

**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.

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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.