants and the constraints which determined many of their choices. When they encounter each other, the new immigrants do not recognize the Punjabi Mexicans as "Hindus." The second and third generations continue to cook chicken curry and roti (North Indian bread) and proudly claim to be not only Hindu, but also Mexican, and, most of all, American.²²

Part of "being Hindu" to the biethnic families lay in representing India to others. They did this successfully in rural California for decades, despite changes in language, religion, and marriage practices. While there was a pride in Punjabi ancestry, and some of the Hispanic wives were said to have "become Hindu,"²³ there was a greater insistence on being "American." Very few members of the second generation married each other; most married Mexican-Americans or Euro-Americans.²⁴ Punjabi Mexicans point to the ways in which the new immigrants do not "become American," in contrast to the biethnic couples, and arguments for ethnic pluralism are implicit in their discourse about ethnic identity.²⁵

Comparable Cases

There seem to be very few systematically biethnic communities, where all the men are from one background and all the women from another, and even fewer studies of them.²⁶ There are Mexican Japanese, a few in the Imperial Valley and a large community in Mexico; there are Mexican Chinese, a few in the Imperial Valley and more on the Mexican side of the border. Unfortunately we know little about these groups, particularly about their family life.²⁷ There were Chinese Mexican marriages in Arizona and details about one or two families are suggestive, but no systematic research has been done.²⁸ Studies of the Chinese in Mexico note that Mexican Chinese marriages were controversial there (they were banned at times) and that

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Mexican Chinese children were culturally close to their mothers.²⁹ The Chinese in Mississippi, some of whom married black women, have been studied, but marital life is not examined; race relations is the topic of interest.³⁰

Ethnicity at the level of interracial or interethnic family life has received little attention. Velina Hasu Houston's play "Tea" explores the world of Japanese war brides set down in Kansas, the tensions produced by race and class differences within and between the couples.³¹ There are a few studies based on intensive interviewing, such as Susan Benson's work on interracial families in London, but the couples she studied are not part of any one community.³² However, Chizuko Watanabe's study of the Japanese in Mexico and Barbara Posadas' studies of the Filipino-Europeans in Chicago do focus on groups comparable to the Punjabi Mexicans.

The Mexican Japanese studied by Chizuko Watanabe shared certain characteristics with the Punjabi Mexicans. Japanese immigration to Mexico was greatest between 1908 (when the Gentlemen's Agreement cut it off to the United States) and 1932 (when the Mexican government prohibited such immigration). While the Japanese men settling in Mexico were able to bring wives from Japan and many did so (Watanabe's primary interest was in those couples and their descendants), there were many Mexican Japanese couples. According to Watanabe, pure-blooded descendants said that Mexican Japanese marriages did not work and there were divorces among such couples. She wrote about the Japanese prejudice against exogamous marriages, particularly in Baja California,³³ but two of her sources (Fujioka, 1924, and Taki, 1968, citing a 1935 marital survey) reported that a majority of the married Japanese men in Mexico were married to Mexican women. There were at least 354 such couples, and an estimated two of every three children born to Japanese immigrants were of mixed parentage. A special term, Konketsu or mixed blood, contrasted those children with Junketsu, or pure blood, Japanese children.³⁴

The experience of the Mexican Japanese children paralleled that of the Punjabi Mexicans in many ways. The Nikkei (Japanese or half-Japanese born in Mexico), even those children whose parents were both Japanese, all spoke Spanish as "their first language, without exception." The Nikkei in Mexico were all Roman Catholics and many Issei (first generation immigrants) too had been baptized with Christian names; there was syncretism of Catholicism and Buddhism. The Nikkei also adopted the *compadrazgo* system, which worked "not to assimilate them into the greater Mexican society" but "to strengthen the bond of the Nikkei community."³⁵

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The forced relocation of Japanese to Mexico City and Guadalajara by the Mexican government during World War II greatly altered the distribution of the Mexican Japanese within Mexico and led to urban/rural divergences in ethnic choices. After the war, those with "Mexican families" and "good relationships with local people" went back to their old homes, and they were "absorbed." Those who stayed in the two cities, particularly Mexico City, strengthened their ethnic network and identity as Nikkei, vowing to assimilate but "never be absorbed."³⁶ Watanabe noted that these Mexico City Nikkei made a clear distinction between "we" Japanese and "they" Mexicans (while Mexico was said to be more welcoming to the Japanese than the United States and they could become Mexican citizens, they could not hold political office).³⁷ But the Nikkei also felt a strong barrier between themselves and a growing group of newcomers from Japan (diplomats and business people, short-term residents of Mexico). Japanese from Japan did not recognize the Nikkei as fully Japanese. In Japan, "The average Japanese is not even aware that there is a Nikkei community in Mexico....the Japanese who are sent to Mexico are totally unprepared to meet them. The only background information which is related to them is that they are children of poor immigrants."³⁸ Although the Nikkei in Mexico exhibited two ethnic patterns depending upon their choice of residence after World War II, their experiences have much in common with those of the Punjabi Mexicans in California.

Barbara Posada's work on early Filipino-fathered families in Chicago, particularly her interviews with ten daughters, or mestizas, offers more similarities and contrasts to the Punjabi Mexican case.³⁹ The Filipino immigrant fathers came to Chicago in 1920s and 1930s. They were educated men, high school graduates who often had some college experience, and they worked in urban jobs (many were Pullman railroad car attendants and travelled a lot). The women they married were primarily eastern or southern European white women, typically women younger than themselves, and there were about 500 such interracial couples in the city. Despite some residential clustering and shared adherence to Catholicism this was too small a number to establish a "viable community," according to Posada. (And not only did the men in Chicago come from many parts of the Philippines, the women were of diverse ethnic backgrounds.)

Within these families, some of the same tensions appeared as in the Punjabi Mexican ones, but there were also differences. Food in the home reflected the biethnic marriages; "rice and potatoes competed at daily dinners."⁴⁰ There were problems with the women's families and problems finding housing. Although discrimination and prejudice against these couples often strengthened the marital bonds, there were divorces. Unlike the generally large Punjabi

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Mexican and Mexican Japanese families, the Filipino American families were small: the thirteen couples interviewed by Posadas had 1.38 children per couple.⁴¹ As post-1965 Filipino immigrants began to dominate the annual Joze Rizal commemoration dance, oldtimers took renewed pride in their survival and in their heritage, but they also found that compared to the newcomers they had become very “American.”⁴²

This new identity was nowhere more evident than in the raising of their children, where “spouses generally abandoned explicit cultural identification..., preferring instead to define a new ‘American’ emphasis.”⁴³ The children spoke English rather than either parent’s mother tongue (the Punjabi Mexicans were bilingual, in English and Spanish, and the Mexican Japanese spoke Spanish). The mestiza daughters felt closer to their fathers, whom they resembled more in appearance and whose presence at home meant pleasure, not discipline. The fathers made decisions about their children’s schooling and encouraged their daughters to get as much education as possible. Yet as they began dating, daughters turned to their mothers, since conflicts with the fathers became sharper then. Of the ten daughters in Posadas’ study, none remarked on pressure with respect to the ethnicity of their beaux and/or spouses; none married a Filipino, a part-Filipino, or a spouse of the mother’s background. She argues that both fathers and mothers encouraged the daughters to assimilate to the dominant society, to reject their ethnicity and race. Mestiza identity rested on being American; to be proud of one’s father was not synonymous with knowledge of or pride in Filipino heritage. Relationships with the new Filipino immigrants were tenuous. Posadas reports no sense of closeness to the post-1965 Filipino newcomers and their culture or organizations. She views her informants as the products of American mass culture, not of an ethnic enclave.⁴⁴

All three examples, the Punjabi Mexican Americans, the Mexican Japanese, and the Filipino Americans, suggest complex relationships between intermarriage, ethnic identity, and sociocultural change. The formation of ethnic identity for members of these three biethnic communities was not an easy matter, determined by one parent or one parent’s culture being “stronger” than the other. Nor were professions of ethnic identity necessarily rooted in attributes traditionally associated with the ethnicity professed—the second generation “Hindus” in the Imperial Valley and the Nikkei in Mexico City differ in language and religion from what one might expect from their names. The families and individuals in these biethnic communities exercised considerable flexibility as they chose ethnic identities.

In all three cases, intermarriage was not the only significant factor

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influencing ethnic identity. Notions of culture have been biased "toward rooting not travel," and in these cases the men and sometimes the women were immigrants.⁴⁵ The point in time at which these Asian immigrants arrived in the Americas was clearly important; federal and state laws concerning immigration, citizenship, and intermarriage determined basic parameters of family life for all three groups. Just as clearly, confrontation with more recent immigrants from India, Japan, or the Philippines helped sharpen awareness of American or Mexican identity as an additional and powerful ethnic identity for members of the biethnic families.

The distance between old and new immigrants from the same homeland cannot simply be explained by the passage of one or two generations or by a hypothesized difference in their regional or socioeconomic origins. True, later immigrants were well educated for their time. In the case of the Punjabis, recent Punjabi immigrants closely comparable to the earlier ones have come to northern California, but again a distance separates them from the descendants of the pioneers. Strong prejudices against intermarriage undoubtedly contribute to the distance felt by more recent immigrants. These prejudices are countered by the descendants' claims to be "American" in the two United States cases. (The Mexican Japanese who were "absorbed" and claim to be Mexican are not represented in Watanabe's work, save in one life history in an appendix.)⁴⁶ What do such claims mean with respect to debates about cultural and ethnic pluralism in the U.S.?

Not only the transformations in the domain of ethnic identity, but their rapidity and the insistence on notions of cultural pluralism stand out in the cases above. Current anthropological debate about culture and sociocultural change is striking down the notions of bounded cultural units located in time and space, units sometimes ranked with respect to one another. Those notions are giving way to a recognition of the difficulties of finding such units, particularly in the contemporary world, and anthropologists are emphasizing transition and transformation, historical processes affecting "connected social fields" rather than "cultures."⁴⁷

We are hearing much today about transnational culture, international networks linking much today about transnational culture, international networks linking immigrants to each other and to their homelands, and about the cultural transformations and continuities encouraged by such networks. However, the three biethnic communities above were established two or three generations ago, and historical changes in ethnic identity have been well documented. It is likely that the Punjabi Mexican Americans and the Filipino Americans are among those "distorting" their ethnicity by selecting among their ancestries or claiming to be "American" in the 1980 Census. The sociologists Mary Waters and Stanley Lieberson are concerned about

“increasing distortion in the true origins of the population” in the Census. They have used the term “hyphenated whites” for those of mixed ethnic ancestry who do not identify with or know about their specific European origins.⁴⁸

Waters went on to examine people’s conceptions of ethnic identity more closely in a separate project based on white upper middle class Catholics. She talks about the ease with which these “unhyphenated-whites” or “Americans” (she and Lieberman regrettably seem to equate these terms) leap from specific “true” indications of ethnicity to a “symbolic ethnicity,” an ethnic identity which is voluntary and imposes no constraints upon daily life. She hypothesizes that the ease with which her informants claim these symbolic ethnicities leads to a prejudice against non-whites, a failure to understand that they cannot escape ascriptive characteristics and leap to unhyphenated or American status.⁴⁹

Waters’ hypothesis raises important issues about ethnic pluralism and the extent to which a plural society might perpetuate class and/or racial and ethnic divisions. As John Higham has pointed out, recent scholarly work on ethnic pluralism in the United States emphasizes power rather than culture, charging that systematic economic inequalities threaten the compatibility of ethnic pluralism and democracy; the persistence of ethnic identity would mean the persistence of class cleavages.⁵⁰ Waters had no non-white informants and seems to preclude their choice of an “unhyphenated” or “American” identity. Her analysis of symbolic ethnicity tempted her to suggest that the situational choice of ethnic identity by whites, including “American” or “unhyphenated” identity, helps to maintain ethnic or racial constraints for non-whites. However, while the Punjabi Mexican and Filipino Americans were often categorized and treated as non-whites, they often chose unhyphenated and/or American identities.⁵¹

Others writing about ethnic pluralism have continued to view minority groups and biethnic communities as marginal, subcultural, or, the most recent terms, “borderland” or “peripheral.” Imposition of such labels is particularly tempting in the case of the Punjabi Mexicans, the Filipino American daughters, and the Mexican Japanese because of the mediating role played by the Hispanic and European-American women. The literature building on the work of Gloria Anzaldúa speaks of women as inhabitants of borderlands, marginalized beings who move in the interstices between groups and who sustain contradictions, invent themselves, and help transform their sense of individual oppression into collective resistance.⁵² Yet the voices of the Punjabi Mexican Americans and the mestiza daughters speak to the centrality of the American component in their experience. Their pride in their Asian ancestries does not connect

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them to new immigrants from India or the Philippines, and they see no contradiction between that pride and their claim to be American.

This comparison of three biethnic communities constituted by Asian/non-Asian intermarriages looked at transformations of ethnic identity across space and time and tried to hear what people said about their own ethnicity. The voices often gave surprising testimony, testimony that strengthens John Higham's call for the revitalization of "a common faith" for a decent multiethnic society.⁵³ Working together, historians, anthropologists, and sociologists can contribute to a clearer understanding of the ways in which immigrants and their descendants identify themselves in complex societies.

NOTES

¹Karen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

²Chizuko Watanabe, "The Japanese Immigrant Community in Mexico: Its History and Present" (M.A. thesis, California State University, Los Angeles, 1983); Barbara M. Posadas, "Mestiza Girlhood: Interracial Families in Chicago's Filipino American Community Since 1925," in ed. Asian Women United of California, *Making Waves* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

³See Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990), for details.

⁴Edmund deS Brunner, *Immigrant Farmers and their Children* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929).

⁵Constantine Panunzio, "Intermarriage in Los Angeles, 1924-33," *American Journal of Sociology* 47:5 (1942), 697-700. Panunzio's interest was in the marriages of other groups with whites, and the rankings within the white category which concerned Brunner and others are only hinted at in Panunzio's study.

⁶Panunzio, "Intermarriage," 692-693.

⁷John H. Burma, "Research Note on the Measurement of Interracial Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology* 106 (1952), 587-589; John H. Burma, "Interethnic Marriage in Los Angeles, 1948-1959," *Social Forces* (1963), 156-165.

⁸One could be married at sea or in some other state; one could also

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find an ignorant or sympathetic county clerk and secure a license.

⁹M.M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Richard M. Bernard, *The Melting Pot and the Altar: Marital Assimilation in Early Twentieth Century Wisconsin* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), xxvii and xxi. Larry Hajime Shinagawa and Gin Yong Pang suggest, alternatively, that intermarriage is a function of inequality and is best explained by hypergamy theory: "Marriage Patterns of Asian Americans in California, 1980," in *Income and Status Differences Between White and Minority Americans*, ed. Sucheng Chen (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990) 225-282.

¹⁰Burma, 1963, 161; John H. Burma, *Spanish-speaking Groups in the United States* (Durham, N.D.: Duke University Press, 1954), 87.

¹¹Carlos H. Arce and Armando Abney-Guardado, "Demographic and Cultural Correlates of Chicano Intermarriage," *California Sociologist* 5:2 (1982), 41-57.

¹²Arce and Abney-Guardado, 42-43.

¹³Harold S. Jacoby, "Administrative Restriction of Asian Indian Immigration into the United States, 1907-1917," *Population Review* 25 (1982), 35-40.

¹⁴Vaughan Robinson, "Patterns of South Asian Ethnic Exogamy and Endogamy in Britain," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 3:4 (1980), 427-443; Parminder Bhachu, *Twice Migrants* (New York: Tavistock, 1985), 74-75. Rashmi Desai, *Indian Immigrants in Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), mentions early "deviants" among the Asian Indian immigrants to Britain who lived with non-Indian women or made mixed marriages: 4, 122-144.

¹⁵N. Gerald Barrier, "Sikh Immigrants and Their Homeland: the Transmission of Information, Resources, and Values in the Early Twentieth Century," in N. Gerald Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery, eds., *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab* (New Delhi: Manohar and South Asian Books, 1989), 63.

¹⁶Norman Buchignani and Doreen Marie Indra, "Key Issues in Canadian-Sikh Ethnic and Race Relations," in N. Gerald Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery, eds., 1989, 176.

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tion of South Asians in Canada, 1904-1920," in Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, eds., *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, (New York: Methuen, 1981), 215-218.

¹⁸Yusuf Dadabhay, "Circuitous Assimilation among Rural Hindustanis in California," *Social Forces* 33 (1954), 138-141.

¹⁹Imperial County Probate Records, County Clerk's office, El Centro.

²⁰See Leonard, Chapter Ten.

²¹The Punjabis in northern California had tended to remain bachelors in the U.S.: see Bruce La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California 1904-1975; A Socio-historical Study* (New York: AMS Press, 1988).

²²For more on "being Hindu," see Karen Leonard, "Ethnicity Con-founded: Punjabi Pioneers in California," in eds. J.O'Connell, M. Israel, Willard G. Oxtoby, with W.H. McLeod and J.S. Grewal, visiting eds., *Sikh History and Religion in the 20th Century* (Toronto: South Asian Studies Papers, 3, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Toronto, 1988), 314-333, and "Pioneer Voices from California: Reflections on Race, Religion, and Ethnicity," in eds. N. Gerald Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery, 1989, 120-139. "Being Hindu" rested on the preparation of Punjabi foods and on identification with the Punjabis men's pride as landowners and political activists against British rule in India and for citizenship in the United States.

²³Similarly, Judith Nagata has reported that Malay and Indian woman marrying Arabs in Malaysia "become Arab": "What is Malay? Institutional Selection of Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society," *American Ethnologist* 1 (1974), 345.

²⁴Leonard, 158, for the 2nd generation spouses.

²⁵See Leonard, Chapter Eleven.

²⁶Descendants of Dutch and Portuguese men and Sri Lankan women exemplify "political ethnicity" in the context of European colonial rule and post-colonial Sri Lankan society: Dennis B. McGilvray, "Dutch Burghers and Portuguese Mechanics: Eurasian Ethnicity in Sri Lanka," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24:2 (1982), 262-263.

²⁷Yuji Ichioka does not mention biethnic families: *The Issei, the World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants 1885-1924* (New York: The

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of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants 1885-1924 (New York: The Free Press, 1988).

²⁸Lawrence Michael Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers: The Chinese Experience in Arizona," *The Journal of Arizona History* 21:3 (1980), 227-256, particularly 243, 245, and 251. Ruthanne Lum McCunn's recent *Chinese American Portraits* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1988), 82, has a photograph of a Chinese Mexican family in Arizona; see also the photo in Heather S. Hatch, "The Chinese in the Southwest: A Photographic Record," *The Journal of Arizona History* 21:3 (1980), 274.

²⁹Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Immigrants to a Developing Society: The Chinese in Northern Mexico, 1875-1932," *The Journal of Arizona History* 21:3 (1980), 275-312, for general coverage and other sources; Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Racism and Anti-Chinese Persecution in Sonora, Mexico, 1876-1932," *Amerasia Journal* 9:2 (1982), 24-25, states that the children of intermarriages were culturally like their mothers and "totally integrated."

³⁰James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971) offers few details of family life for the early Chinese-black families; Robert S. Quan, *Lotus Among the Magnolias* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1982), scarcely mentions such families.

³¹Velina Hasu Houston, "Tea," *Plays in Process* 9:5 (New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1989), first performed in 1985.

³²Susan Benson, *Ambiguous Ethnicity: Interracial Families in London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

³³Chizuko Watanabe, personal communication, Los Angeles, 1981; Watanabe, 1983, 125-126.

³⁴Watanabe, 52-53. But in Mexicali, across the border from Calexico in the Imperial Valley, the few Japanese men had little contact with Mexicans: 56.

³⁵Watanabe, 53, 171-172, 134.

³⁶Watanabe, 190, and for the motto "We should assimilate but let us never be absorbed," 94.

³⁷Watanabe, 139, for the "we"/"they" dichotomy; while those born

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³⁸Watanabe, 146.

³⁹For the following, Posadas, 273-282, and Barbara M. Posadas, "Crossed Boundaries in Interracial Chicago: Filipino American Families since 1925," *Amerasia Journal* 8:2 (1981), 31-52.

⁴⁰Posadas, 1981, 46.

