Abstracts from the Sixteenth Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies

"Ethnicity: Race, Class, and Gender— Old and New Perspectives"

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The following abstracts were submitted for presentation at the annual Conference, and the respondent comments reflect the direction of discussion at several of the sessions. The intersection of race, class, and gender was the primary focus of the Conference. Caryn Mctighe Musil, National Director of the National Women's Studies Association; Betty Schmitz, Research Associate for the Northwest Center for Research on Women in the Curriculum; and Paul Lauter, director of the Reconstructing American Literature project spoke at the General Session, refining the Conference theme and providing specific plans for action. Pearl Primus and her son Onwin Borde presented "Dance Is My Language" in slides and music reflecting the African origins of modern dance, and Ernest Champion of Bowling Green State University provided a "Tribute to James Baldwin" at the banquet. Congratulations to conference directors John C. Walter and Johnnella Butler for a job well done.

SESSION I: **"RELIGION AND CULTURE"**
Chair: Alberto L. Pulido, University of Notre Dame.

Howard Adelman, Smith College. **"Are Jewish Studies Ethnic?"**

The complete history of Jewish studies has not yet been written. However, scholars engaged in this field are beginning to subject it to searching analysis. Pertinent articles which appeared offer two extreme positions: One sees the increase in Jewish studies as a result of heightened Jewish self-awareness during the late 1960s due to the Six Day War, growing interest in the Holocaust, and the influence of rising black and ethnic consciousnesses which resulted in the establishment of academic programs. The other, usually a reaction to the first view, offers that the study of Hebraica and Judaica has held an ancient and honorable place in the traditional university curriculum.

The purpose of this paper is to trace the history of Jewish studies, by which is meant

the critical study of the history, literature, and thought of the Jewish people since the biblical period and to indicate some of the features which undermine both of these general theses. I will demonstrate that the status of Hebraica and Judaica has not always been ancient nor honorable and that the field has roots other than the consciousness-raising events of the late 1960s. These observations are offered with the hope that an outline of the development of Jewish studies will suggest interdisciplinary discussion about the origins and development of other fields of study. When suggesting a comparision of different fields of study, it is with the hope that a level of discourse can be established which transcends attempts to use them as a foil for elaborating the strengths of one's own predilections. It is for this reason that ethnic studies is not narrowly defined but only used in the general sense of any field which attempts to study a particular community, often neglected by the general curriculum. Thus Jewish studies are ethnic, and considering them as such is necessary not only for purposes of obtaining cooperation from administrators and mutual support of colleagues, but also for the creation of disciplinary and methodological approaches which are academically sound.

David M. Gradwohl, Iowa State University. **"Intra-Group Ethnic Diversity Among American Jews: An Ethnoarchaelogical Perspective from Cemeteries in Lincoln, Nebraska."**

Most studies of ethnicity in the United States have focused on *inter*-group differences and identities. Particular attention has been devoted to the definition of boundary-maintaining mechanisms *between* groups and the interactions of minorities with other groups in the dominant society. These studies have been fruitful and should be continued in the pursuit of our goals of achieving better cross-cultural understanding and equality of citizens in the United States.

Oftentimes the diversity of sub-groups *within* larger ethnic and minority groups is as extreme as the differences between major ethnic groups. Just as often, there is an attempt by the sub-groups to mask these differences and present a "united front" toward outside groups, particularly as a response to discriminatory acts or attitudes. Cases of factionalism, however, can be seen within black and American Indian communitites, for example, as reported in historical research studies and as reflected in current newspaper coverage of the contemporary political scene.

The present study is focused on the diversity within the Jewish "community" in Lincoln, Nebraska. Jewish settlers arrived in Lincoln during the 1870s. Nearly all of these people were recent immigrants from northern Europe. They were Ashkenazim as opposed to the Sephardim, many of whom came to the United States from Spain, Portugal and Holland during the Colonial Period. Although the Ashkenazim shared certain historical traditions among themselves, two separate congregations were formed: B'nai Jeshurun (1884) and Tifereth Israel (1885). B'nai Jeshurun's congregants came primarily from western Europe (France, Germany, and Austria) and they embraced the principles of Reform Judaism, a movement which began in Europe after the emancipation of Jews there. For the most part, Tifereth Israel's members immigrated from eastern Europe (Poland, Russia, and the Baltic countries) and they followed the practices of Orthodox and Conservative Judaism. Two separate Jewish cemeteries were established in Lincoln. Mount Carmel Cemetery (originally called Chebra B'nai Jehuda Cemetery) is the graveyard for most of Lincoln's Orthodox and Conservative Jews. Mount Lebanon Cemetery serves as the burial ground for Reform Jews in and around Lincoln. The locations of these two cemeteries and inscriptions on the gravestones reflect historical, linguistic, and theological differences between Reform Jews and Orthodox/Conservative Jews in Lincoln and in the wider American scene. These data offer some insights into ethnicity from an *intra*-group perspective. From this basis, one can speculate on some different strategies of group survival as well a the maintenance of individual identities.

Jack Johnson-Hill, Vanderbilt University. **"Rastafari as a Liberation Movement: Images of Race, Class, and Gender in Rastafarian Poetry."**

This paper is an interpretive sociological account of images of race, class and gender in Rastafarian poetry. Utilizing the phenomenological perspective of the life-world, the Rastafari phenomenon is viewed as arising in an enduring, liminal cultural arena. Thus contextualized, Rasta poetry is understood as disclosing a bold yet non-defensive awareness of racial identity, a concept of socio-economic status which forswears the upward mobility motive, and a movement toward a non-chauvinistic consciousness among Rasta brethren. These images, in turn, are viewed as aspects of an emerging liberation identity which contains the seeds for a new Afro-Caribbean ethic.