⁴¹Posadas, 1981, 47. The 66 wives of Punjabis for whom I was able to compile fertility histories had 6.4 children each. Watanabe's individual cases all have two or more children.

⁴²Posadas, 1981, 48.

⁴³Posadas, 1981, 46, and Posadas, 1989.

⁴⁴In Posadas, one person argues that the mixed children are more at home with Filipinos than Americans, while another stresses the distance between the descendants of the early immigrants and the post-1965 immigrants: 1989, 276.

⁴⁵James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 338. Over half of the Hispanic wives were immigrants from Mexico, while the European-American daughters who married Filipinos were more often the daughters of immigrants.

⁴⁶Watanabe, 1983, 195-208.

⁴⁷Sally Falk Moore, *Social Facts and Fabrications* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 4-5; see also Eric R. Wolf, "Inventing Society," *American Ethnologist* 15:4 (1988), 752-761, and James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta, "Beyond Culture: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropologist*, Feb. 1992, 6-23.

⁴⁸Stanley Lieberson and Mary C. Waters, *From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988), 249-250, 264-268; Stanley Lieberson and Mary C. Waters, "'The Rise of a New Ethnic Group: The 'Unhyphenated American,'" *Items* 43:1 (1989), 7-10.

⁴⁹Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990),

⁵⁰John Higham, *Send These to Me: Immigrants in Urban America*

⁵⁰John Higham, *Send These to Me: Immigrants in Urban America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984, 2nd ed.), 198-230; Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Race, Ethnicity, Cultural Pluralism in American History," in eds. James M. Gardner and George Rollie Adams, *Ordinary People and Everyday Life: Perspectives on the New Social History* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1983), 28; Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America* (New York: Atheneum, 1981), the epilogue.

⁵¹Watanabe's life history (note 6) and anecdotes suggest that (46) the Mexican Japanese view themselves as Mexican.

⁵²Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987), especially 78-80.

⁵³Higham, 232.

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Language Policy and Language Repression: The Case of Spanish Basques and Mexican Americans¹

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This paper presents the argument that there are many similarities between the linguistic and cultural repression experienced by Basques in Spain and Mexican Americans in the United States. Linguistic and cultural repression, both historically and currently, is analyzed in terms of various language policies, especially those policies related to language use in school. The struggle for and importance of bilingual education for language and cultural maintenance is discussed. The paper concludes with the caution that the rise of conservative political groups such as *The English Only Movement* demonstrates that concern about linguistic and cultural repression is as imperative currently as it was historically.

INTRODUCTION

The importance of language as a communicative and symbolic means for expressing a range of concepts, feelings, and thoughts is not a novel idea. Throughout history various scholars have attested to the importance of language by publishing scholarly discourse on this topic. For example, Herodotus, a fifth century Greek historian who has been referred to as the father of ethnography, expressed interest in the spoken language he heard during his travels.² Lord Monboddo, an eighteenth century Scottish philosopher, displayed his regard for language by publishing a book in 1774 entitled *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*. The early twentieth century produced one of the most famous and perhaps controversial language scholars, Benjamin Lee Whorf. Whorf's premise that language shapes our view

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of the world around us continues to be debated by scholars.

Not only scholars exhibit an interest in language, however. Governments and political systems demonstrate a particular type of language concern by implementing policies that mandate societal language use. The determination of language policy is simply not demarcated by the spoken languages within a community. Rather, language policy is often bounded by bureaucratic decisions that are rooted in discriminatory and oppressive ideologies. For example, in a 1921 Iowa case, *State v. Bartels*, the Supreme Court of Iowa convicted a teacher for teaching German to students. The decision in favor of the State of Iowa was made on the basis that teaching a foreign language might inculcate students with “non-American” ideas, and the best way to avoid this was by insisting on instruction in English.³ The notion that “non-American” ideas are infused through a foreign language is an example of a belief or folk idea. Often, the language policies that governments establish reveal collectively held beliefs or folk ideas about the relationship between language and culture.⁴

This paper will focus on language policies, especially those dealing with the institution of school, imposed upon two ethnic groups: Basques in the Basque country of Spain and Mexican Americans in the United States. I will attempt to show that many similarities exist between the two situations and that the language policies imposed upon Basques and Mexican Americans have fueled the linguistic and cultural subordination of the two groups. First, I will give a brief account of the historical context in which some language policies were developed. Second, I will present some of the language policies imposed upon each group. Third, I will discuss some of the consequences of language repression as well as some of the reactions Basques and Mexican Americans have had to the linguistic and cultural repression they have experienced.

Historical Contexts of Imposed Language Policies

Although the histories of the Basques and the Mexican Americans are substantially different, there are similarities between the two situations with respect to the language policy. Unlike many ethnic groups that migrate to a certain country, both the Basques and Mexican Americans have long inhabited their respective regions. Basques are said to have occupied the area of the Pyrenees mountains and seacoasts between France and Spain from time immemorial.⁵ The Basques’ lengthy inhabitation of the Pyrenees, however, has not played a decisive role in determining their linguistic and cultural autonomy. Several wars, including the First Carlist War (1833-40), the Second Carlist War (1873-76), and the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) resulted in increased Spanish political domination of the Basque

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region. As a consequence of these wars, many of the *fueros* or charters that had previously served to protect Basque interests were abolished. Losing the Spanish Civil War in particular, resulted in the encroachment on Basques' civil liberties as well as an intense repression of the Basque language, Euskera, and Basque culture.⁶

Mexican Americans⁷, originally inhabitants of Mexico, were incorporated into the U.S. after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. The area that is presently the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah was annexed to the United States after the Mexican American War (1846-48) and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.⁸ Therefore, when Mexico lost the war, Mexicans living in the area became Mexican Americans, a political minority population, even though they outnumbered their Anglo American counterparts.⁹

According to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexican Americans, as new American citizens, were guaranteed certain basic rights, such as the freedom of expression, under the U.S. Constitution. The right of freedom of expression implies the freedom to use any language for meaningful expression. However, because each state determined its own policy regarding language use, in the public domain, including public schools, the ensuing years proved the treaty to be ineffective against the linguistic and cultural repression of Mexican Americans. For example, in 1918 Texas passed a law forbidding the use of languages other than English in classrooms.¹⁰ During World War I many states joined in the prohibition of the use of non-English languages for governmental purposes and in schools.¹¹

In short, histories of conquest and political domination have placed Basques and Mexican Americans in a comparable position with both groups having to struggle for their linguistic and cultural autonomy. Within the context of the dominant society, both groups are considered social and political minorities. Ogbu, for example, specifically defines Mexican Americans as members of a caste-like minority.¹² According to Ogbu, caste-like minorities are minorities that have been incorporated into a society involuntarily through conquest or colonization and then relegated to a lowly status.¹³ This definition characterizes the minority status of Basques as well. An important distinguishing feature of caste-like minorities is how they perceive, respond, and interpret the treatment they have received.¹⁴ The ways in which Basques and Mexican Americans have responded to and interpreted the treatment given them will be explored in the last section of this paper.

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Language Policies Imposed Upon Basques and Mexican Americans

Like Mexican Americans, Basques have experienced language repression in many spheres of society. Using Euskera for interpersonal communication was outlawed in churches, schools, and seminaries among other places. For Basques, the era of Franco's dictatorship brought the most severe linguistic repression. However, as early as 1856, the Spanish government outlawed local efforts to teach Basque children in their native language.¹⁵

The prohibition of speaking Euskera in public or private schools was perhaps the most serious act of suppression. For example, it was not uncommon for teachers who were loyal Francoists to have students act as informers and point out classmates who had been speaking Euskera in school.¹⁶ Urla describes the punishment for speaking Euskera as not only cruel but often humiliating as well:

Less amusing or compassionate were the deliberate shaming tactics used in the schools to reprimand children who used Euskera when they did not know Spanish. One woman described that the nuns made girls who spoke in Euskera, stand up and pull their dress up over their heads as punishment. This was especially embarrassing, she said, for children from poor baserris whose underwear might be torn or dirty, if they had any at all. 'The teachers made us the laughing stock of the class, and this,' she told me, 'was more detrimental to Basques than any prohibition of law.'¹⁷

Many school age children came from rural areas in which Euskera was the predominant language. These children were forced into a "sink or swim" approach to learning. In school, the children had to make sense of new content material and they had to do so in a new language, making the task more difficult than if the material were presented in their native tongue. In this manner, schools were functioning to enculturate Basque children into Spanish language and culture without regard for the children's native language and culture:

The school has been a means of imposing the official language, Spanish, and it is partially responsible for the loss of the communicative function of the language (Euskera) which was never afforded the opportunity to realize its influence. This point is evidenced by the many autobiographical accounts of the physi-

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cal and symbolic repression that the Basque community has experienced in the schools.¹⁸

By the 1950s the stringent limits on the use of Euskera were beginning to soften ever so slightly. The first magazine to be printed in Euskera occurred in 1950, followed by the initiation of a chair of Basque studies at the University of Salamanca.¹⁹ One of the most significant changes came in 1970 with the passing of the Law of General Education. This law authorized the teaching of regional languages in primary schools, but gave no specific information on how to incorporate the regional languages into the curriculum. In 1975, a decree was made public that clarified the non-specificity of the 1970 law. Simply stated, Euskera was allowed on an optional basis, after school, and at the discretion of the principal.²⁰ In addition, the decree stated that Spanish would continue to be the only official language used in government settings such as courts and legislative assemblies.

At first glance the newly enacted language policies seemed to be a substantial victory for the Basques. However, years of language repression and discrimination were not wiped out by the mere introduction of policies. While the policies declared that Euskera could be taught in the state supported primary schools after hours, no provisions were made for training or recruiting teachers.²¹ Thus, the Spanish government made no formal attempt to implement Euskera as a language of instruction. In addition, moneys were not made available to assist in the recruitment of teachers.

The first official language mandate for bilingualism finally came after the Spanish Constitution (1978) and the Basque Statute of Autonomy (1979).²² The Basque Statute of Autonomy (1979) ensured the protection of an individual's right to know and use either Euskera or Spanish. Following these mandates, several decrees were incorporated into the legislation that gave the Basque government control over all non-university education. The Language Normalization Law, which was passed in 1982, was especially important because it specified the conditions under which both Spanish and Euskera could be taught in school and gave the government authority to implement whichever bilingual model the government deemed appropriate.²³

Mexican Americans have also passed through many generations of linguistic and cultural repression. Unlike the Basques, however, Mexican Americans did not experience a Francoist-like repression of their language and culture. Nevertheless, the use of Spanish among Mexican Americans has not been received favorably by the English speaking majority. Spanish spoken by Mexican Americans has been considered to be a "double-edged sword". Not only is Spanish a

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“foreign language,” but the variety of Spanish used in Mexican American communities carries the additional stigma of being considered non-standard by some monolingual Spanish speakers.

As noted previously, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo did not resolve the issues of language and cultural differences. Once incorporated in the United States, Mexican Americans became subject to the authority of the states within which they resided. Although there were laws passed by states prohibiting the use of any language other than English in places such as churches, the gravest repression was eventually and most strongly felt within the schools. A 1930s report from the Southwest reflects a generally held attitude toward educating Mexican American children:

Mexican [children] are diligently enrolled on the census, while the revenues are applied principally to the education of the American children. The practice is justified by the fact that the Americans are the principal taxpayers. The prevailing opinion is that “educating the Mexican is educating him from his job He learns English and wants to be a boss. He doesn’t want to grub Someone has to transplant onions What would we do if 50 percent of the Mexican pupils showed up? It would take more teachers and school houses. We would not have enough lumber for school houses nor enough teachers in Texas” The dominant view of the local Americans is that it is undesirable to educate the Mexicans.²⁴

One of the primary objectives of schools was the Americanization of Mexican American students - a linear assimilationist approach focused on teaching English and mainstream culture and values.²⁵ Children were forced to learn English and were often ridiculed or punished for speaking Spanish. Furthermore, many children who have been submersed into English-only classrooms have dropped out prior to reaching high school.²⁶

Even though some states have periodically approved the use of languages other than English within schools, it was not until the passage of The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (BEA) that the federal government began to mandate the provision of bilingual schooling for certain student populations. The BEA was the first incidence of widespread federal support for native language bilingual education in the United States. Several factors were instrumental in swaying support for the BEA. Among these were the following: (a) movements such as La Raza that stressed ethnic revitalization; (b) scholarly

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research indicating a positive relationship between bilingualism and intelligence; (c) the 1960 census data that indicated the Spanish surnamed population had increased by more than 50%, from 2.3 million in 1959 to nearly 3.5 million in 1960; and (d) data indicating that Spanish-speaking children were not faring well in schools.²⁷

The 1970s produced several changes in the original BEA that spawned greater support for the language and culture of Mexican Americans as well as other language minorities. For example, The Office of Civil Rights sent a memorandum to school districts having limited and non-English speaking students.²⁸ Based upon conditions that were set forth in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the memorandum stated that school districts must take steps to alleviate language deficiencies in cases where the “inability to speak and understand English excludes national origin minority group children from effective participation in the educational program”.²⁹ The memorandum did not spell out, however, what steps should be taken to correct the problem nor did it specify teaching students in their native language as the only remedy.³⁰ Out of the Civil Rights memorandum grew a series of legal battles over school districts’ obligation to adhere to the guidelines of the act. The outcome of legal battles such as *Lau v. Nichols* coupled with the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 (EEOA) resulted in the following guidelines for school districts:

- 1) all non-English speaking students must be identified;
- 2) non-English speaking students’ language proficiency must be evaluated;
- 3) a transitional bilingual program must be provided.³¹

Like the most recently enacted language policies regarding the use of Euskera in public domains, the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and its subsequent amendments have not resulted in an instant solution to the linguistic and cultural repression of Spanish speaking Mexican Americans. While the BEA recognizes that many Mexican American children enter school speaking a language other than English, its main objective is the transition of Spanish speaking students into English only classrooms. Thus, although Mexican American children may now be eased into the English language and Anglo culture, there is no attempt made to maintain their language and culture at a societal level.

Consequences of and Reactions to Language Repression

The most serious potential consequence of language repression is, of course, language loss. Basques and Mexican Americans have

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struggled to keep their languages thriving. According to Tejerina Montana, the family has played the major role in the maintenance of Euskera:

Only the institution of family and the private space as an extension of that institution appear for the collective memory as a positive factor in the maintenance of the Basque language.³²(*My translation*)

For Mexican Americans, Hernandez-Chávez has reported a similar situation.³³ That is, among Mexican Americans there is a tendency for Spanish to be supported for use primarily in the home. Language maintenance in the private domains has not been the only concern of Basques and Mexican Americans. They have also fought to make their languages acceptable for use in more public domains, such as government offices, churches, and schools. For both groups, the past twenty years have been the most significant in bringing about changes that support their linguistic and cultural freedom.

One of the groups that has been instrumental in effecting change in the interests of the Mexican American community is the *La Raza Unida* Party (LRU). The LRU was formed as an outcome of the ethnic revitalization movement of the 1960s.³⁴ The ideology of the LRU Party was designed to reflect the culture and values of the Mexican American community. For example, the LRU rejected the notion of striving for material gains based upon individualistic achievement (an Anglo approach) and instead favored La Raza oriented goals directed toward the benefit of the group.

Many facets of American society including the job market, politics, and education were deemed repressive by the LRU. Of these three areas, the LRU had its earliest impact on education. Ethnic studies programs, ethnic heritage classes, and ethnic personnel were expanded at universities as a result of demands made by the LRU. The LRU strongly advocated the need for bilingual-bicultural education and stressed the importance of language (Spanish) as an ethnic marker.

By the early 1980s LRU had lost most of its initial momentum and support for change.³⁵ LRU's loss of clout came at a time when the federal government was just beginning to reduce funding for social programs and education. Needless to say, programs that had been supported by LRU and the Mexican American community in general were among the first to be cut from the changing federal budget.

In the Basque country as well as in the United States, the 1960s reflected a time in which political and social struggle predominated. Although Basque resistance groups were active prior to the 1960s,

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Basque politics and ETA (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* [Euskadi and Freedom])³⁶ in particular have become increasingly powerful in the last two decades.

One of the rallying points of ETA is the belief that ethnicity is marked by language. A declaration by ETA that was published in 1963 in its magazine, *Zutik!*, illustrates this point: "The day that Basque ceases to be a spoken language, the Basque nation will have died; and in a few years, the descendants of today's Basques will be simply Spanish or French."³⁷

Basque activists believe that Basque should be implemented in all domains of society as a means of ensuring the longevity of the language. The use of Basque solely in the private domains is unacceptable to the political demands of ETA and other Basque activists. In fact, ETA has incorporated into their political literature, scholarly discourse on diglossia as evidence of the linguistic subordination of Basque.³⁸ According to Basque activists, a fundamental way to change the subordination of the Basque language is through the use of Basque as a language of instruction in the public domain of schools. Basque activists consider native language instruction and the teaching of Basque culture paramount to the advancement of status and preservation of Basque language and Basque culture.³⁹

Basques have been more successful than Mexican Americans in establishing schools that teach children through their native language; namely, Basque. Perhaps, the Basques' active participation in language planning has been beneficial to the language reform movement. A comparison of Basque speakers from 1981 to 1986 indicates that there is a general increase in the percentage of the Basque speaking population.⁴⁰ This should not suggest, however, that language reform measures have had an immediate impact or that language policies are not disputed. There are still many unresolved pedagogical problems with respect to language planning and the structuring of bilingual programs.⁴¹

Both Basques and Mexican Americans have reacted to years of linguistic and cultural discrimination. Resistance to the majority group's domination has taken many forms including militant activism and legislative reform. According to Ogbu, the reactions that caste-like minorities have to the dominant society are different from the reactions of other types of minorities.⁴² For example, caste-like minorities, such as Mexican Americans, develop what Ogbu calls an "oppositional cultural frame of reference" as a means of maintaining and protecting the group's social identity.⁴³ This oppositional cultural system symbolizes the minority group's belief that they cannot advance by adopting the behaviors of the dominant group. This belief may have some bearing on the fact that Mexican American

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students have the highest school dropout rate,⁴⁴ and that Mexican Americans comprise one of the two ethnic groups that have the largest number of gang members.⁴⁵ Both of these facts present evidence that Mexican American youth are expressing their opposition to cultural boundaries established by the dominant group. In this vein, Ogbu contends that Mexican Americans and caste-like minorities in general, perceive certain behaviors, events, symbols, and meanings as inappropriate for them because they are representative of the dominate group.⁴⁶

It is conceivable that some of the reactions Basques have had to the linguistic and cultural repression they have experienced can also be identified as oppositional. The rise of nationalism and an intense demand for Basque linguistic and cultural autonomy are factors that indicate the Basques' opposition to the linguistic and cultural boundaries imposed upon them by the dominant group. Political statements made by members of ETA exemplify their belief that in order for Basques to gain autonomy, they must completely remove themselves from Spanish rule.⁴⁷ By rejecting Spanish authority and everything that is associated with it, ETA and other activists may be functioning within an oppositional cultural frame of reference as a means of protecting their cultural identity.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have tried to argue that there are many similarities between the linguistic and cultural repression experienced by Basques in Spain and Mexican Americans in the United States. Historically, both Basques and Mexican Americans have endured decades of political domination and conquest by more powerful groups. One of the gravest consequences of the political domination experienced by Basques and Mexican Americans has been the establishment of language policies designed to repress the use of Euskera among Basques and Spanish among Mexican Americans. Typically, language policies are designed to establish which language(s) may be used in the public domain. However, the effects of language policies extend into the private domains as well and are manifested in various ways including the viewpoint that one's native language is inferior. I have heard this perspective expressed among bilingual adolescents with whom I have worked. In my view, it is reprehensible that anyone should feel ashamed to speak his or her native language.

Through historical documentation we learn that linguistic and cultural repression is not a new phenomenon. Our understanding of the contexts within which language and cultural repression occurs,

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such as in the cases of the Basques and Mexican Americans, is enhanced by historical and ethnographic accounts. Unfortunately, however, knowledge of past and present cases of linguistic repression may not be enough to invoke any sort of amelioration. In fact, conservative political groups such as *The English Only Movement* point to the reality that the struggle for linguistic and cultural pluralism is as critical presently as it was historically.

NOTES

¹An earlier version of this article was published in *The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students*.

²James Lett, *The Human Enterprise* (Boulder: Westview, 1987).

³Elizabeth Mertz, "Language and Mind: A Whorfian Folk Theory in United States Language Law," *Sociolinguistic Working Paper* 93:1-21.

⁴Mertz, 5.

⁵Rodney Gallop, *A Book of the Basques* (Reno: The University of Nevada Press, 1970).

⁶Joseba Zulaika, *Basque Violence: Metaphor and Sacrament* (Reno: The University of Nevada Press, 1988).

⁷The term *Mexican American* as used in this paper refers to people of Mexican origin who were either incorporated by conquest (as of 1848) or "who later immigrated from Mexico and were accorded the subordinate status of the conquered group" (Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986, p. 90)

⁸Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979).

⁹John Ogbu and Maria Eugenia Matute-Bianchi, "Understanding Sociocultural Factors: Knowledge, Identity, and School Adjustment," in *Beyond Language: Social-Cultural Factors in Schooling Language Minority Students*, ed. California State Department of Education (Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center, California State University, Los Angeles).

¹⁰G. Zamora, "Bilingual Education Works: Well-Planned and Well-Implemented Programs are the Key," *NABE NEWS* 14(February, 1990):1.

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¹¹Henry Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley: Newbury House, 1977).

¹²John Ogbu, "Variability in Minority Responses to Schooling: Nonimmigrants vs. Immigrants," in *Interpretive Ethnography of Education*, eds. G. & L. Spindler (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1986), 255-278.

¹³Ogbu, 1987.

¹⁴John Ogbu and Maria Eugenia Matute-Bianchi, 1986.

¹⁵Robert Clark, *The Basques: The Franco Years and Beyond* (Reno: The University of Nevada Press, 1979).

¹⁶Joseba Zulaika, 37.

¹⁷Jacqueline Urla, "Being Basque, Speaking Basque: The Politics of Language and Identity in the Basque Country" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1987), 284.

¹⁸B. J. Tejerina Montana, "Identidad Colectiva y Lengua: Imagenes Sociales del Euskara en el Posfranquismo" (Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Duesto, Spain, 1990), 32.

¹⁹Robert Clark, 1979.

²⁰Robert Clark, 1979.

²¹Robert Clark, 1978.

²²Jacqueline Urla, 1987.

²³Jacqueline Urla, 1987.

²⁴Joan Moore and Henry Pachon, *Hispanics in the United States* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1985), 146.

²⁵G. San Miguel, "Inside the Public Schools: A History of the Chicano Educational Experience," *Atisbos: Journal of Chicano Research* (Summer-Fall 1978), 86-100.

²⁶*NABE News*, "Hispanic Education Portrait Released," *NABE News* 13 (August, 1990):1-2.

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²⁷E. L. Judd, "Factors Affecting the Passage of the Bilingual Education ACT of 1967" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1978).

²⁸M. Malakoff and Kenji Hakuta, "History of Language Minority Education in the United States," in *Bilingual Issues and Strategies*, ed. A. M. Padilla, H. H. Fairchild, & C. M. Valadez (Newbury Park: Sage, 1990), 33.

²⁹M. Malakoff & Kenji Hakuta, 33.

³⁰M. Malakoff & Kenji Hakuta, 33.

³¹D. August & E. Garcia, *Language Minority Education in the United States* (Springfield: Charles Thomas, 1988).

³²B. J. Tejerina Montana, 30.

³³Eduardo Hernandez-Chavez, "Language Maintenance, Bilingual Education, and Philosophies of Bilingualism in the United States," in *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics*, ed. J. Alatis (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1978), 527-550.

³⁴Joan Moore & Henry Pachon, 1985.

³⁵Joan Moore & Henry Pachon, 1985.

³⁶Euskadi, a term coined by the founder of the modern Basque nationalist movement, Sabino Arana, refers to the Basque nation. For a discussion of this see Zulaika, page 18.

³⁷Jacqueline Urla, 1987.

³⁸Jacqueline Urla, 1987.

³⁹Jacqueline Urla, 1987.

⁴⁰B. J. Tejerina Montana, 1990.

⁴¹Jacqueline Urla, 1987.

⁴²John Ogbu, 255-278.

⁴³John Ogbu, 255-278.

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⁴⁴NABE News, 1990.

⁴⁵James Diego Vigil, *Barrio Gangs: Street Life and Identity in Southern California* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1988).

⁴⁶John Ogbu, 1987.

⁴⁷Joseba Zulaika, 1988.

**Abstracts From the Twenty-First Annual Conference
National Association for Ethnic Studies
"Race, Class, and Gender"**

**March 3-6, 1993
Red Lion Hotel, Salt Lake City, Utah**

**SESSION I: "THE POLITICS OF PEDAGOGY: GENDER AND ETHNICITY IN
HIGHER EDUCATION"**

NAES Sponsored Panel

Chair: Allene Jones, Texas Christian University

James Williams, Cal Poly, Pomona. **"From Pacification to Pablum: Student Outcomes and Program Assessment in Ethnic Studies."**

Harriet Ottenheimer, Kansas State University. **"Changing Institutional Culture: Ethnic Studies in Monocultural Midwest."**

Jesse Vazquez, Queens College, CUNY. **"A Comparative View of Ethnic Studies and the New Multiculturalism."**

Respondent: Otis Scott, California State University, Sacramento

Each of these papers carries its own particular theme. And while this is the case, each thesis converges from points not too dissimilar from each other to re-establish two focus points relating to the formation of Ethnic Studies programs on predominantly European American campuses over the last twenty to twenty-five years.

Let me turn to focus point one. Since 1968 when the first African American Studies Program was formed at San Francisco State College, institutionalizing Ethnic Studies programs has been an ongoing task. It has been a task fraught with challenges relating to developing and institutionalizing new academic formation. Ethnic Studies programs consistently must function within campus milieu which tends to be, at best, tolerant, at worst, down right hostile. It is this kind of dialectic which the authors of these papers address in their own way.

Professor Ottenheimer's paper is an accounting of the history of efforts to institutionalize Ethnic Studies at Kansas State University, Manhattan. In the main, I found this paper an informative accounting of the praxis involved in framing an Ethnic Studies program and presence. Anyone interested in crafting a history of Ethnic Studies programs would find much useful information in this paper.

What I found interesting about the history of Ethnic Studies at Kansas, Manhattan, is that generally it appears that the initial discourse respecting the

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program occurred within what can be characterized as a supportive environment. This is to say, no apparent pockets of resistance were identified. It seems that while the thorny issues involving curriculum development, program governance and budget had to be worked out, the resolution of these matters occurred within a collegial and supportive environment.

There are a couple of observations regarding this paper I'd like to make. The Ethnic Studies initiative at Ottenheimer's campus was driven by two committee reports written in 1983. Her paper is silent as to the reasons for the first report. It is intimated that the report was in response to some concerns of minority students; yet, this remains unstated.

The second observation is this. Professor Ottenheimer represents Kansas State as a monocultural formation. I find this concept intriguing; I am not certain I know exactly what she means. I suspect that it is descriptive of what Ottenheimer identifies as sets of common behaviors and attitudes of those dominating public affairs at KSU. I'm wondering about the extent to which there are not other cultural groups or interests which compete for presence and influence at KSU. Was the Ethnic Studies program the product of monoculturalism? More information here would have helped clarify the meaning of monoculturalism.

The second focus point evidenced by these papers is related to the tasks/challenges associated with sustaining Ethnic Studies presence in colleges and universities. Professor Vazquez frames a question which is not unspoken by Ethnic Studies disciplinarians. When it is raised it is often done so politely. The question concerns the issue, or as some would put it, movement towards "multiculturalizing" the curriculum. Professor Vazquez raises questions regarding the concept, its motives and its implications for Ethnic Studies.

If Ottenheimer's paper serves as a record of the implementation of an Ethnic Studies program, the Vazquez paper reminds us that once in place, program heads and faculty must remain as vigilant as Horatius at the Bridge, forever on guard against attempts to undermine the Ethnic Studies project.

Professor Vazquez correctly frames an analytical model with which we can begin better understanding the motives, meanings and implications of "multiculturalism." Key to this model is knowing the history of Ethnic Studies formations. Professor Vazquez reminds us that Ethnic Studies programs have intellectual traditions, pedagogical approaches and philosophical underpinnings which stand as critiques of this society's social formations. Ethnic Studies programs have a tradition of being at tension with the intellectual conventions of a society which has shaped colonial relationships with people of color in this nation. In reminding us of this Vazquez draws from key principles underlying the formation of Puerto Rican Studies. These principles, academic autonomy, methodology, theoretical framework, community base and pedagogy, should guide our practice in Ethnic Studies.

In the paper, "From Pacification to Pablum: Student Outcomes Assessment and Program Assessment in Ethnic Studies," Williams draws bead on a topic ever gaining in currency—student outcomes assessment. Increasingly, colleges are being challenged by various segments of the public—not the least of which are state legislatures—to demonstrate their effectiveness as institutions of education. Dean Williams in this paper calls upon Ethnic Studies programs to initiate their own outcomes assessment processes before they are imposed by administrators, faculty or external agencies unfriendly and/ or unknowing of Ethnic Studies work.

And while I subscribe to the principle that those of us teaching in Ethnic Studies should have concern for the extent to which we are near to or distant from accomplishing our missions and goals, I urge a cautious and thoughtful approach to the matter of outcomes assessment. I am not a priori against such activities. I urge caution inasmuch as there needs to be much work done first on the subject of setting standards of teaching and learning which must be at the core of any attempts to measure outcomes. Specifically, those of us in Ethnic Studies must grapple with the sticky issues relating to, for example, what content, what learning experiences do we

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minimally expect in, for example, an Introduction to Ethnic Studies course. This is discourse that is long overdue.

I urge caution for another reason. As each of the authors acknowledges in their papers, Ethnic Studies at predominantly European American universities have had more or less common histories shaped by painful beginnings. And while many of us are associated with programs in existence for fifteen to twenty-five years, we are reminded that in various ways of our tenuous institutional status. As Derek Bell reminds us, notwithstanding our tenure as academic formations, we are not yet served.

This is to say that in these days of stringent budgets and widespread ennui by the tax paying public regarding higher education, developing student outcomes assessment instruments will not save Ethnic Studies. What will be continuing the work associated with our scholarship, teaching and community service. What Ethnic Studies must do is to use our work as an instrument of empowerment for the communities we represent. In the long run this is what will valorize the worth of Ethnic Studies.

In sum these papers bring our attention to several important issues framing the contemporary status of Ethnic Studies. Each serves as a reminder of the work which is left to be done given the challenges of the times.

SESSION II: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER

Chair: Catherine McKay, Weber State University

Aloma Mendoza, National-Louis University. **"Ethnic and National Identification of Caribbean Female Immigrants in Canada."**

The level of adjustment of Caribbean women immigrants will depend in part on their ethnic or national identification with Canadian society. It is also directly related to their socioeconomic, cultural and psychological experiences in this pluralistic society.

In a qualitative adjustment study of ninety Caribbean female immigrants living in Canada, questions pertaining to ethnic or national identity led to respondents classifying themselves as Caribbean nationals, by the islands of birth or by hyphenated titles. Some reasons included the importance of cultural traditions; a feeling of non-acceptance by whites; and prejudice and discrimination based on racism, classism, sexism, and immigrant status.

Edwin Napia, University of Utah. **"Taaniko: Polynesian Origins from a Maori Perspective."**

This paper presents the origins of the Polynesians from the often neglected Maori point of view which conflicts with western academic philosophy inasmuch as it accepts as credible four different and seemingly conflicting versions of origin and utilizes knowledge preserved in traditional chants and stories. It articulates the mythological, biological, legendary, and historical origin stories of the Maori and is illustrative of the lack of credibility given to traditional folklore and different perceptions of knowledge.

Viola Cordova, University of Alaska, Fairbanks. **"Identity and Belief."**

The question I will address is, to what degree does belief play a role in the development of specific group identities and how does this affect the development of a personal identity? In my paper I will address the following propositions:

1. There is a definite and important distinction to be made between race and ethnicity.
2. Belief plays a much greater role in the development of an ethnic view.
3. An understanding of the role of belief in the making of identity has

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implications for our understanding of personal identity and our tolerance of the “other.”

Akbarali Thobhani, Metropolitan State College of Denver. **“Women and the Indian Bazaar Economy of Vancouver.”**

This presentation will deal with the hypothesis that women constitute the most dominant factor in the rapidly expanding economy of the Indian bazaar of Vancouver, British Columbia. This Canadian city is attracting a large number of East Indian immigrants. A very prominent Indian bazaar has blossomed on the Main Street of Vancouver covering several blocks. This bazaar is gaining reputation as one of the leading shopping centers for East Asians not only in Canada but also in the United States. In my visits to the bazaar, I have observed that a very large number of shops emphasize merchandise of primary interest to women and also women make up quite a large part of the clientele. By doing an empirical study, I am proposing to determine the extent to which women account for this bazaar economy. A slide presentation will accompany.

SESSION III: REVISIONIST APPROACHES TO RACE AND GENDER IN LITERATURE
Chair: Ashton Welch, Creighton University

Evelyn Torres, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo. **“Poetics and Politics of a Racial Epithet: Judy Grahn’s ‘Nigger’ in the Rosepile.”**

Judy Grahn, a white, working-class lesbian, employs the metaphor “nigger” twenty-seven times in her “Descent to the Roses of the Family” (1986). She does so to articulate the myriad meanings of an imaginary “Africanist presence” with no niche in a culture that cannot accommodate an electrifying life force undeformed by divisions of power. Unlike some white American writers analyzed by Toni Morrison in her *Playing in the Dark* (1992), Grahn does not construct this black icon as a “disabling virus” to inflate her sense of self by contrast but rather to realize fully, through opposition, the pathology of emotional paralysis.

Eva Lopez, University of Minnesota. **“La Cuaterona: Power Construct, Interracial Love, and the New Social Order.”**

La Cuaterona (1878), written by renowned Puerto Rican playwright Alejandro Tapia y Rivera (1826-82), was considered a work of abolitionist propaganda. Critical of nineteenth century Hispanic cultural values, the text has been viewed as an attempt to challenge the cultural notions of race and class in Puerto Rico while still under Spanish rule. By embedding the romantic motifs into plot, character, theme, and dialogue, the text creates an interdependency between race, class, and gender which translates itself into a patriarchal social order. The purpose of this essay is to examine the interconnections among these cultural constructions and evaluate ideological assumptions communicated by the romantic Puerto Rican text.

Kelly Mendiola, Boston College. **“When a Woman Gets the Blues: A Summoning of Ancestral Voices in Works by Toni Cade Bambara and Shirley Williams.”**

Respondent: Judy Elsley, Weber State University

Kelly Willis Mendiola examines three texts by African American writers in her paper: *The Salt Eaters* and “Medley” by Toni Cade Bambara, and “Tell Martha Not to Moan” by Shirley Williams. Her purpose is to show how these writers employ the blues to “mediate African-American experience and deal with issues of voicelessness caused by loss of the mediation of the blues.”

Mendiola demonstrates that the blues are an intimate part of that African American experience, something that only a few years ago we would have designated popular culture, not worthy to be discussed in theoretical terms in an academic setting. It’s a mark of the changing times that we acknowledge and recognize not only the voice

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of a marginalized group (in this case, black women), but that we also realize the arbitrary and often prejudiced judgements we make about what should or should not be discussed in academia. Acknowledging and exploring the cultural significance of the blues in the setting of academic literary studies represents one more way that we open up the traditional canon of literature.

Mendiola demonstrates that the blues have been a way for African American women's voices to be heard, and shows how devastating it is when that voice is blocked, ignored, or silenced. She also points to the connection between silence and powerlessness. To be silenced is also to be stripped of personal power. Using the African American experience, Mendiola shows, like Tillie Olsen in her book *Silences*, how silence crushes a woman's voice, her creativity, and her access to herself.

Mendiola's paper effectively illustrates the point of this conference. The move towards greater awareness of multiculturalism is an attempt to acknowledge the many voices which have been ignored and silenced in our culture, voices which through that silencing, have been effectively disempowered.

Evelyn Torres's paper takes an in-depth look at Judy Grahn's poem, "Descent to the Roses of the family." Grahn's poem is a powerful meditation on a dysfunctional family and the harm done to the various members of that family. I would like to suggest that the family becomes a metonym for a dysfunctional culture, one that will not or cannot accept and respect the various family members, that operates out of prejudice and limited self-interest.

Some readers might ask if such a poem helps the writer towards healing, or if it reinforces the prejudice by naming it—using the word "nigger" twenty-seven times so we cannot forget it. I would argue that it is necessary to see and speak about what is often difficult, seemingly irresolvable if we are ever to move through it.

Evelyn Torres shows us how the construction of a black Other has served a useful purpose to white America—it gives whites a way to define themselves. That which we say we despise, the "nigger" is, in fact, essential to us, for we do not know who we are without that designation of Other. This is a racial version of Simone de Beauvoir's point in *The Second Sex* where she argues that men know themselves as Self because they can compare themselves with that lower Other, women, and further that even the weakest man can feel better about himself because at least he is not a woman.

It is essential for us to listen to the voice of that disempowered Other if we wish to know in a more complex and full way who we are. Historian Peggy Pascoe illustrates the same point when she talks about revising the history of the West in her 1991 article, "Western Women at the Cultural Crossroads." In defining New Western History, she argues that we need a "history of women in the West that is multicultural, cross-cultural, and intercultural" (43). She points out that western land was neither empty nor free and that the white Americans who moved westward were never its only inhabitants. To the extent that the frontier might remain a useful concept for western history, it would be as a frontier of interactions among the various cultural groups who lived in or passed through the area. In other words, we need to learn to see the frontier as a cultural crossroads rather than a geographic freeway to the West, and we need to focus on the interactions among the various groups of people who sought to control the region. (46) In fact, she argues that only when we take into account people we've traditionally subsumed as marginal in the telling of western history do we get a full and accurate picture. The margins, then, are essential to the center, as it's been traditionally defined. I quote Peggy Pascoe at some length to show how a multicultural vision, whether in history or literature or any other discipline, is a way to reconfigure knowledge, a way to re-vision the disciplines we are working in.

The metaphors we employ to describe our culture reflect the way we think about it. You may have noticed the quilt that formed the backdrop in each of the photos accompanying the literature for this conference. The quilt has become the new metaphor for cultural diversity, replacing the melting pot. What's the difference? Literary critic Elaine Showalter explains in her recent book, *Sister's Choice*:

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The melting-pot, with its associations of alchemy, industry and assimilation, had shaped American discourse on immigration and ethnicity for most of the twentieth century. . . . But since World War II, the image of the melting-pot had carried unpleasant associations, not only the macabre echoes of cannibalism and the crematorium, but also distasteful connotations of processed identical robots. Americans needed a new metaphor of national identity, one that acknowledged ethnic difference, heterogeneity, and multiplicity, that incorporated contemporary concerns for gender, race and class. Thus the patchwork quilt came to replace the melting-pot as the central metaphor of American cultural identity. (168-69)

The papers we have heard today contribute to the quilt of cultural diversity, acknowledging, in Showalter's words, "ethnic difference, heterogeneity, and multiplicity, that incorporates contemporary concerns for gender, race and class."

SESSION IV: CRITIQUES OF WHITE FEMINISM

Chair: Barbara Hiura, University of California, Berkeley

Karen Stuhldreher, University of Washington. **"Rethinking Sexual Harassment: Implications for Feminist Theory in the Wake of Hill/Thomas."**

This project considers the ways in which contemporary feminist theories of the subject enable us to reconceptualize sexual harassment as a mode of domination orchestrated through multiple axes of race and class as well as gender. In examining representations of sexual harassment in feminist texts, in government and business policies, and in the Thomas confirmation hearings and media fallout, it finds that sexual harassment is narrowly conceived as a gender abstraction that belies the importance of race/ethnicity and class. Consequently, these prevailing interpretations make invisible the particular experiences of women of color and working class women in relation to sexual harassment.

Kumiko Takahara, University of Colorado. **"Unequal Sisters'—From Asian American Women's Perspectives."**

This paper explores the general characteristics and public perceptions of Asian American women. Diverse cultural backgrounds of Asian women and their settlement history in American society make their group cohesion and identity difficult. A questionnaire given to Caucasian women of various ages and occupations to find out their perception of Asian American women has revealed a general lack of sensitivity to the ethnic and cultural diversities of their Asian colleagues and a predominantly patronizing attitude. Underneath the questionees' disclaimer of racial prejudice, there is real prejudice in measuring and equating Asian women with themselves using the Eurocentric notion of women.

M. Rivka Polatnick, San Jose State University. **"Poor Black Sisters Decided for Themselves: A Case Study of '60's Women's Liberation Activism."**

This paper challenges narrow conceptions of the '60's women's movement that render invisible the activism of women of color. I describe an influential '60's group of black and mainly poor women, the Mt. Vernon/New Rochelle group, who were militant women's liberationists. The research is based on primary written sources and interview with core members. I compare the group's political approach with white and middle-class approaches in this period.

Respondent: Dair Gillespie, University of Utah

The papers presented by Karen Stuhldreher, Kumiko Takahara and Rivka Polatnick all reflect a general theme of much recent thinking among feminists, a theme which focuses on how women's multiple social locations within race, class and gender intersect and how those intersections affect women's everyday lives. This renewed focus on how race, class and gender intersect has forced us to rethink feminist theory

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and feminist history and has led to two major critiques of feminist theory written from a white perspective: First, by using general concepts such as "women" or "women's experience," white feminist theorizing failed to recognize differences among and between women, thus ignoring and/or homogenizing the variety of women and women's experiences. Second, white feminist theory, because of the theoretical flaw just noted, failed to deal adequately with how women's experiences reflect the particular intersections of race, class and gender in our lives.

In our attempts to correct the problems of feminist theory in dealing with the intersection of race, class and gender, we run the concomitant risk of erring in the other direction—of homogenizing white feminists or the history of the early women's movement and failing thereby to take into account the intersection of race, class and gender among early feminists.

In her own way, each of the presenters today has wrestled with the issues outlined above and has encountered problems in the homogenization of "feminists" or "white feminists." I would like to discuss each of the papers in the order in which they were presented, then make some concluding remarks about theory, feminism, and the making of history.

In "Rethinking Sexual Harassment: Implications for Feminist Theory in the Wake of Hill/Thomas," Karen Stuhldreher has offered an excellent critique of the underlying assumptions in the law, the role of consent, and the relationship of silence to consent in legal representations of sexual harassment. She has offered one of the most cogent and convincing arguments I have seen on those subjects. In addition, she has provided us with an excellent critique of the assumptions underlying MacKinnon's *Sexual Harassment of Working Women*.

My own problems with the paper lie with issues of homogenizing the social category, "white feminists," as discussed in my introductory remarks. MacKinnon, though very well cited, was neither the first nor the only white feminist working on the issue of sexual harassment during this historical period. To equate MacKinnon's position with "white feminism," as Stuhldreher does, is to do a great disservice to those white feminists whose arguments and theories opposed MacKinnon's. People like Bularkin and Reed were analyzing sexual harassment as an occupational power issue and in class terms long before MacKinnon arrived upon the scene. People like Maria Mies and Patricia Jeffries continue those types of analysis.

In trying to understand the history of social movements and changes in theoretical positions, one of the questions we need to ask ourselves is why do we come to know the work of some individuals or groups in social movements but not others? Why Martin Luther King but not Malcolm X? Why Cesar Chavez? Why MacKinnon but not the work of many other feminists also working and writing in that period? Why is MacKinnon's voice privileged and how or what is the relationship of academic feminists to the rest of the movement?

Dr. Stuhldreher argues that the problems with present interpretations of sexual harassment are based on "second-wave feminism"—a proposition which is asserted but not demonstrated. Feminists (and white feminists) had a variety of different interpretations and theoretical explanations for sexual harassment, as I mentioned before. If, in fact, some white feminists managed to influence legal thinking on the issue, why these white feminists and not other feminists? Who were they, and how did they achieve influence? How was this attached to their race or class privilege? How did their articulation of theoretical positions result from their social locations within race, class and gender hierarchies? And even if some white feminists played into "sexualization" interpretations of sexual harassment, this did not mean that all feminists did so. To equate MacKinnon with "white feminists," as does Dr. Stuhldreher, is to ignore important differences among white feminists and among feminists.

In the section on social contract theory, Stuhldreher opposes the liberal tradition and the "counter tradition," but the counter tradition remains unnamed, and white feminists who worked in those traditions remain voiceless and conse-

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quently unnoticed and unimportant as feminist voices. This kind of analysis leads toward an interpretation of all white feminists as liberal or as in the same camp as MacKinnon, an unacceptable homogenization of both feminist and white feminist positions. Thus, the paper fails to recognize political and theoretical struggles within feminism and among white feminists of the period.

In the paper, "Unequal Sisters"—From Asian American Women's Perspectives," Professor Kumiko Takahara encounters many of the same issues and problems, though in a somewhat different guise. Her pilot program to try to understand how Asian American women understand themselves and their own experiences and how they are understood by their Caucasian counterparts is an interesting and important one. The idea of looking at the impact of class and status assignments in country of origin for Asian American women who are recent settlers in the US is a most promising and exciting direction.

My first suggestion for expanding this work to a full-scale research project would be to seek a way of allowing for the women's own voices to be heard when they talk about their experiences. Special care should be taken to avoid homogenizing their voices within summary statements. In addition, using only one woman from each ethnic group, while extremely interesting in a pilot project, does not provide us with adequate information for very diverse ethnic groups.

The research must be carefully designed to include the variety of Asian American ethnicities, and to account for class, immigrant status, class in the country of birth, and so forth, when discussing these women's diverse life experiences. As currently designed, the sample is disproportionately skewed to represent the middle class. While the experiences of university students and faculty are interesting in their own right, we cannot assume that students or faculty represent women of other classes in other social locations. To assume that interview schedules handed out in college town mainly to college-related people would represent the great breadth of Asian women's experiences is to homogenize Asian women and to fail to take into account their immigrant status, ethnicity, class in native country, class in the US, level of education, and so forth. I have the same kind of objections to the "Caucasian" sample. Who are the people from the jails? Are they males, females or both? Why are people in jail particularly appropriate to represent "Caucasians" and how does this relate to the issue of white feminists? In this case, "white women's attitudes" and "white feminists' attitudes" are seen as identical categories. This conceptualization will inevitably lead to ignoring variation within class among white women or among white feminists and consequently to how they interpret Asian American women. As currently constructed, all Caucasians are equated with feminists, and all feminists are categorized as white. It is important to remember that feminists, whites, women, and white women also have class and ethnic social locations which influence their own perceptions and behavior.

In the paper, "Poor Black Sisters Decide for Themselves: A Case Study of '60s Women's Liberation Activism," Professor Rivka Polatnick attempts to recover lost voices of "poor black feminists," and to place them and their feminist analyses within their own particular social location. She focuses on the complexity of their situation and describes the impact of their struggle for autonomy on particular theoretical and activist positions within their own communities.

One of the complaints of the early Women's Liberation Movement and of other movements for liberation as well has been that our history has been stolen from us. Polatnick's paper addresses questions of who controls our history and how it is written. What I like most about Professor Polatnick's work is that she is fighting the trend toward the homogenization of the history of the Women's Liberation Movement, both in our understanding who "feminists" were and are, and also in that she attempts to recover the history of women's struggle in all its variability. This is an exceptional piece of work articulating the effect of the nexus of location of race/class on a group's theoretical analysis and political activism strategy.

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In order to appropriately and seriously critique "white feminist" theorizing, we now must analyze (or deconstruct) the content of white feminist theorizing, noting both where and how it fails to be inclusive, and we must begin to examine the epistemological and methodological implications of our theoretical constructions. In understanding how certain social groups or subgroups became and remain "voiced," or obtain hegemony of interpretation, it is absolutely critical that we ascertain who (in terms of race, class and gender intersections), has social and material access to public communication and/or the mass media. While continuing our critique of white feminism, we must also continually ask ourselves: Who are feminists, white feminists, white women? To lump together all feminists of a particular historical period as "white feminists" allows us to ignore class and ethnic location within white feminism just as the lumping together of all "minority women" or "Asian-American" women allows us to ignore the articulation between gender/race/class and the theoretical and epistemological issues which construct our history and our lives.

SESSION V: RACIAL AND ETHNIC AFFIRMATION IN LITERATURE

Chair: Mary Young, University of Utah

Lillian Kremer, Kansas State University. **"Ethnic Affirmation in Recent Jewish American Literature: Reflections on Representative Fictions of Cynthia Ozick, Hugh Nissenson, and Arthur Cohen."**

Instead of the demise of Jewish American writing anticipated by Leslie Fiedler, who argued that the dominant themes of marginality, alienation, and victimization (associated in American literature with the Jew) had peaked, the genre is enjoying renewed vitality. Rather than restricting ethnicity to psychological and sociological portraits, Ozick, Cohen, and Nissenson bring Jewish history, religious and literary influences to the forefront of their fiction, advocating Judaic affirmation, renewal, and redemption. Their writing is erudite in its allusions to Judaic texts and theology, its incorporation of Hebrew and Yiddish language and literature. Admiration for Jewish texts and contribution to the midrashic narrative mode characterized this fiction, heralding a Jewish American cultural renaissance.

Helen Lock, Northeast Louisiana University. **"Redrawing the Spirit in the Flesh': Haitian Vodun's Transformative Visual Aesthetic."**

The crossroads at the intersection of cultures is fertile ground for the study of iconographical transformations. In Haiti, for example, Vodun devotees redefine the meaning and content of Roman Catholic visual texts, by discarding the conventional symbolism and rereading the text functionally; the locus of (Vodun) meaning shifts to the text's pre-iconographic structure. This model of subversive aesthetic reinterpretation provides a useful and illuminating paradigm of the strategies of indirect resistance employed by oppressed ethnic groups and cultures.

Suzanne Jones, University of Richmond. **"Reconstructing Readers: Race Relations in Dori Sanders' Clover."**

Literary critic Wolfgang Iser has argued that by reading we reformulate ourselves and so discover what had previously eluded our consciousness. Embedded within Dori Sanders' novel *Clover* is a paradigm of reading, which suggests that one's identity in relation to people of another race can be reformulated by reading and that difficulties in race relations are caused in part by misreading difference. Sanders illuminates the ways in which racial differences in this country are social constructions, not irreducible natural differences. Sanders' approach is anthropological; her novel is filled with the objects and rituals of everyday life in the South. The conflicts in the story turn on misunderstandings about food and clothing, funerals and jobs as Sanders represents cultural differences between blacks and whites that often cause misunderstandings. In the course of the novel Sanders herself takes the job of an anthropologist—making the strange seem familiar, the familiar seem strange.

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Thelma Shinn, Arizona State University. *“A Pattern of Possibility.”*

SESSION VI: CONSIDERATIONS OF THE INTERSECTION OF RACE/ETHNICITY, CLASS AND GENDER

Chair: Cami Courtright, Brigham Young University

Sharon Smiley, Brigham Young University. *“Impact of Social Pressure on the Academic Performance of Black Adolescents.”*

Rachel Hyde, Brigham Young University. *“Who is Head Start Serving?”*

Gregory S. Hinckley, Brigham Young University. *“The Influence of Goddesses on Indian Women.”*

Drew Frogley, Brigham Young University. *“Social Causes of Asian Gangs.”*

SESSION VII: MARGINALITY IN THE ACADEMY

Chair: Ronald Coleman, University of Utah

Roberta Pond and Lauren Bruce, University of Alaska, Anchorage. *“Native Women of Alaska: Problems Resulting from Racism and Sexism and How a University Strives to Help.”*

This paper is about racism and sexism and its impact on the Native women of Alaska, and what one university is doing to combat the problem. Investigated here is how the lack of self-esteem has become the underlying net result of the multiple problems of this group of women. Many institutions need to play a role in helping these young women. We have focused on the University of Alaska, Anchorage, and the multicultural committee and how they are (or are not) successfully addressing the specific concerns of our young Native women students.

Cristina Kirklighter, University of South Florida. *“Blurring Differences: A Bicultural Perspective on Teaching English.”*

This article/personal essay is a dramatic/traumatic piece that blurs the theoretical border crossings set forth by Edward Said, Henry Giroux, Paulo Freire, and others with my own Honduran/Southern White interconnected cultural and biological makeup. Through this meshing of theory and bicultural personal experiences, I offer teachers a way to displace their own confining fears of teaching minority literary works to students. I also offer a way for “different” minority students to see their own painful reflections in similar mirrors.

Respondent: Steven Bell, University of Utah

SESSION VIII: RACE, CLASS AND GENDER IN POLITICS

Chair: Jeff Garcilazo, University of Utah

Rodolfo Rosales, The Tomas Rivera Center. *“Political Inclusion, Political Power, and the Role of Women in Chicano Middle Class Politics in San Antonio, Texas.”*

After World War II, the Chicano community emerged as the fastest growing group in Texas. Especially in San Antonio, the Chicano community went from 35% of the population in 1951 to almost 60% in 1991. It is during this period that the Chicano community finally gained independent political representation in San Antonio’s political institutions.

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This paper is a theoretical discussion of the role of the Chicano middle class in urban politics. The discussion will use the San Antonio experience to propose general political characteristics that have gone into the making of this middle class, and how these characteristics shape and form the middle class's behavior in urban politics. Important questions that will be addressed will be the definition of political inclusion in the context of political power; the historic exclusion of women in the development of Chicano middle class politics until recently; and how Chicanas have influenced the development of Chicano middle class politics in San Antonio.

John Valadez, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater. **"Community Based Organizations: Their Role in Creating, Maintaining and Developing Political Participation in the Latino Community."**

As we end the 20th century we see a major growth of the Latino population in both numbers and potential political power. However, a fundamental problem faced by the Latino is what is the best way to organize and take advantage of their emerging political power. Community Based Organizations seem to be surfacing as the element most needed to help define the political issues and political development of the Latino community. What I propose is to develop a paper which will look at the importance of CBO's in creating and defining the political issues important to the Latino. Uniquely the paper will have a midwestern orientation; in particular, it will look at Latino organizations based in Chicago. My hope is to provide an overall analysis of how CBO's have helped the community redefine its political relationships not only within the Latino community but also with its non-Latino neighbors.

Respondent: David Hood, Eastern Montana University

I enjoyed reading each of the papers and appreciated receiving them before the conference. The three papers are united by two threads. The first is general and involves the notion of "political culture." Political culture refers to habitual forms of behavior one exhibits towards the political system. Daniel Elazar in his book *American Federalism* (1984) develops three pure-type political cultures which exist in the United States. Each of these have attitudes about government and levels of political participation.

The "moralistic" political culture is found in Vermont, Wisconsin, and Oregon. Briefly stated, it is characterized as possessing positive views of government as the "justice" commonwealth, active encouragement of citizen participation, and intolerance of government corruption. The "individualistic" political culture is found in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. It views government as a marketplace to be used by the officeholder, citizen participation is neither encouraged, nor discouraged, and corruption is tolerated as long as it remains within "reasonable" bounds. The "traditionalistic" culture can be found in the South. It is characterized by low participation, government which is controlled by a family or social elite, and corruption is widespread.

Mary Giles, who wrote an interesting paper on the ascent of women in Arkansas politics, but was unable to attend the conference, finds that many politically active women in Arkansas "choose" to avoid high public roles. Giles notes that out of twenty-two available seats in the 1990 Arkansas Senate race only one woman filed candidacy. She suggests that Arkansas women prefer "behind the scenes" positions, e.g., campaign managers for male candidates. On those rare occasions when a female runs for public office, the candidate discovers difficulty raising funds and often experiences criticism from fellow women.

The situation Giles observes among women in Arkansas's political environment may be explained by political culture. Arkansas has a traditionalistic culture which actively discourages participation. Additionally, such a culture honors the existing social and power relationships. Women who are politically active may feel more comfortable playing roles which receive low public attention, rather than challenge the existing order, i.e., role stereotypes. Those women who do challenge the value system face hostility even from other females.

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John Valadez, in his study of Latino political participation in a Chicago community, finds low voter turnout and general apathy which he refers to as “Latino fatalism.” He aptly explains that this situation may be due to socioeconomic factors. Contemporary research on political participation demonstrates that the lower one’s education level, income, and occupation status the more likely the person will not vote. The Latinos of Pilsen, as Dr. Valadez demonstrates, possess low socioeconomic status. His research also illustrates a community where low political efficacy is widespread and many citizens view the political system from an upward deference perspective.

Implicitly discussed in Dr. Valadez’s paper is the impact of political culture. Chicago has an individualistic culture which does not encourage citizen involvement. Public office is viewed as the realm of career politicians, not amateurs. Moreover, general public willingness to tolerate limited corruption as a natural part of governance (found in individualistic cultures) may explain some of the frustration Pilsen residents focused on the Chicago “machine.”

A second thread which weaves the papers together involves two comprehensive theories of ethnic politics: political assimilation as stated by Robert Dahl, and ethnic mobilization which is described by Raymond Wolfinger. Each of these theories since the 1960s, when first introduced, has undergone revision by proponents. Simply put, Dahl suggests that ethnic politics is a transitional phenomenon which disappears as the ethnic group becomes socioeconomically disparate, and he offers a three stage model which explains the decline of ethnic politics. During the first stage, members of the group share low status, little income, and negligible sociopolitical influence—the community is dependent on outside politicians and vote as a bloc. In the second stage, the group becomes more socioeconomically heterogeneous and develops a middle class. While ethnic unity is possible, Dahl suggests the group enters the third stage when it is highly heterogeneous in its socioeconomic characteristics. Ethnicity is not only unimportant as a factor explaining political behavior, but a source of embarrassment.

In opposition, Wolfinger suggests that ethnic politics do not steadily diminish with the passing of time and the achievement of upward mobility. Upward mobility is a virtual prerequisite for ethnic politics rather than a cause of its decline. With the development of a middle class the group finds itself in possession of individuals with the necessary organizational and communication skills to conduct a successful campaign. Once a middle class has been established, the ethnic group becomes capable of ensuring candidacy for major office.

Both Rodolfo Rosales’s and John Valadez’s papers offer support for the ethnic mobilization perspective. Dr. Rosales, who investigates political participation among Chicanos in San Antonio, finds that the rise of a Mexican American middle class after World War II created opportunities for participation. This impact led to ethnic organizational development and frequency of ethnic candidates. He characterizes this period (until 1977) as a “community empowerment” time.

Similarly, Dr. Valadez’s findings indicate that the Latino community in Pilsen (Chicago) has not become an active political participant because no middle class exists. Applying Dr. Rosales’s research, it is only after the group becomes more socioeconomically dissimilar that conditions for mobilization will exist.

SESSION IX: GENDER AND COLONIAL/POST-COLONIAL DISCOURSE

Chair: Jesse Vazquez, Queens College, CUNY

Ranjana Khanna, University of Utah and University of York, UK. **“The Colonization of the Dark Continent.”**

The metaphor of the “Dark Continent” came into use with Stanley’s narrative about Africa: Through the Dark Continent. It is used by Freud also in an exploratory narrative, not in relation to Africa, but in relation to female sexuality. To

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analyse the "enigmatic" area, Freud chose to use a metaphor with connotations of the colonized: the "dark continent" was Africa "her" self. This paper draws the implications of these uses of the metaphor together, so as to pose the question: "How can the woman of colour achieve a subject position in a language which conceives of her in alterity?"

Luis Pinto, Bronx Community College, CUNY. **"Women in Puerto Rican History: Significant Physical Presence-Notorious Historical Absence from the Traditional Colonial Discourse."**

The significant effects that women have had in the historical transformation of the economic, social, cultural, political and ideological arenas of the Hispanic societies of the colonial period in the New World had been practically ignored from the traditional historical discourse.

In this respect Puerto Rico has not been an exception to the rule. In this paper I plan to investigate this concern using whatever documentation that would shed some light on the subject. On account of the limited information provided in primary sources, such as the traditional historical accounts, most of my attention would be directed to secondary sources.

Arlene Avakian, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. **"Who's Calling Who an Ethnic and Why: Women, Ethnic Identification and Community Involvement."**

This paper addresses the conceptualization of ethnic identification, its relationship to community involvement and the ways it intersects with gender, race and class through an analysis of in depth interviews with eighteen Armenian American women. Current constructions of ethnicity are challenged by the following questions: what are the tensions specific to ethnic women; what is the relationship for women between community involvement and ethnic identification; is the assimilation process ever complete; what are the ways in which ethnicity is manifest in individual lives and consciousness; and finally, what is the role of race and class in defining and maintaining ethnic identification for women?

Respondent: Sally McBeth, University of Northern Colorado

The session entitled "Gender and Colonial/Post Colonial Discourse" presented at the 1993 Annual Meetings in Salt Lake City, Utah, was chaired by Jesse Vazquez. The papers presented included: "The Colonization of the Dark Continent: Writing the Other Woman's Story" by Ranjana Khanna (University of Utah), "Women in Puerto Rican History: Significant Physical Presence—Notorious Historical Absence from the Traditional Colonial Discourse" by Luis Pinto (Bronx Community College of CUNY), and "Who's Calling Who Ethnic and Why: Women, Ethnic Identification and Community Involvement" by Arlene Avakian (University of Massachusetts, Amherst).

These three papers present three very different approaches to women's discourse. The title of the panel deserves attention, not only because the terms need to be defined, but also because their meanings provide a lens through which to understand the common themes of these essays. The terms—gender/feminism, modernism, colonialism, and subsequently, post-modernism and post-colonialism—do not carry precise definitions, and there is little agreement as to what they mean. Different disciplines (art, literature, literary criticism, history, anthropology, and other humanities and sciences) attach a variety of meanings to the terms and frequently do not agree among themselves as to exactly what they mean. The definitions which follow are intended to provide a very general understanding of these terms.

The post-modern and post-colonial positions redefine cultural discourse by privileging heterogeneity and difference; they reject large scale interpretations, purportedly of universal application (and are wary of generalizations); they "deconstruct" historical understandings of issues such as colonialist ideologies and assumptions, and also attempt to deconstruct the myths of objectivity in writing and research.

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Feminism and gender studies are also understood in a variety of ways. Feminism is variously defined as the theory of a woman's point of view; as an attempt to re-write the masculinist canon; as a way of thinking about gender, gender relations, and male domination; and as a means through which to challenge typical assumptions about everyday reality and to understand the different voices of social reality.

Feminism and post-modernism/post-colonialism have emerged as two of the most important social, political, and cultural concepts of the last decade. While their compatibility has been questioned by feminist scholars, I believe that the papers presented in this panel demonstrate connections between these emerging theoretical paradigms. Each of the papers presented in this session reflect both feminist and post-modern/post-colonial efforts to challenge typical assumptions and views about whose reality should be recorded and reflected upon. In addition, post-modern and feminist perspectives provide a platform from which to understand some connecting themes of these very disparate papers.

Khanna explores the metaphor of the Dark Continent as it relates to Africa (as used by H.M. Stanley) and as it is used by Freud to discuss female sexuality. In her detailed and complex discussion, she integrates the concepts of discovery, colonization, race, ignorance, non-European, and non-male. Her understanding of the meaning of the Dark Continent as the OTHER is intriguing. She moves back and forth between issues of gender, class, the colonial nature of writing, and in the process deconstructs and reconstructs Freud's words, an impressive array of literary metaphors, and gender issues. She moves from a traditional reading of texts into multiple understandings of the underlying motives and rationale of male (and female writers). In so doing, she challenges her audience to re-think conventional understandings of the metaphorization of race and gender.

Pinto's detailed paper examines the absence of descriptions of women from 15th century historical writings in the geographic area of the Greater Antilles/Caribbean (especially Puerto Rico). Applying a post-colonial perspective, he questions the biases of historical documents. He challenges the primacy of the written word over oral traditions, the patriarchal vision of conquest and colonization, and the ethnocentric vision of Catholicism, to better understand why women appear so infrequently in ethnohistorical documents. He uses cultural accounts and creation narratives to reconstruct a more complete picture of Taino (aboriginal Puerto Rican) culture to include women's roles and responsibilities in pre-Columbian Caribbean history. He then expands documentary research to include the presence of African, European, and mixed-blood Native women; the complexity of the colonial experience in the Caribbean takes on new dimensions as Pinto examines a broad spectrum of women's social realities.

Avakian's paper moves away from a typical focus on male Armenians to one which explores the ethnic identities of Armenian women. As is characteristic of the post-modern/post-colonial paradigm, Avakian, an Armenian American woman, admits to the agenda in her research. She challenges the myth of objectivity in social science research. In discussing ethnicity or the ethnic process as both fluid and complex, she allows her collaborator's voices to be heard as they talk about how they are constrained by both their ethnic identity and their female-ness, as circumscribed by traditional Armenian roles (and the church). One woman whose story is included in the essay even articulates the (post-modern) recognition that history is written by someone, and that when Armenians were caught up in political issues of genocide, their history (from their perspective) went unwritten. As Avakian explores how ethnic people think or feel about being ethnic and how they talk about these issues of identification, she employs the feminist and post-colonial perspectives adequately representing the authority of her "informants," and explores methodologies which accurately legitimize the expertise of the members of the culture being investigated.

The panel title, "Gender and Colonial/Post-Colonial Discourse," provides the connections between the presentations. Each essay examined multiple realities and perspectives, each author recognized him/herself in their research, and each dared to privilege heterogeneity and difference in their writing.

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SESSION X: STEPPING STONES: SELF-EMPOWERMENT THROUGH SOCIAL SERVICES

Community Session

Moderator: Jose Martinez, Headstart

Panelists: Joe Duke-Rosati, Salt Lake Community Action Programs

Luc Pham, Salt Lake City School District

Abby Trujillo Maestas, Rape Crisis Center

Shirley Weathers, Utah Issues

SESSION XI: RACE, CLASS AND GENDER IN THE LAND OF ZION

Chair: Jennifer Pierce, University of Utah

Kandie Brinkman, University of Utah. "Mormon Women and Emotion Work: The Influence of Religion on Gender Identity."

This research is interested in the relationship of religion and gender to the transformation of social identity and how this gender identity is created for women who live in the Salt Lake area. Implementing concepts from the social psychology of emotions, the research explores how Mormon women do "emotion work," emotional management in private life, and what are the possible ramifications this may have for the social construction of their self.

Mary Evans, University of Utah. "The Hypocrisy of Dominance: The Social Construction of Youth Gangs."

This research is concerned with the social identity of the youth gang member and how this is connected and linked to the existence, resistance and persistence of youth gangs in the Salt Lake Valley. It is believed that after learning to understand the perspective of youth gang member, incorporated with the development of the social identity, better solutions to the problems of existing youth gangs in the Salt Lake Valley can be generated.

Mark Luna, Weber State University. "'California Flight' and the Ogden Gang Task Force: An Overly-Earnest Response to Structural Change."

For the National Association for Ethnic Studies to be held March 3-6 at the University of Utah, I would like to share some initial research I have undertaken concerning the substance of various police programs designed to curb perceived increases in actual or potential crime. This attention by local law enforcement agencies has been aroused by spray-can wielding Hispanic teens whose parents have recently fled the desparate streets of East Los Angeles, coming to Ogden (for several reasons) on the chance of finding better lives.

The number of Hispanics coming from urban areas to Ogden proper has risen dramatically within the past five years, raising the total Hispanic population to roughly 13% of all residents, thus ranking this community as possessing the largest proportional Hispanic representation in Utah (Salt Lake City, however, does contain more absolute numbers).

Any driver about the streets west of Monroe Boulevard surely can attest that graffiti depictions have been sharply on the increase; it is also safe to connect these acts of vandalism with the undisciplined and street-wise activities of former Angeleno teenagers. What is suspicious, however, is the consistent assertion from Ogden police agencies that general increases in crime (other than this colorful form of vandalism), especially drug selling and substance abuse, are causally associated with graffiti-making. As a result, a get-tough "Gang Unit"—self-proclaimed as a kind of "intelligence and surveillance force" complete with a half-hour slide show on graffiti—has been in operation for about a year, gathering information and tips on what is perceived to be a growing Ogden underworld. At one point in the slide presentation showing a pointing gun, the detective solemnly declares that this subculture "values violence."

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Such police strategies surely are lessons in basic sociology. Not unlike the “satanic cult” phenomenon and other recurrent scares, the influx of new Hispanics in Ogden arouses subversion fears among its dominant but isolated population. As expected, counter-subversive activities will emerge when conflicts in culture become articulated within a (typically small) community. Such an institutional crisis often will translate in the form of human agency, within which the complicated processes of social strain and change are mentally transformed into individuals battling for ultimate good or evil. Interestingly, female Hispanic teens are brought into this casuistic equation. The slide show presents OCP graffiti (“Ogden’s Cutest Players”), a “female roll call of women used for sex, to do drugs with, and to take guns.”

Kent Dale, University of Utah. **“Native American Religiosity: Religious Traditions Ignored by the First Amendment.”**

This research confronts the premise that in the United States, Americans historically have had problems practicing their traditional religions. This case study examines one such incident involving Native Americans at the Utah State Prison in Draper, Utah, where traditional “sweat lodge” practices were forbidden by the state. The focus of this presentation is to shed light on the dilemma faced by Native Americans who seek to practice their religion in this country.

Respondent: Alberto Pulido, University of Utah and Arizona State University West.

Images and representations of Salt Lake City, Utah, and communities along the Wasatch Front are those of unagitated and orderly settlements, reflected in their manicured lawns and clean streets—in particular, the middle class and affluent neighborhoods in this city—located on the “east side” of the viaduct. This orderly portrait is meaningful to the dominant-majority Anglo, and Latter Day Saints population as it speaks to their accomplishments, their hard work, and contributions to this valley. It is a tradition that is historically embodied in the creation and re-creation of a religious belief system, popularly known as Mormonism, that transformed this valley into a ceremonial center and delineated a “sacred space” for its believers and followers. As a result the valley became their “sacred center of the universe”—what Mircea Eliade refers to as the “axis mundi”—that which granted them with order and meaning to the cosmos and the universe. The hard work and vision of the “Mormon pioneers” was rooted in a world view that placed their beliefs and their identity at the center of the world. This enabled them to endure hardship and struggle and to create the prosperous metropolis that we now know as Salt Lake City. As we near the end of the twentieth century the tradition is alive and well and continues.

But over the horizon, from all four quadrants, different ideas and traditions are seeking to create their own sacred space in this valley. These are not new traditions. They have been here for many years. They were honored and mastered by the American Indian, before the arrival of any European to this valley. Or they were traditions brought by Mexican/Chicano miners; or by African American railroad workers; or by Asian American farmers. Unfortunately, they were pushed outside the dominant ceremonial center, marginalized, and ignored. Yet, they are still meaningful, and they represent stable and contributing communities in this valley.

However, this recently recognized diversity (along the line of race, class, and gender) has begun to disrupt and annoy the Wasatch dominant community, whose stability and order is dependent upon homogeneity. It is being forced to redefine its sacred space and choose to be either inclusive or exclusive. It is here where we see the important contributions of the four essays presented in this session. All four essays teach us what occurs when different belief systems are introduced into a homogeneous community—they are rapidly transformed into “competing systems of belief,” and the groups in power will try desperately to debunk and diffuse any possible competition to control the hegemonic structures of a community. The conflicts presented by Professor Luna, Ms. Evans, and Mr. Dale, all underscore this reality. The deviance of “gangs,” or of religious traditions that reproduce themselves outside the mainstream,

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are threatening and frightening to a safe and orderly world, and anything that goes outside these boundaries is meaningless and voiceless, as we are reminded in the work of Brinkman.

Upon analysis of the four essays presented here, it is imperative that a discussion that seeks to understand the different communities, along racial, class, and gender lines, must begin immediately in this valley. For all these communities, be they women, racial groups, or gangs, are simply seeking order and meaning in their lives. They too wish to empower and form their personal identities and communities. They too wish to "prosper" and "succeed," but unfortunately, their "sacredness" has been generalized as deviant, as that of the "they group" and not members of the chosen. These essays defined the problem, now it is up to the powers that be to "loose control," to listen-up, and engage in a meaningful dialogue with all groups that make-up Salt Lake City.

SESSION XII: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES AND OUR UNDERSTANDING OF RACISM

Chair: C. Duane Wilson, University of Utah

Deborah Threedy, University of Utah College of Law. ***"Slavery Rhetoric, Legal Discourse and the Abortion Debate: An Uneasy Intersection of Race, Class and Gender."***

Legal discourse is the language of power; legal arguments on both sides of the abortion debate have appropriated the image of the slave. The legitimacy of this appropriation is questioned. Comparisons between the fetus and the slave or, conversely, between the pregnant woman and the slave, trivialize the enormity of the injury suffered by slaves and still felt by their descendants today.

Parvin Abyaneh. ***"Recent Trends in Difficulties Surrounding Teaching 'Race and Ethnic Studies' Courses from an Anti-Racist Perspective; Enhancing the 'Black Voice' and Attempts to Silence."***

Chuck Hunt, University of Utah. ***"Racism and the Origins of AIDS."***

The AIDS epidemic, first discovered in the US in 1981, has caused a great deal of speculation with regard to the origins of the HIV-1 retrovirus. The African origins theory is the most widely accepted origin theory for HIV-1 in the West. This theory is based upon six assertions. All of these assertions have been contradicted by research from 1985 to 1992. The African AIDS origin theory remains totally unsubstantiated. This origins theory is based not upon scientific logic but rather upon victim-blaming, the attempt to define "the other" as the cause of disease, racism and western assumptions of cultural superiority.

Karen Heine, University of Wyoming. ***"Ambiguity in Gender and Race in J.M. Coetzee's Fiction."***

This paper concerns the treatment of gender and race in J.M. Coetzee's fiction, specifically *Life and Times of Michael K*. I argue that Coetzee, a South African writer, treats both gender and race ambiguously in his novels to make a political statement concerning the connection among power, race, and gender in South African society. By refusing to reveal either the race or gender of certain antagonists in several critical sequences, Coetzee emphasizes the importance of this information and manipulates the reader's response to these characters.

Respondent: Eduardo F. Elias, University of Utah

The three presenters treated topics of much concern in today's news; two of them center on matters of public health (abortion and AIDS), another on the condition of downtrodden blacks in South Africa. In essence, all three studies focus on the manipulations of discourse in how these issues are presented, viewed, and evaluated

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by the media and our society at large. The papers uncover aspects of the debated topics which need to be pointed out in the interest of fairness.

Deborah Threedy focuses upon the rhetoric of the abortion debate as it appears in legal discourse. She shows how both sides have appropriated the metaphor of slavery as a powerful tool in formulating their arguments. Pro-choice advocates have compared the situation of a pregnant woman denied access to abortion to that of the slave, inasmuch as the gestation period is a form of forced labor. Anti-abortion advocates have established the comparison between the unborn child and the slave, inasmuch as the full humanity of the fetus is not duly recognized. Both metaphors are highly problematic because of their implicit racial content.

In her analysis of the various appeals which these arguments make—to logic, to the emotions, and to ethics—I find the appeal to logic the most problematic. The syllogisms implicit in the rhetoric of both sides are flawed, particularly in the arguments of the anti-abortionists.

While this paper still deems the continued use of the slavery image during the abortion debate as useful, I find that its greatest appeal is an emotional one. The author justly points out, in her conclusion, that discourse on “women’s rights” only too frequently refers to the rights of white women. The closing lines of the study are the most enlightening reminder that continued debate might, hopefully, establish a dialogue about the similarities and differences between white women, and women of color. After all, women’s gender is only one of the markers, while race and class are equally significant.

Charles Hunt’s paper is a lengthy study which traces a variety of arguments which have explained the origin of the HIV-1 retrovirus which produces AIDS, and the pathways followed by the epidemic since its discovery in 1981, in the US. He traces the African origin’s theory, with its six supportive assertions, and shows them all to be false and erroneous. The early pathways theory, attributed to female genital mutilation is also shown to be false and illogical, and not based on scientific data. The great value of this research study, particularly for the neophyte, is to show that there has been a consistent intent to blame a victim, to define an “undesirable other” (monkeys, African blacks, homosexuals) as the culprit in the origination and transmission of the disease. All arguments are premised on racism and on assumptions of Western cultural superiority, even those studies which purport to rectify the neglect in which research and treatment of the disease were placed during certain governmental administrations. It is sad to note that advanced, dominant societies, and its spokespersons, have not progressed much in the hundred years since syphilis produced comparable heated debate. The author, and myself, argue for less prejudiced rhetoric, fewer unfounded arguments and unstated assumptions, but rather for more solidly grounded research directed to slowing down the spread of the disease and to conquering this threat to human health.

Karen A. Heine’s critical essay on the 1983 novel (*Life and Times of Michael K*) by South African author, J.M. Coetzee, seemingly would be more removed from the much discussed problematics presented by the previous panelists. Because she deals with fictional material, written by a white male of the privileged and empowered segment of South African society, it would be easy to incorrectly generalize about the novel, and miss the significant message that is conveyed allegorically, although unmistakably, that relationships of power are merely cyclical, and that in the African context, he who is currently a slave will soon become the master.

The essay rebuts the novelist’s many critics who accuse him of being apolitical and out of tune with the times of his nation, by concluding that this novel does address and comment on the troubled racial situation of the country, even foreshadowing its future.

As a work of art, this novel, and its message, may reach fewer persons than does the discourse of the previous essays. The novel, however, is equally timely and pertinent. The lesson that all three presenters offer in their essays is that of the power inherent in discourse. It shows us how cultures use it and manipulate through it, how

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the user of language can fabricate, cajole, convince, and push a listener to action—all through the power of the word.

The use of metaphor is not the sole domain of the artist and his critics, inasmuch as in this group of research essays we have proof that an attorney and a sociologist also analyze how many fields of inquiry play with the nuances of language in order to maintain the status quo of certain social classes and genders.

SESSION XIII: CHICANOS/LATINOS IN THE UNITED STATES

Chair: Theresa Martinez, University of Utah

Stanley O. Gaines, Jr., Pomona College. "Familism and Interpersonal Resource Exchange Among Latinas and Latinos."

This paper addresses the issue of relational dynamics among Hispanic couples. We propose that social scientists have accepted stereotyped portraits of Hispanic men and women all too readily. Furthermore, we argue that a culturally sensitive model, placing Hispanic relationships within a familistic context, is needed in order to depict those relationships more accurately. We note that the scant evidence that does exist favors the culturally sensitive model. We believe that such a conceptual shift will help researchers in the fields of ethnic studies and close relationships put to rest the negative stereotypes concerning Hispanics that continue to plague both fields.

Heidi Howarth, University of Utah. "The Creation of Education by Hispanic Women."

This paper examines the experiences of Hispanic females in the public school in relation to their learning in the private sphere. The idea of assimilation as the dominating theory behind the creation and maintenance of the public school as an institution is explored in relation to race, class, and gender dimensions. Gilligan indicates that females twelve to fifteen years old move away from the classroom to find their education. Ladner states that black women survive by adapting a dynamic relationship in response to oppressive circumstances. Although it is known that assimilation exists historically in public education, issues of its significance in the lives of Hispanic females in contemporary society and the learning consequences it produces is not well researched.

Cynthia Wickel, University of Utah. "Self-Esteem and Bilingual Education."

This study examines the correlation between bilingual education and self-esteem of Spanish/English speaking high school students. Comparison data taken from interviews of Salt Lake Valley high school students and students who have dropped out, both from bilingual and immersion programs, will determine the affectiveness or need of bilingual programs in the increasing Spanish-speaking population of Salt Lake.

Sam Rios, Jr., California State University, Sacramento. "Aging in the USA: A Chicano Perspective."

The elderly Anglo American over sixty-five population in the USA is projected to increase by six million every decade and will number close to seventy million by 2040. The elderly 65+ and dependent children (fourteen and under) will outnumber the working population ages fifteen to sixty-four, causing a significant change in the social dependency ratio (SDR). A similar experience is projected for African Americans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and other Latino populations. The SDR for these groups will vary according to the number of potential wage earners (ages fifteen to sixty-four) vs. their dependency population.

The US Census Bureau is projecting a Chicano/Latino population of twenty-two million to double in thirty years. The 65+ Chicano/Latino population will quadruple by 2015, thereby causing a serious imbalance in the SDR of each group. How

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these changes will impact the well being of Chicano/Latino ancianos is the focus of this paper.

Respondent: Estella Martinez, University of New Mexico.

SESSION XIV: UNITED STATES RACIAL RELATIONS: THEORETICAL AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Chair: William Watkins, University of Utah

E. San Juan, University of Connecticut. **“From Institutional to Everyday Racism.”**

Controversy surrounding the concept of “institutional racism” has tended to center on the problem of the linkage between structure and agency. From Blauner’s “internal colonialism” to Omi and Winant’s “racial formation,” the theory of “institutional racism” privileges the institutional reproduction of racial inequality over individual/or group practices. John Rex shifted the focus to the mediation of ideology while Stuart Hall emphasized the hegemonic process. I propose that the problematique of “everyday racism” in public life can illuminate what “institutional racism” originally sought to conceptualize: the power/knowledge nexus linking race, class, gender conflicts.

Mary E. Kelsey, University of California, Berkeley. **“Welfare Regimes and Racial Stereotypes: The Structural Construction of a Model Minority.”**

Southeast Asian refugees in the United States have become a new prototype of Asian Americans as the “model minority.” Most explanations of economic mobility among Indochinese Americans suggest their work ethic and family values have been the keys to their success. Cultural explanations for economic mobility have also been used to denigrate the economic hardships of poor African Americans. In this paper I will argue that the economic success of Indochinese refugees has been facilitated by extraordinary public and private aid. As political refugees, Southeast Asians have benefited from liberal interpretations of welfare eligibility guidelines and from a variety of special programs unavailable to other poor Americans. By ignoring the role of state aid in fostering economic mobility, the existing literature on Southeast Asian refugees helps disguise repressive welfare state conditions which impede social mobility in most poor communities.

Anders Schneiderman, University of California, Berkeley. **“The Hidden Handout: Why ‘Universalistic’ Welfare Policies Won’t Work.”**

Wilson, Skocpol, and others argue that to help poor inner-city blacks, we should replace social programs which target the poor with “universalistic,” “race-neutral” programs. But the US has never just targeted welfare for the poor. By 1960, the US had developed a racially bifurcated welfare state which gave generous “covert” welfare to white middle-class and working-class men and their families and gave stingy “overt” welfare to the poor. Using housing policies as an example (i.e., FHA/VA-guaranteed mortgages vs. public housing), I will explain why this racially bifurcated system developed and demonstrate why its legacy will frustrate any simple universalistic approach.

June P. Murray, North Carolina State University. **“Murphy Brown Never Said a Boy Didn’t Need His Daddy: The Effects of Integration on African American Fathers and Sons.”**

Oral history interviews were conducted with African American families with four or more living generations in Durham, NC. Data indicates as employment opportunities moved away from the reach of African American communities (1965-75), males who may have owned their own business, or worked in small, family (kin or non-kin) owned businesses, were faced with the potential for not only loss of

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ownership and self-employment, but also the loss of a particularly close relationship with their sons whom they either employed, or could ensure employment for.

Since Urban Renewal has swept through Hayti, an African American community in Durham, those interviewed point to the downfall of family connectedness, especially between men and their sons/older males & younger males, along with the loss of the pride that came from small business ownership, as well as the tradition of passing on "skills of the trade" and the "work ethic" to the next generation. An overview of this history will be presented, along with excerpts from the voices interviewed.

Respondent: Jonathan Majak, University of Wisconsin—La Crosse.

SESSION XV: THE MULTICULTURAL DEBATE: ETHNIC STUDIES, WOMEN'S STUDIES, CULTURAL STUDIES

Chair: James H. Williams, Cal State Polytech University/Pomona

Carole Taylor, Bates College. "African-American Studies, Cultural Studies, Women's Studies: Exercises in Negotiation."

This presentation considers the tensions between theory and practice in addressing the question: How can academic programs with group-identified subjects (e.g., African Americans, the working class, women) serve the goals of diverse populations and still avoid both essentialism and turf wars? It discusses how theoretical differences in models of interdisciplinarity relate to differences in where programs enter relations of power or privilege, differences that have practical consequences for addressing three case-study exercises.

Alicia Rodriguez, University of Illinois. "Lapsing Into Race and Ethnicity: The Multicultural Education Debate."

This paper addresses the state of multicultural education in light of attacks on its theory. Critics have reduced the discourse to a question mainly about racial and ethnic difference. Multicultural education initiatives, such as, Afrocentric education and the 1991 New York state social studies reform proposal, have done the same, thus, stunting the development of multicultural education. Multicultural education theory needs to expand its scope to incorporate complex analyses of gender, sexuality, social class, ideology, and other dynamics. Some women of color writers and cultural studies critics provide a path toward such expansion. Their insights could make multicultural theory more transformative.

Otis Scott, California State University, Sacramento. "'Political Correctness': An African-American Perspective."

This paper examines and critiques major tenets harbored by both liberal and conservative scholars in their assault against what they label variously as the "politically correct" movement in academe. The thrust of this paper is towards analyzing both the preachments and motives of the critics of broadening canons. This paper frames several response strategies which must be considered by advocates of reshaping academic canons in order to center the debate on issues relating to how change can be accomplished and not whether the process of change should be undertaken.

Sandra Holstein and John B. Richards, Southern Oregon State College. "Loading the Canon with Ethnicity and Gender: A New Course for Ethnicity."

The authors describe the transformation of the "great books" course originally proposed for the college's new honors program into one focused on valuing diverse experience and empathy with the "other." Jewish, Japanese American, Black, female and socialist authors were incorporated into a modern dialogue on ethics. In the second year, the sequence of readings was altered to

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emphasize an historical and experiential paradigm, with improved student response.

Respondent: Peggy Pascoe, University of Utah.

This panel, chaired by Professor James H. Williams of California State Polytech University/Pomona, showed the range of current theoretical and practical debates on multiculturalism in the academy.

Two of the papers focused primarily on theoretical issues. The first, by Professor Otis Scott of California State University, Sacramento, was entitled "Political Correctness: An African-American Perspective." It focused on the national media-driven controversy over what has come to be called "political correctness." Scott summarized the development of the controversy, pointing out the irony of the fact that conservative scholars who have always set the agenda for universities are now accusing leftists of having enough power to enforce their own notions and showing the need for proponents of Black Studies, Ethnic Studies, Women's Studies, Chicano Studies, Native American Studies, and Asian American Studies to challenge neo-conservative conceptions of the issues in this debate.

The second theoretical paper, presented by Alicia Rodriguez of the University of Illinois, was entitled "Lapsing into Race and Ethnicity: The Multicultural Education Debate." Taking her cue from recent leftist critiques of multiculturalism, Rodriguez argued that the very notion of multiculturalism depends on falsely distinct categories, like those of Black Studies and Women's Studies. Listing the reasons why scholars should worry about the tendency (shared by multiculturalists as well as neo-conservatives) to see race and ethnicity as the defining characteristics of culture, Rodriguez argued that we should adopt a theoretical framework based on the experience of "mestizaje," or mixing, which would lead to a "state of mind" in which "we dare to question the basis of accepted divisions and to assert parts of ourselves, and of others, that do not neatly fit into already established frameworks."

The remaining two papers examined practical and pedagogical problems. One, by Sandra Holstein of Southern Oregon State College, was entitled "Loading the Canon with Ethnicity and Gender: A New Course for Ethnicity." It detailed the problems involved with trying to design a general honors program course that included significant amounts of material on race and ethnicity. The problems Holstein ran into, including resistance from students, illustrated many of Scott's warnings about the extent to which neo-conservatives have been allowed to influence public opinion by setting the terms of debate.

The other paper, by Carole Taylor of Bates College, was entitled "African-American Studies, Cultural Studies, Women's Studies: Exercises in Negotiation." It took up the practical problems involved when a mostly senior Women's Studies faculty tried to work with a mostly junior African American Studies faculty. The problems the two ran into in hiring, evaluating, and promoting faculty echoed themes of Rodriguez's paper, for they show not only how little has changed, but also how easily women of color get caught between the boundaries of academic and administrative units, ending up with nowhere to call home.

Taken together, the papers were an intriguing mix of approach to the challenges of multiculturalism in the 1990s. Not only did they outline the theoretical debates—ranging from neo-conservative critiques of multicultural education to new-radical reservations about the maintenance of multicultural boundaries—but they also took on the practical problems posed by those debates.

SESSION XVI: IMAGES OF RACE, CLASS AND GENDER IN POPULAR CULTURE
Chair: Harriet Ottenheimer, Kansas State University

Kelly Mendiola, Boston College. "Be Some Body: Images of Women in 1960's Women's Magazine Advertisements."

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Karen Dace, University of Utah. **"I Can Say What You Want But It's Not What I Mean: An Examination of Mixed-Race Decision-Making Groups."**

Even the most self-proclaimed "liberal" has expectations about the content of communication concerning race relations when it emanates from members of racial minority groups. During a year-long discussion group, European American participants admitted frustration, betrayal and even anger when listening to the feelings provided by their African American counterparts. The African Americans admitted to tailoring information so that it was more in line with what European Americans wanted to hear.

Theresa Martinez, University of Utah. **"Teaching Race, Class and Gender with Popular Music: Reflections on Discrimination and Prejudice in Popular Culture."**

This paper deals with teaching a class on Race, Class and Gender with popular music. A variety of music artists were chosen to illustrate concepts, topic areas and theory in literature on race relations. For example, institutional discrimination (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967), was illustrated with a song by Sinead O'Connor; while the concept of the growing underclass (Wilson, 1987, 1988) was illustrated with Tracy Chapman lyrics. The lyrics of artists were also chosen to reflect different racial, ethnic, and gender groups. For example, the culture of poverty thesis, often leveled at African Americans, was questioned using the lyrics of a song by Living Colour. And the lyrics of Nancy Griffith were used to illustrate the negative effects of learning gender roles in a patriarchal society (Ferguson, 1980). The paper addresses how students responded to this method of teaching and the instructor's plans for the future. This kind of research lends itself to the field of ethnic studies, in that, it offers an intriguing way of teaching concepts to students. It can also be a means of disseminating important information on the oppression of racial, ethnic, class and gender groups.

Clarence Spigner, University of Oregon. **"Race, Sex, and the Status-Quo: Asian and African-American Imagery in Popular Film."**

Functionalist theory is used to explain how Hollywood imagery—as exemplified in *Year of the Dragon* (1985) and *Off Limits* (1988)—perpetuate negative and divisive perceptions of Asians and African Americans. Contrastingly, films promote mostly white males as dashing, heroic, and romantically desirable while depicting Asians and blacks in demeaning, stereotypic, and subservient status. Social interaction between Asians and blacks is estranged and disruptive while interaction with whites is depicted as normative and stabilizing. Thus, Hollywood films reflect and exacerbate racial stratification, and rationalize white dominance as necessary to maintain social stability.

Respondent: Jac D. Bulk, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse.

Each of these papers illustrates—in a well documented manner, how it is that popular culture [mainstream culture] objectivates racial and gender inequalities, and—following from this—how popular culture tends to become an agency of oppression (in and of itself) serving to perpetuate the very same racial and gender inequalities out of which they arise. This is the dialectic (of dialectical realism) as described by Peter Berger first in the *Sacred Canopy* and then in *The Social Construction of Reality*. I would like to briefly illustrate this general point by drawing from each of the papers in turn.

For example, Mendiola discusses sexual hegemony—as conveyed through women's magazine advertisements—viewed both through their connotative and denotative aspects. On the one level, sexual imagery often depicts women in passive subordinate sexual/gender roles (for example, serving men in a variety of job categories, especially offensive when the woman is on roller skates). At this level the images are more blatantly demeaning and explicitly hierarchical in content. The subordinate postures of women are understood to express the reality of power relationships in the mainstream society. The ads then objectivate this social reality.

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And, as Mendiola states in her paper, some magazines such as the liberal feminist *Ms.* may do combat with this blatant type of sexually subordinating imagery (for example, by censoring the Coppertone ads). However, as Mendiola points out, sexual hegemony operates at different levels even within the medium of women's magazine advertisements. And despite the deliberate and self-conscious purging of certain offensive ad content, this particular medium of the popular culture continues its longstanding cultural tradition of depicting a woman as being first and foremost a body (or some body) whose most compelling attribute is her sexual allure. This is referred to as the "denotative aspect" of the imagery and it reveals how easy it is to make superficial changes in imagery without real substantive change.

For, as Mendiola's paper indicates, women remain foremostly "objects of sight" in these advertisements—or alternately phrased—a woman's sexual nature still precedes her gender nature. In short, magazine advertisements are quick to exploit new fashion tastes in the packaging of women's bodies but they do this while still acting as agencies of the dominant ideology as it pertains to sex/gender roles.

In another context, Spigner analyzes popular film imagery as an agency of the mainstream culture whose main effect is to reinforce majority group oppression. While this paper focuses specifically upon Asian and African American imagery in popular film, I believe that its findings may readily be generalized to any racial minority group in America.

In the films reviewed, Spigner notes that while the white characters tend to represent legitimate symbols of authority dedicated to the protection of order and morality, Black and Asian characters in these same films tend to either occupy subservient roles or to be disruptive of the social fabric and as such a threat to order and morality. Quoting Spigner, "such negative images of Asians and Blacks reflect and reinforce racial stratification . . ."

In this context, the popular film industry is inextricably implicated in the social process of recycling racial and sexual stereotypes and caricatures for mass consumption. The point is well made that it is not only the dominant group members who internalize these "social facts" about minorities but the minority persons themselves are often victimized by "racist imagery" that often serves to fuel racial animosity between minority groups (in this instance, Asian v. Black).

This social dynamic is, of course, not new—predating the invention of the very film industry that now exploits it so well. For example, the 19th century American newspaper industry adroitly employed racial and ethnic caricatures to denigrate virtually all racial minorities and to agitate for the passage of the first restrictive immigration policy—the Chinese Exclusion of 1882. This newspaper fare—I would argue, served much the same function as more modern films, and the (in)famous German American cartoonist (caricaturist) Thomas Nast was the master of this particular popular culture art form.

In short, Spigner's paper adroitly identifies linkages between popular film imagery and the racial and gender-based social justification realities of mainstream society. Presumably the rationale is that in order for it to be popular or credible to the public, the film images must correspond to reality but "reality" is in quotation marks in this usage, signifying the way that race and gender realities are perceived/"known" (in quotes again) within mainstream society. Hence, the inner city becomes "an urban jungle" in much the same way that the Native American village communities became "a wilderness" to the European settlers. The consumers of this imagery—the American public—leave the theatres refreshed by a cinematic confirmation of "a reality" that they would sooner keep a safe distance from.

We might also note that as in magazine advertisement reform, there is a parallel level of superficial cinematic imagery reform; namely, race minorities previously excluded from the cast are now given some visibility but almost always in accessory roles that reinforce deep-seated prejudices regarding racial and gender traits—as in the paradigmatic sidekick role played by Tonto vis a vis the Lone Ranger.

Addressing yet another popular culture medium, Martinez analyzes the song

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lyrics of contemporary music artists to illustrate sociological concepts such as the underclass and institutional discrimination. These song lyrics are presented as windows into the realities of racial and sexual oppression such as they now exist. For example, Martinez quotes Tracy Chapman's lyrics from her song "Subcity" (1989) to impart a more visceral (albeit auditory) reality to William Julius Wilson's underclass concept.

More generally, song lyrics might be viewed as yet another instrumentality of minority oppression comparable with the role performed by magazine advertisements and popular film imagery. Certainly, there are a great many illustrations of this sort that we could draw upon. For example, the popular culture classic "Old Man River" or the Bing Crosby hit with the lyric "and the darkies beat their feet on the Mississippi mud" serve to reinforce notions of docile and content race minorities.

However, Martinez's selection of contemporary song lyrics clearly indicates that this particular medium of the popular culture not only expresses minority group subordination, it also lends itself towards protest against it. Of the culture components identified in these three papers, it is clearly the song lyricist who enjoys the greater capacity "to do battle" with the mainstream definitions of reality. To this effect, Martinez quotes the following lyrics from Reid (1988):

No I'm not gonna rob you
No I'm not gonna beat you
No I'm not gonna rape you
So why you want to give me that
Funny Vibe!

Of these three sectors of the popular culture, song lyrics appear to be the most democratic—which is to say the least controlled by dominant group interests. More generally, much musical innovation is inspired and supported by the younger and the economically marginal sectors of the population. Furthermore, musical protest has more often been tolerated by dominant group power than has political protest. The latter poses a rather obvious threat to the legitimacy of power relations, while the former may be viewed more symbolically as a cathartic venting of frustrations. In any event, song lyrics do provide us with a rich medium through which American race relations may be approached and with which students may feel a natural affinity.

The fourth paper included in this panel is of a slightly different sort. The focus of the Dace paper is not so much upon any particular aspect of the popular culture as a vehicle of minority group oppression as it is with the net effects of the popular culture—in toto—upon the capacities and/or inclinations of people to communicate across minority group lines—in particular, across the racial boundaries of black and white.

Having said this, however, permit me to suggest that the Dace paper may be viewed in somewhat an analogous fashion as the preceding three papers. To accomplish this, we need only to focus upon cultural mores as an agency of minority group oppression. More precisely, the Dace paper identifies communication expectations held by members of the dominant group towards members of minority groups—in this instance, expectations of European Americans towards African Americans. This paper finds that European Americans express gratitude whenever a minority person suggested that European Americans should not feel responsible for racial inequalities in society. Furthermore, the paper finds that "African Americans consciously convey information they believe European Americans want to hear at the expense of some more delicate or hardhitting feelings." And moreover it is suggested that this particular miscommunication dynamic is a well-honed skill of most African Americans. In this vein Frederick Douglass is quoted as saying "the Negro has learned to dissemble and conceal his thoughts as a matter of survival; the Negro only tells the white man what he wants to hear."

To the extent that it is true that dominant group expectations bias what and how minority group members express themselves to dominant group members and to the extent that these expectations become encoded in the mainstream culture, we

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must conclude that these cultural mores are themselves agencies of minority group oppression. Their main effect, whether intentional or not, is to thwart any attempt to demythologize popular culture representations of minority group experience. And so when Malcolm X suggested that African Americans are closer to an understanding of whites than whites are to an understanding of African Americans, we may take this to signify that the dominant group is more realistically portrayed in the popular culture and that cultural mores do not inhibit White self-expression in any degree as comfortable to that of black self-expression.

I must confess that I found it very easy to relate to all of these papers but perhaps most especially to the Martinez paper since I too teach a sociology course on racial and ethnic minorities. I must admit, however, that I have not realized the potential of incorporating musical lyrics into my classroom nonlectures. Instead, I have tended to incorporate literary excerpts from the poems and novels written by minority authors. In addition, I have found that one of the best ways to illustrate dialectical realism is to quote newspaper editorials, Congressmen, Governors, Presidents, and Supreme Court Justices.

Of the many questions raised by these papers, I will just suggest one issue pertinent to each that might give direction for future inquiry. First, the Mendiola paper might attempt to incorporate an examination of the significance of racial minority exclusion from mainstream women's magazines and to the extent that majority women are included how these caricatures depart from the others. Next, the Dace paper is very situationally specific in terms of the social context out of which it derives its data. The question this raises is, "what, if any, social circumstances would be more conducive to more open communication channels?" The Martinez paper quite explicitly raises the question of the pedagogic value of "song lyrics" as supplemental instruction materials. I would suggest a longitudinal course evaluation design (T1/T2) to test for evidence of course-induced attitudinal change versus simple course appreciation. And in the Spigner paper, the question arises as to what extent film imagery is uncritically accepted by all viewers and how persons differentially respond to "revisionist" film attempts to alter standard racial stereotypes.

By way of general critique of all the excellent papers under review in this session, I would suggest that one principal concern has to do with contextualizing any specific component of the popular culture within a larger framework or—one might say—the grander dialectic upon which the society rests. In short, what are the limits of dominant group control over the myth-making social machinery through which minority group oppression is sustained?

SESSION XVII: AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY AND LITERATURE

Chair: Donna Deyhle, University of Utah

Gretchen Bataille, Arizona State University. "**Millicent Rogers and the Native Americans.**"

This paper provides information on Millicent Rogers, the Standard Oil Heiress who came to Taos, New Mexico, in 1947. She was fascinated by the arts of the Southwest and collected traditional arts as well as championing Indian rights. The Millicent Rogers Museum in Taos is a tribute to the foresight and commitment of this wealthy white woman who saw beauty in the traditional arts of Native Americans and Hispanics.

George Junne, University of Colorado, Boulder. "**Red-Black Indians: Pre-Columbus to the 1900's.**"

Renee Bredin, University of Arizona/Rutgers University. "**Race and Gender at Laguna Pueblo: Leslie Silko, Paula Allen and Elsie Parsons.**"

This paper is an attempt to begin an exploration of "White," as it operates

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in the ethnographic texts of Elsie Clews Parsons, and its relationship to the work of indigenous writers Leslie Marmon Silko and Paula Gunn Allen. The matrix of location, discourses, race, and gender in their texts is useful in examining the scripting of "Indian-ness" and "Whiteness" which ultimately prop each other, and in examining how each "contains" and "represents" the other, based in relations of domination and subordination. This responds to calls by theorists like Bell Hooks, Cornell West, Toni Morrison and others to examine the construction of "White."

Sharon Holland, Wesleyan University. **"After 500 Years: Recalling the Story of the Dead in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead*."**

This paper attempts to deal with the specific discourse between the living and the dead in *Almanac*, unraveling Silko's use of the grotesque in order to bring this conversation to the forefront of her novel. In the strange and varied cosmos of *Almanac*, characters move through a series of sexually and physically violent episodes (some comic, others grotesque). Silko inverts the hierarchy of rational/irrational and uses the grotesque as a vehicle to explore the depravity and utter disconnectedness of a contemporary society wherein what is irrational and what is potentially alternative are posited as the dominant reality. Silko's challenge of existing paradigms and marginal positions in *Almanac* raises serious queries about the future of a literary discourse which has very little room for maneuvering outside of what constitutes the real and the tangible.

PLENARY SESSION II: SIGNS, SOCIAL SIGNS, AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

SESSION XVIII: THE ROLE OF ORGANIZED RELIGION IN COMMUNITY: ISSUES OF RACE, CLASS AND GENDER

Community Session

Moderator: Reverend France Davis, Calvary Baptist Church

Panelists: Elder Loren C. Dunn, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints

Reverend Kent Ikeda, Japanese Church of Christ

Reverend Caryl Marsh, St. Paul's Episcopal Church

Father Rodriquez, Utah State Prison

Rabbi Frederick Wenger, Congregation Kol Ami

SESSION XIX: THE INTERSECTION OF CLASS AND GENDER: THE EXPERIENCES OF CUBAN WOMEN, JEWISH WOMEN AND WOMEN FROM UTAH

Chair: Peri Schwarz-Shea, University of Utah

Christina Gringeri, University of Utah. **"Intersections of Gender and Class: Battered Women's Experiences Accessing Services in Utah."**

Forty-two women in rural and urban Utah were interviewed in-depth about their experiences with domestic violence, and their efforts to gain access to and utilize services to deal with the violence. This paper will present those experiences in their voices, focusing on the particular obstacles the women encountered with social services, legal and law enforcement services. As a result of this research, a network of volunteer advocates is being developed by the state of Utah; the presentation will highlight recommendations for this development.

Maria Vidal de Haymes, Loyola University, Chicago. **"Ethnicity, Class and Gender: Cuban Women in the United States."**

Research concerning Cuban Americans has largely focused on the community as whole, giving little attention to gender and class differences within the population. This paper attempts to address this void by focusing on Cuban women of

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different classes. Diversity in terms of labor force participation and positions, fertility, political participation, settlement patterns, immigration history, household form, and social roles of Cuban women will be explored in terms of class differences using the combined 1990 Latino National Political Survey and Panel Study of Income Dynamics data set. The paper will present a description as well as theoretical discussion of the research findings.

Henry Srebrnik, University of Calgary. **“Class, Ethnicity and Gender Intertwined: Jewish Women and the East London Rent Strikes, 1935-1940.”**

As Martha Ackelsberg has noted, women confront political issues as members of communities. Jewish working-class women in London during the 1930s played a greater role in various radical movements than has hitherto been noted, but did so within their ethnic group. Jewish women were particularly prominent in the rent strikes which swept the east end slums; many filled high-level leadership positions within the Stepney Communist Party. In London, women from marginalized groups such as Jews were overrepresented on the left—but ethnicity, more than gender or class, proved to be the primary reason.

Respondent: Bridgett Newell, University of Utah

SESSION XX: THE IMPACT OF SCHOOLING AND CURRICULAR DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Rebecca Dowdell, University of Utah

Sandra Manderson, Armstrong State College. **“Higher Education in Male Prisons: Promoting Self-Disclosure, Problem Solving and Cooperation Among the Races.”**

The paper presents a reflection of the author’s six years of teaching higher education at two all-male, Georgia state correctional facilities. Discussion covers features unique to correctional education programs, the educator’s potential influence with offenders, racial tension and cooperation in the classroom, self-disclosure, and problem solving. Among discussion materials are classroom interaction, student speeches and communication journals, and quarterly teacher evaluations. Conclusions recommend cross gender instruction for incarcerates and long-term exposure to individual instructors in order to promote trust, group cohesiveness, problem solving, and personal empowerment.

Garn Coombs, Brigham Young University. **“A South to North Interpretation of United States History.”**

The traditional approach to teaching United States history follows the settlement of Northern Europeans on the Atlantic Coast and their westward expansion to the Pacific. This westward interpretation of history neglects important developments. This paper proposes teaching history to include the movement of people from south to north which includes the expansion and settlements of Spanish speaking people, African Americans moving from south to north, differing Native American encounters from south and north, and the thrust of Asian American influence upon history. It provides a historical analysis and comparative approach to teaching history with a North American view.

Carol Ward and Kae Sawyer, Brigham Young University. **“Social and Cultural Influences on Northern Cheyenne Women’s Schooling.”**

The focus of this paper is on explaining the dropout rate of Northern Cheyenne high school girls. Analyses of student data indicate the overall similarity of dropout rates of Indian males and females. However, girls have a lower dropout rate than boys in the reservation school compared to the public and Catholic schools, but being female has a significant, direct effect on dropout behavior only within the reservation school context. Qualitative data on inter-generational similarities and

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differences of Northern Cheyenne women provide insights into the social and cultural influences on the school outcomes of girls.

Respondent: Michael J. Clark, CSU Hayward

SESSION XXI: RACE, CLASS AND GENDER IN THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

Chair: Philip Bernal, University of Utah

Calvin Harris, Suffolk University. **"A Comparative Analysis of Harlem Renaissance Black Writers with Black Writers of the 1970's and 1980's: Themes of Alienation and Black Identity."**

All serious literature deals with the theme of alienation in relation to the human condition. At certain points in history a novel might help to spawn a social-political movement for change or maintenance of the "status-quo." A significant proportion of black literature, both fiction and non-fiction, has dealt with the question of social change. The ideological currents reflected in black writing have been varied. An understanding of historical context can serve as one basis for analyzing certain themes in literature. What this paper will attempt to do is analyze a certain core of literature written by black authors during a specific time frame in terms of ideological predisposition. We will also examine the question of the impact on social movements engendered by the novelist, and the relationship of the author to the social movement in question.

Michael Hodge, Georgia State University, and Kevin Early, Oakland University. **"Middle Class African-Americans: Voices from the Intersection of Race and Class."**

The African American middle class is uniquely poised at the intersection of race and class as is no other racial or ethnic group in American society. This study critically evaluates the perceived realities of 210 middle class African Americans as they negotiate the intersection of being black and middle class. They provide the inchoate stages for the development of an organic African American theory of life in contemporary American society. Contrary to some popular and scholarly discourse, these respondents hold that racism and discrimination still figure prominently as a negative force in the life chances of African Americans—even when class as a variable is controlled.

Respondent: Wilfred D. Samuels, University of Utah

SESSION XXII: ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IN DEALING WITH RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER ISSUES

Community Session

Moderator: Bob Flores, University of Utah

Panelists: Solomon Chacon, Attorney at Law
Dan Maldonado, Salt Lake City District Court
Izi Tausinga, Salt Lake City Police Department
Raymond Uno, Third District Court

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CONCURRENT SESSIONS XXIII, XXIV: VIDEO AND DISCUSSION

Julia Lesage, University of Oregon. *In Plain English: Students of Color Speak Out.*

In Plain English was made to present the views of students of color to the college community. A showing of the tape will be followed by a discussion of its uses. I also will indicate how others might make such inexpensive media on their own campuses to sensitize the faculty, staff, student body, administration, and surrounding community about the viewpoints and experiences of students of color. In the tape, the students speak out with a unified voice denouncing the Eurocentric bias of the curriculum and both overt and subtle acts of discrimination. However, they have very different relations to language, color, intellectual goals, and culture. The goal of the tape is to present both their points of unity and diversity.

Francine Twine and Jonathan Warren, University of California, Berkeley. *Just Black? Multiracial Identity in the United States.*

How do individuals from multiracial families that consist of one black parent and a non-black (Hispanic, Asian, white, Jewish, etc.) second parent establish, acquire, assert, and negotiate a racial identity? This film is based on thirty audio-taped interviews conducted with college students from multiracial families from which nine individuals were selected to be videotaped. Given the issue of multiracial identities and the concomitant centrality of phenotype, video is an incredibly useful medium because it forces the audience to address how they would racially classify the individuals speaking while they listen to the students describe their struggles with how they are positioned by others. This film contributes to the literature by providing a powerful example of how racial identities are socially constructed in the contemporary United States. Highlighted are the limits of individual choice and the everyday practice of racism in which individuals are constantly positioned into racialized social hierarchies.

SESSION XXVI: WORKING-CLASS VOICES

Chair: Eduardo Elias, University of Utah

Michael Macy, Brandeis University. *"Class Voice and Language."*

Do distinct class voices reflect class inequalities or do material circumstances reflect linguistic differences that shape life chances? Numerous empirical studies have produced inconsistent support for Bernstein's theory of the restricted codes that give the working class a distinctive voice. This essay will suggest a possible reason: Working class school children may be fully capable of using the elaborated codes of the middle class but simply choose not to. If so, the significance of linguistic class differences may lie not in the capabilities of the speakers but in the cultural meanings that motivate the refusal to speak in a middle class voice.

Dolores Pitman, University of Utah. *"Experiences of Minority Graduate Students."*

This study will explore the life experiences of minority students currently enrolled in the graduate program at the Department of Sociology, University of Utah. A comparison of similarities as well as differences will be the focus of this study. I will utilize the categories of cross-cultural experiences which have been outlined in the text "Intercultural Interactions," as a frame of reference from which to design the personal interviews. The general theses are 1) historical myths people bring with them to a different setting 2) attitudes, traits, and skills 3) thought and attribution processes 4) groups they join 5) range of situations in which they interact 6) management of cross-cultural conflict 7) goals 8) organizations they are a part of and 9) the processes of short and long-term adjustment.

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Gloria Cuadraz, University of California, Santa Cruz, and Jennifer Pierce, University of Utah. **"From Scholarship Girls to Scholarship Women: Race, Class and Gender in Graduate Education."**

This paper examines how social class and gender profoundly shape and influence the experiences of white working-class women in an elite social science program. It begins by considering their point of entry into graduate school and explores their feelings of marginality and alienation. It also focuses on the strategies of resistance they developed to cope in this "chilly climate." Finally, it considers the position of these women today and argues that despite the privilege and status of a PhD, they continue to face structural constraints and competing demands as women from working-class backgrounds.

Gloria Cuadraz, University of California, Santa Cruz. **"From Scholarship Girls to Scholarship Women: Connecting Commitments and Contradictory Privileges."**

This personal essay focuses on the negotiations of being a graduate student, as a woman of color of working class origins, at a major research university. The framework of race, class, and gender is utilized to recount the trajectory from that of "scholarship girl" to scholarship woman. The concept of "endurance capital" is introduced, drawing from Bourdieu's (1984) concept of "cultural capital." The essay contributes to the dearth of qualitative essays on the experiences of graduate students, as well as to the growing literature on women in the academy.

Respondent: Jeanette Dear, University of Utah

SESSION XXVII: QUESTIONS OF IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION IN THE FORMATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN AND ASIAN AMERICAN MALE SUBJECTIVITY

Rory J. Ong, Washington State University. **"Enemy-Patriotism: The Struggle for Identity and Representation in the Formation of an Asian American Male Subjectivity."**

Asian America has often been represented by the dominant culture in the US as hordes to be excluded, the enemy, the model minority, a quota to be filled or capped, and (once again) as responsible for the unemployment of hard working Americans. Because these dominant cultural representations continue to have currency, the recent television image of Korean Americans aggressively defending their livelihood becomes enveloped in a growing "crisis" concerning Asian American identity and representation in the US. This paper argues that this "crisis" is generated via the complex and contradictory ideological forces at work in the formation of an "enemy-patriot" Asian American subjectivity. I draw from the work of critical and cultural theorists such as Michael Omi, Lisa Lowe, Abdul Jan Mohammed, and Cornel West, and political theorists Ernesto La Clau and Chantal Mouffe.

James Richardson, Jr., Kennesaw State College. **"Brothers Gonna Work It Out?: The Calibanization of the African American Male."**

After analyzing Shakespeare's Caliban in *The Tempest* and Browning's in *Caliban Upon Setebos*, I've coined and defined the term "calibanization" to describe the process by which African American virility is systematically discouraged and dissuaded from exploring creative, productive pursuits. In fact, when they move toward positive expression, they are often silenced by non-blacks and blacks who often interpret such movement as "uppity," effeminate, futile. This paper articulates its position with help from bell hooks, James Baldwin, Na'im Akba, and personal experiences.

Stephen Nathan Haymes, Loyola University. **"Black Men's Identity."**

This paper argues that to understand the construction of black men's identity, we must look at how dominant forms of black masculinity are informed by

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the ideology of white supremacist patriarchal capitalism. Discussed is how black men's investment in white patriarchy ideologically links them to capitalism and white supremacy. The main question raised is how does this limit black solidarity and resistance to white authority and domination. This paper draws on the works of black critical feminists such as bell hooks, Michele Wallace and Toni Morrison, as well as black male critical theorists such as Cornel West, Manning Marable and Kobena Mercer.

SESSION XXVIII: ISSUES OF RACE, CLASS, GENDER IN QUALITY HEALTH CARE Community Session

Moderator: Scott Williams, University of Utah
Panelists: Sandra Adams, Utah Issues
Leticia Archuleta, Indian Health Care Clinic
Gary M. Chan, University of Utah
Steven Ratcliffe, Salt Lake City Community Health Center

SESSION XXIX: ISSUES OF RACE, CLASS AND GENDER IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS Community Session

Moderator: Oakley Gordon, University of Utah
Panelists: Christine Fox, Utah State House of Representatives
Art Monson, Salt Lake County Treasurer
Pete Suazo, Impact Business Consultants
Phil Uipi, Utah State House of Representatives

SESSION XXX: LATINO IMMIGRATION/MIGRATION, LABOR AND CULTURE: NEW DIRECTIONS IN CHICANA/O SCHOLARSHIP

Chair: Dr. Gabriele Melendez, Hispanic Cultural Foundation, Albuquerque

Jeff Garcilazo, University of Utah. **“Vamos al Norte’: Mexican Railroad Worker Recruitment and Immigration, 1880-1930.”**

This paper will examine the significance of the railroad to the mutually reinforcing processes of Mexican immigration/migration and labor recruitment in the United States during the late 19th and early 20th century. It will focus on the centrality of Mexican immigrant workers to railroad construction and maintenance-of-way which has been heretofore ignored by Chicano and labor historians. By using archival materials, newspapers, trade association publications, and oral histories, this paper will show how Mexican workers came to be employed by western railroads and how Mexican workers, both men and women, made use of informal networks to find employment on specific railroads, track and section gangs. It will also link Mexican working-class community formation to railroad employment and chain migration.

Victor Garcia, Indiana University of Pennsylvania. **“Farm Work and Agriculture in the Santa Maria Valley, 1920-1990: The Cyclical Employment of Solo Migrants and Immigrant Family Workers.”**

This paper examines the cyclical employment of Mexican and Mexican American migrant and immigrant farm labor in the Santa Maria Valley, one of the largest coast valleys of California. It describes the employment of both types of labor forces—1) solo migrants [males without families] and 2) immigrant family labor—in agriculture from the 1920s to the 1980s. In addition, the economic reasons for this changing use of labor, and the negative socioeconomic impact on local farm worker families, are addressed. Data for this paper was collected during a two year ethnographic study of farm worker households and the agricultural industry.

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Teresa Figueroa Sanchez, University of California, Santa Barbara. **"Oaxacan Agricultural Labor in a California Town: Arvin."**

California's large-scale agricultural farms have depended upon a continuous flow of foreign workers. At the turn of the century, Chinese, and Japanese immigration was prohibited through a series of immigration laws which halted the replenishment of this labor force in agriculture. However, Mexican immigrants supplied the labor needs of California's agriculture. Recently, Indigenous (Mixtec and Zapotecs) people from the Mexican states of Oaxaca and Guerrero have joined the international exodus to California. This paper shall focus attention on the Oaxacan Mixtecs who are employed as both permanent and migrant agricultural workers in Arvin, California.

Maria De La Luz Ibarra, University of California, Santa Barbara. **"A Piece of the Informal Sector in Santa Barbara, California: The Case of Mexicana Domestic Servants and Hotel Maids."**

This paper will focus on Mexican immigrant women employed as domestic servants and hotel maids in Santa Barbara, California. The question which will be addressed is how Mexican women are able to survive on the "poverty" wages they are paid in the cleaning industry. This industry is part of a much larger informal sector, but it is noteworthy because Mexicanas appear to predominate. Ongoing anthropological research will document women's life histories and the structure of their domestic units, in order to better understand women's resistance and survival strategies.

Paul Lopez, Northeastern University. **"Census Analysis of Labor Characteristics Between Latinos and Non-Latinos, 1990"**

Using 1990 census data, this paper will examine the labor market characteristics of Mexican and Puerto Ricans and the inequality both groups continue to endure. A comparison between Latino origin men (Mexican and Puerto Rican) and non-Latino white men (referred to as white) will be conducted focusing on the variable, labor characteristics. The results will show that Latinos continue to endure inequality despite their increased participation in the labor market. A preliminary analysis will have to suffice given the amount of data available to this date.

Respondent: Ruben Martinez, University of California, Santa Barbara

SESSION XXXI: CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEMINIST THEORY

Chair: Ann Voda, University of Utah

Kara Shaw, John Hopkins University. **"Woman/Native/Cyborg."**

In "Woman/Native/Cyborg" I develop a critique of identity politics by drawing on the experiences of Native American women activists as well as the writings of Donna Haraway and Trinh Minh-ha. The paper explores the ways in which identity politics as a political strategy can act to sideline the political issues of women of color as well as fragment and divide them by forcing them to act within simplistic notions of identity and ethnicity. Read together, these authors inspire a multifaceted look at gender, identity, and the potential for cross-cultural political alliances, as well as an interrogation of the very act of writing, theorizing and acting on and about these kinds of issues.

Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, University of Utah. **"A Rational Choice Explanation of Gender Inequality."**

Rational choice explanations of inequality (cf., Sowell, 1981; Olson, 1982; Sen, 1989) fail to account for the strong correlation between inequality and demographic characteristics such as race and gender. Nevertheless, I argue that a rational choice explanation can contribute to the literature on inequality when it emphasizes

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the complex interaction between “choice” and the coercion inherent in particular “game” structures. In this paper, I explore the ways in which a rational choice framework might be used to test specific hypotheses developed from feminist and social psychological theories of gender.

Michael A. Toth, Portland State University. **“Fetishing the Self and the Necessity of Social Categories.”**

Race, ethnicity, sex or gender, nationality, religion, and social class appear in all societies as vehicles for satisfying human needs for order, meaning, and membership, locating individuals within a structured matrix of self-enabling roles and personal identities. This process is enhanced by the degree to which social roles “fetishize” the self and provide for individual comparison. Enlightened Western values now argue against the persistence of identities based on such invidious distinctions. While it might ideally be desirable to eliminate social categorizations, sex or gender in particular are not only bound to persist, but are those in which individuals have great investment. Sex/gender is examined as the least malignant and most constructive source of the inherent benefits of social categorization.

Respondent: Melanie Cherry, University of Utah

SESSION XXXII: RACE AND GENDER IN THE MIGRATORY EXPERIENCE

Chair: Jonathan Majak, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

E. San Juan, University of Connecticut. **“Conjunctures of Race, Class and Gender in the Filipino Community.”**

The largest segment of the Asian American category, the Filipino community in the US (soon to exceed two million) has been tokenized in virtually every discourse and disciplinary regime devoted to ethnicity. Certain historical specificities of the Filipino formation—in particular, the colonial and later neocolonial position of the Philippines and the hegemonic domination of US ideology—distinguish it from other Asians in the US. I argue that “Asian American” inflicts violence on the Filipino; and Filipino resistance to such violence is beginning to define the emergent forms of racial/ethnic subjectivity unique in modern history.

Maura Toro-Morn, Illinois State University. **“Gender Dimensions of Puerto Rican Migration to Chicago.”**

This paper explores the gender and class dimensions of Puerto Rican migration to Chicago using data from interviews with Puerto Rican women. The interviews suggest that over the years migration has become a strategy for Puerto Ricans across class backgrounds. Working class women migrated to Chicago primarily for economic reasons and as family units in rigidly gendered ways. They came as wives, mothers, and daughters following their husbands and parents to Chicago. In the 1960s, educated women joined working class migrants in the migration process. Educated migrants came also as family units, but were less encumbered by gender relations. Economic considerations were not the only reasons bringing women to Chicago. An unexpected pregnancy, marital problems, and family pressures were other gender related reasons bringing women to Chicago.

Kasturi DasGupta, Georgian Court College. **“Asian Indian Women in the United States: Guidelines for Community Intervention in the Event of Crises.”**

The last ten years has seen a dramatic rise in the number of Asian Indian immigrants to the United States. This has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of domestic abuse cases which have been reported to various

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social agencies and to South Asian women's organizations. This paper examines the complex web of problems Asian Indian women encounter, problems that are intensified by the virtual absence of familiar and/or other social support systems. The objective is to offer guidelines to direct-service providers in community based organizations to sensitize them to the special circumstances and cultural considerations of Asian Indian women.

Respondent: Armando Solorzano, University of Utah

SESSION XXXIII: RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN DEALING WITH ISSUES OF RACE, CLASS AND GENDER IN THE COMMUNITY

Community Session

Moderator: Stan Nakano, US Small Business Administration

Panelists: Lois Caudillo, Questar Corporation

Tom Hori, RedCon, Inc.

Lois Johnson, United Security Financial Mortgage

Bennie Smith, Beneco Enterprises, Inc.

Eve Mary Verde, US West

SESSION XXXIV: EDUCATION: RACE, CLASS AND GENDER ISSUES

Community Session

Moderator: Laurie Chivers, Utah State Office of Education

Panelists: Nola Lodge, University of Utah

Jesse M. Soriano, Weber State University

Kathleen Spencer, Salt Lake City School District

Becky Suazo, University of Utah

SESSION XXXV: ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SELF: MISEDUCATION, REIFICATIONS AND RECLAMATION IN THE LITERARY WORKS OF WOMEN WRITERS

Panel Abstract: As academia moves toward a system that is becoming more involved in "cultural studies" it becomes more important for scholars of all fields to acknowledge how race and gender issues affect and shape our disciplines. In the area of literature we have begun to explore the way that these issues affect all writings, and especially that of black and white women. By starting with an examination of how these issues impacted the nineteenth-century writings of Harriett B. Stowe, the Harlem Renaissance writings of Zora Neale Hurston and moving to the contemporary writings of Alice Walker and Toni Morrison, this panel attempts to identify examples of miseducation, dehumanization, and isolation. After identifying these methods of oppression, the panelists subsequently move towards various methods of overcoming their various modes of oppression through (re)education, reification, and reclamation.

Rich Campbell, Bowling Green State University. **"Haints and Haunting: Toni Morrison's *Beloved* and (Re)Claiming the Self."**

This paper will trace the movement towards personal wholeness of Morrison's *Beloved* characters. Though initially they work to suppress the haunting memories of the dehumanizing institution of slavery, such suppression ultimately leads them to fragmentation, isolation and insanity. In fact, only by confronting their past directly and reestablishing a sense of community are Morrison's characters able to move towards a sense of wholeness. In this respect Morrison's *Beloved* works against the myth of self-making which emphasizes separation, autonomy and the future posits an

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alternative myth of self based on communal and historical values.

Chekita Hall, Bowling Green State University. **“Miseducation: The Pedagogy of Oppression in Zora Neale Hurston’s *Their Eyes Were Watching God* and Walker’s *The Color Purple*.”**

Critics have perceptively analyzed and portrayed Janie’s and Celie’s search for identity amid racist and sexist oppression; however, critics have not previously discussed an important feature of both novels: the miseducation. Miseducation tells southern, black women what they can do, what they are capable of doing and what they should and should not do. Miseducation permits exploitation and manipulation of black women by allowing men to violate women’s bodies while permeating their living space. The double oppression of gender and race makes it extremely difficult for black women to reach autonomy. As a result of this miseducation, Celie and Janie resist the progression of developing a critical consciousness by never questioning their prescribed roles. This paper will shed considerable light on Janie’s and Celie’s personal growth, development and search for identity by analyzing the patterns of miseducation, as evidenced in the language of letters in *The Color Purple* and the creative power of language in *Their Eyes Were Watching God*.

Ethel Young, Bowling Green State University. **“Quintessential Women: Black and Mulatto Females Guiding New Women and True Women, H.B. Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.”**

While white feminist critics accurately reclaim images of women in the works of H.B. Stowe, they often do not attempt to contextualize these images in relation to the historical struggle of black women. Careful character analysis and close examination of the historical factors that influenced Stowe’s perception of womanhood give black feminist critics essential information needed to reclaim images in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Stowe uses her black and mulatto females to show the positive results of merging the opposing camps of “new” women and “true” women. By furthering explorations begun by Hazel Carby and Claudia Tate, this paper will discuss how “The Cult of True Womanhood” is manifested in Stowe’s characterization and development of nineteenth-century black women that appeal to her mostly white and female audience.

SESSION XXXVI: STRANGERS IN PARADOX: A DISCUSSION OF MARGINALIZATION, IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY IN CHICANA LITERATURE
Chair: Cortland Auser, Yorktown Heights, New York

Panel Abstract: Through the words of Chicana writers, a sense of community, based on identity and lived experience, emerges. Both reactive and proactive in nature, the works of Chicana writers represent activism in which life is theory, and reality is political as Chicanas partially rise out of the silence of marginalization through the act of writing. But what do these voices, these words mean, both in and out of context? What of audience? Who listens? Who reads? What does it mean when Chicana writing is labeled as threatening to Chicano community? What is at issue when community-based writing is evaluated in a non-community venue? What risks accompany academic interpretation, especially that of non-Chicana persons?

Our panel seeks to explore these and other questions relevant to Chicana community, by presenting and representing Chicana voices in conversation. Issues of marginalization within marginalization, objective subjectivity, and relevance of literary form to meaning will be examined in the context of Gadamerian hermeneutics. The panel wishes to explore the paradoxical reality that exists when objectified subjects, forced to acknowledge their objectification, maintain the integrity of their autonomous selves.

Additionally, the panel will serve as an instrument by which meta-critical

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questions of interpretation are addressed. Through the texts of Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherrie Moraga, and Ana Castillo, we intend to explore the "borderlands" brought into being through the "fusion of horizons" engendered by non-Chicana encounters with Chicana writings. It is important to recognize the non-definitive nature of insights gained by readers who filter interpretations through personal hermeneutic experience. While each reader of a text might come to understand something, that understanding may not always reflect the author's intention, nor echo the reading given a text by the audience for which it was written.

Our attraction to Chicana texts is how they manage to dance through the minefield of expectations planted by the Academy and the Chicano community. The focal authors of our mestiza borderlands allow these writers to exist both within and without the constraints placed upon them by Chicano and Anglo cultures.

Kelly Fairless, Washington State University. **"Strangers in Paradox."**

The act of writing subjectively, by an author who is considered "objectively" by mainstream academicians, delineates a paradox. The paper relies on Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Truth and Method* for its theoretical grounding, and Rosalie Colile's *Paradoxia Epidemica* for its discussion of paradox. Upon being read, a literary work is understood by a reader experientially. In terms of hermeneutics, the paper addresses the concerns of cross-cultural readings of literature by pointing out the fallacy of hierarchical interpretations of reality that do not admit paradox. Rather than inverting the old order, I choose to view literature "horizontally," a position that demands descriptive rather than evaluative interpretation, recognizing and celebrating the paradoxical quality of interpretation across multicultural "borderlands."

Ellen Gil-Gomez, Washington State University. **"Exploring Subjectivity within The Mixquiahuala Letters."**

The question of subjectivity is turned into an accusation when the academic establishment looks at female texts. This is even more true with female minority texts; the accusers come from both within her own minority group and outside it. In Ana Castillo's novel I believe she intentionally takes this typically accepted and expected "female" stance of the subjective by using the epistolary form. Her text looks at this convention, uses it, plays within it, and destroys its oppression both as a woman and a Chicana. As she does this she challenges her readers' expectations concerning what is permissible for a "female" text and an "ethnic" text. She refuses the trap of representing her gender or her race; this is still the major difficulty in discussing ethnic texts/authors as more than tokens in the academy or, once accepted by it, as "sell outs" and therefore unauthentically "ethnic."

Jaime Nolan, Washington State University. **"Borderlands and the Deconstruction of Academic Objectivity."**

What is devalued by the dominant culture is denied. Experience outside the realm of Anglo patriarchy is cast as deviant in order to rationalize and perpetuate a system of power at the expense of anyone who is not of the dominant culture. Academic "objectivity" is rooted in this bias. Gloria Anzaldúa's work *Borderlands*, through form and content creates a means of empowerment for a Chicana experience and exposes the denial of the dominant culture. Anzaldúa creates a rich and complex weaving of history, mythology, cultural theory, personal and creative expression, which not only articulates and celebrates a Chicana experience of the world, but serves to deconstruct the ideal of academic "objectivity," illustrating how this ideal serves a specific group, which privileges Anglo experience above other experiences of the world

Nanette J. Macy, Washington State University. **"Cherrie Moraga: Community in One, Embodying Otherness."**

In the naming of her book, *Loving in the War Years: lo que nunca paso por sus labios*, Chicana lesbian writer Cherrie Moraga suggests that her love and the multiple

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dimensions of her identity are not to be spoken. And yet she chooses to speak anyway, breaking the silence which represents marginalization within an already marginalized culture. Moraga and others like her, most notably Gloria Anzaldúa, speak because it is through their lesbianism that they claim their compassionate connections with their Chicana community and heritage. It is these connections via religion, La Malinche, el movimiento, lesbianism, and traditional concepts of family that this Angla Academic seeks to explore and present.

Respondent: Eduardo Elias, University of Utah

SESSION XXXVII: RACISM IN AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE

Chair: Theresa Martinez, University of Utah

Panel Abstract: Each of these three papers describes popular culture, in varied forms, as contributing to racist thinking. Brooks's paper is a discussion of racism in a contemporary novel by Pauline Hopkins. Douglas's paper is a discussion of racism embedded in differing popular cultural forms, including the minstrel show, popular art, television and films. While, Manning-Miller argues that the media presents a skewed and racially biased view of the poor and the welfare mother. All of these papers suggest that we have not come very far in our popular cultural conceptions of people of color. These papers present a critique of our popular cultural styles as they contribute to racist thinking.

Kristina Brooks, University of California, Berkeley. **"Racial Pornography: One Hundred Years of Pleasure and Pain."**

The relations between race, representation, and political progress are questioned through a discussion of racial pornography. Objectification on the basis of race in the image of the de-sexualized mammy, for example, still exerts a repressive force on African American women who do not conform to this stereotype. By examining the costs and benefits—and to whom—of one of the racial caricatures authored by an African American woman, Pauline Hopkins, in her novel *Hagar's Daughter* (1901-1902), I will provide a framework for assessing the situation, one hundred years later, for us all—producers and viewers of racial pornography.

Robert Douglas, University of Louisville. **"The Cultural Ideology of Racism: A Political Use of Art in America."**

Racism continues to exist in American society because it is continuously refurbished and reinforced at a socio-psychological level through subtle cultural inscription. This inquiry focuses upon the political and psychological effects of racism in the lives of back people. By examining selected cultural art forms, their effectiveness as purveyors or racists ideology becomes clearer as the extent of their daily use in American society is understood.

Carmen Manning-Miller, University of Kentucky. **"Media Images, Politics and the Feminization of Poverty."**

This study explores the possible impact of newspaper coverage of welfare issues on public opinion, public policy agenda-building, and the attitudes of white people toward African Americans. Data on newspaper coverage of welfare issues may suggest that racism, classism and sexism are encouraged by political coverage that depicts welfare recipients as lazy, promiscuous, deceptive and usually African American. These portrayals encourage discrimination and the denial that the feminization of poverty is sustained and perpetuated by a patriarchal social system and political economy.

Conference Abstracts: "Ethnicity: Race, Class and Gender"

Respondent: Theresa Martinez, University of Utah

Sociologists have been endlessly fascinated with culture and popular culture. They have also been intrigued by racial and ethnic relations. Today there is a growing interest in the linkages between popular culture and racial and ethnic relations. In this response I will be discussing three papers which deal with the topic of popular culture as it relates to racism in the United States. First, I would like to summarize what I thought were the highlights of each paper. Then, I would like to briefly comment on these three works.

Kristina Brooks's paper, "Racial Pornography: One Hundred Years of Pleasure and Pain," centers on a fictional piece by Pauline Hopkins entitled *Hagar's Daughter*. Part of Brooks's focus is the issue of racial pornography as it relates to Hopkins's characters—the "mammy," the "wench" and the "buck." Brooks makes a strong argument for racial pornography as the racial objectification of blacks. She likens the "mammy," the "wench," and the "buck," to the "innocent," the "nymphomaniac," and the "dominatrix."

Brooks argues that Hopkins allowed these images within her fiction because they had a popular appeal among both black and white audiences. She mentions that the appeal is in essence racially pornographic. It provides pleasure to the audience who can view the "mammy" image, Aunt Henny, as beneath them—for whites she is ignorant and illiterate, for blacks she is a slave and not free (among other factors). And, there is a tension here, for surely the pleasure for the black audience is also derived from the fact that the "mammy" image, Aunt Henny, really makes the high brow white gentlemen look ridiculous. She explores this tension, somewhat suggesting that the caricatures of minstrels are both humorous and offensive.

Brooks suggests that contemporary racial representations also embody this tension. How should blacks respond to Amos and Andy? Brooks states that Diahann Carroll affirms their humor while Marlon Riggs is quite critical of these figures. Were they both harmless and dangerous? She suggests that real divisions exist in the black community over the choice of laughter here. Brooks suggests we go beyond the question of is it good or bad, and instead continually ask: How are the caricatures constructed and Who constructs them? What do I see when I see pornography and Why do I see it the way I do?

Robert Douglas' paper, "The Cultural Ideology of Racism: A Political Use of Art in America," takes us on a social-historical journey involving tremendous cultural processes surrounding the depiction of African Americans in popular art forms in this country. He suggests that the fear and insecurity of dominant white culture leads to the racist depiction of blacks as servants, supporters, and, of course, entertainers.

Douglas takes us on a tour of the minstrel show setting which had grave implications for blacks, with suggestions of black inferiority, ignorance, laziness, thievery and overall life contentment. As the art form of minstrelsy confirms, the relation is complete—whites are superior to this buffoon image of blacks; while blacks see themselves as the buffoon. This does damage to the black psyche, effectively circumventing empowerment for African American people.

At the same time, Douglas argues that television has an enormous potential for inscribing modes of behavior for the African American community. Douglas sees "The Cosby Show" and "A Different World" as shows which can work positively to effect change of the stereotypical images. Yet, there have been other TV images which have been quite damaging: the cleaning man George Jefferson who is greedy, grasping and buffoonish; Nel Carter who is the black mammy image looking out for the Kinisky children more so than for her own needs; Benson, the Aunt Jemima in drag image. Douglas argues that these icons or images of African Americans—servants, supporters, and entertainers—will have far-reaching effects on African American self-definitions unless they are challenged.

Carmen Manning-Miller's paper, "Media Images, Politics and the Feminization of Poverty," attempts to analyze the media discourse about poor people and the tremendous power of media to shape our thinking. She argues that it can deny past

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discrimination and thus help to produce racism and sexism today.

Manning-Miller questions the extent of media coverage on poverty; the completeness of the coverage in addressing causes of poverty; whether there was an elitist bias; and how poor people were depicted. She found that the media consistently resorted to what were clearly “pot shots” taken at welfare-reliant women of childbearing age. The majority of sources were elected officials, and some of the newspapers didn’t even bother to quote poor people. There was a clear emphasis on racial/ethnic status, as the visual images of poverty were women of color. Very few of the articles took the time or effort to do issue-oriented stories, reflecting real societal contributions to poverty, but instead relied on feature-orientation, which is narrow and limited.

When it comes to poverty, Manning-Miller suggests, the media discourse has chosen to emphasize the personal/private explanation over the political/social—a pattern created by contributors to the media, the government officials, whose needs it suits. And, it simplifies the job for journalists. Why worry about doing a complex piece with national/global implications when a feature/event story would be quick and easy?

Manning-Miller suggests that reporters basically fulfill audience expectations and the needs of news sources. Most people and elected officials seem to want to hear that the welfare mother is responsible for all social ills. These and other stereotypes will continue to make poor women and people of color threatening and burdensome—the undeserving poor.

Each of these papers highlights the tremendous impact of popular culture on our lives. All three assert that popular culture is a powerful tool in racist hands and all three seem to suggest that the racism which was easier to see in the past has remained in the present and seems to be bent on holding sway in the future.

The images of blacks in Kristina Brooks’s article, the racial pornography she describes both fascinate and repulse me. It is clear in Brooks’s argument that she recognizes the importance of literature in establishing iconography for differing cultures. She argues, like Patricia Hill Collins, that this iconography is both humorous and dangerous. It is not locked into one side of a binary opposition.

I was drawn to Robert Douglas’s discussion of the minstrel show and images on television. He covers much history in his paper and I could appreciate his assessment of the media images of blacks at one time in prime time. Douglas strongly argues that these images need to be fought. Yet, I agree with Brooks, that to fight we must first ask who is constructing these images and for what reasons? Clearly, this would take this argument to a structural level where we might find imprints of internal colonialism, institutional discrimination, and other issues effecting race, class and gender.

Carmen Manning-Miller’s discussion of the media discourse on poverty did not surprise me but it still affected me. I realize that the media seems to revel in stories which butcher the life stories of real people in real life circumstances. I was grateful to Manning-Miller for making this reality very clear to me and would also like to agree with her that source diversity seems a good long term goal. We need to come to terms with the reality of poverty in this country and not shy away from the structural antecedents of that poverty. We need to stop hiding away in victim blaming and questions of individual culpability, especially as they affect poor women and women of color.

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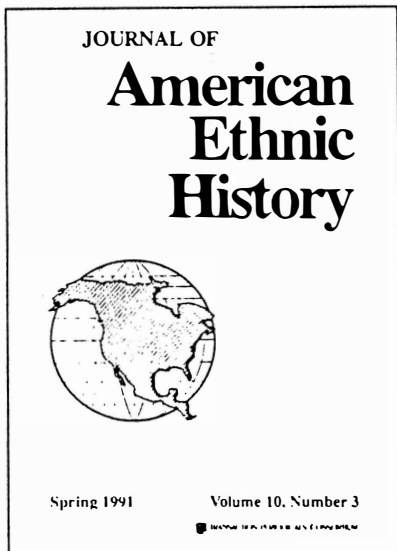
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