Cathy Dalglish, Augsburg College. **"If Andrew Greeley Did Not Exist, Philip Roth Would Have Invented Him; or, Looking at a Catholic Writing in the Yiddish Tradition."**

Andrew Greeley and Philip Roth are both writers fighting with their archangels as Jacob wrestled with his. They are two irreverent prophets struggling with religious themes, two ethnic authors writing out of the tradition of the eastern European shtetl, two writers in the Yiddish tradition.

Irving Howe said, "The cruelest thing anyone can do with *Portnoy's Complaint* is to read it twice." The opposite is true of Andrew Greeley's work. The kindest thing you can do to Andrew Greeley is to read him twice. But between the first and second reading, you must study Philip Roth, Irving Howe, and the stories of the Yiddish tradition. You will discover first that Roth is a writer in the Yiddish tradition. Second you will notice that Greeley is a writer made in the image and likeness of Roth.

This paper makes no attempt to assign either Jewish heritage or literary status to Andrew Greeley. Greeley is a Catholic priest who writes popular books that sell well from racks in airports and convenience stores. He is not to be compared to Roth on the basis of literary muscle, but on the basis of theme. Roth once wrote that Isaac Bashevis Singer is a writer who has "awesome spiritual meaning for the community at large that is not necessarily of literary interest" to his fellow writers. That is the subject of this paper—similarities among the Yiddish writers, Philip Roth, and Andrew Greeley which are mainly spiritual and not necessarily of literary interest.

Religious preoccupation is one impotant spiritual quality that Greeley shares with Roth and the Yiddish writers. But it is only one. This paper also examines two other elements which make Greeley a writer in the Yiddish tradition. One is a sense of closeness to their own people—to their folk. This closeness to their people influences characters, settings and themes and seems to bleed out even to the reactions critics have to them, and the reactions they, in turn, have to their critics.

Another element which links Greeley and Roth to the Yiddish writers is the sense of tradition—tradition in the Yiddish context as outlined by Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg: ". . . tradition is almost always bound up with moral and social rebelliousness, for the mere existence of Yiddish literature is itself a rebellion against the assumptions of Jewish orthodoxy."

Roth and Greeley are rebels like the Yiddish writers, rebels ranting against their own families and struggling with religious themes. To show this, the paper considers specific works by Roth and Greeley. Works by Roth include *Portnoy's Complaint* "The Conversion of the Jews," *When She was Good,* and the *Zuckerman Bound (The Ghost Writer, Zuckerman Unbound, The Anatomy Lesson,* and *Epilogue: The Prague Orgy).* Works by Greeley include *Cardinal Sins, Thy Brother's Wife, Ascent Into Hell, Lord of the Dance, Virgin and Martyr.* The work of Irving Howe is also used, not only his scathing criticism published in *Commentary,* "Philip Roth Reconsidered," but also the passage Howe co-authored as the introduction to *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories.*

Respondent: Stewart Rodnon, Rider College.

One of my goals, according to the Conference mandate is "to ensure thematic consistency." The consistency can't be a formal religious theology because obviously Jews, Catholics, and Rastafarians would have a desperate time on that issue. E. M. Forster's famous dictum was "only connect"; perhaps suggesting that the mighty river of religious impulse flows into several tributaries ultimately leading us to the little trickles of the common folk and makes one connection. The sociologists try to get their version of this "truth" with great scientific exactness, using worlds like "phenomenological," "liminal," "contextualized." On the other hand, the creative artists see things with a mixture of pity, sadness, admiration, love, hatred, compassion, anger—a whole complex of tangled emotions. They write out of their own upbringing and out of their insights not only into their own society but also into themselves. And the grand, lordly religious river of thoughts seeps somehow to the Catholic, Jew, and Rastafarian, to help them somehow to see the universe in a more unified and comprehensible way and to see more clearly their place in it; they may discover how, as Emerson put it, "to advance on Chaos and the darkness."

In other words, I'm impressed primarily with the focus ultimately on specific individuals whether literary artists creatively imaging poetry or creating characters who are used as persona or spokespersons or narrators to articulate a version of the truth. Jack Johnson Hill takes us to the underbelly of our Northern and Western Hemispheres to give us a sociological and literary account of Plantation America, saying "This sphere pertains to those areas in the Americas which have been fundamentally shaped by sugar production in a rigidly stratified planatation system with African slave

labor." America's record in the Caribbean has been, of course, shameful. He shows the breadth of the Rastafarian poetry movement while focusing on the work of those individual poets which affirms black racial identity while transcending a narrow focus on race, is strongly anti-materialistic, and is now easing what had been a strong male chauvinistic attitude toward women. I found a great deal of similarity between their work and that of the black Revolutionary poets of the 1960s and 1970s, such as Don Lee, Sonya Sanchez, Imamu Baraka, Marie Evans, and others.

A most engaging paper written with verve and zest and wit was Cathy Dalglish's Andrew Greeley-Philip Roth comparison. I thought it somewhat complicated and labyrinthine on first reading, but a second and a third helped enormously as I found her focus—which is that both have in common three things: (1) religious pre-occupation, (2) a certain sense of tradition, and (3) a closeness to their own people and to the "folk." (She sees this, I think rightly, as "Yiddish.") This third preoccupation of Roth and Greeley leads them to develop characters and themes which terribly offend the members of their religious Establishments. These, usually self-serving, leaders of a religious or power hierarchy do not want their boat rocked. We, therefore, get conservatives vigorously attacking these creative spirits; then Greeley and Roth counter-attack brilliantly, and for my dough win the war—but with bloodied noses. This was an ingenious and shrewdly developed paper.

Howard Adelman's paper I found extremely worthwhile both because of its ideas and because it's a model of standard expository development. His thesis is two-fold: (1) to show that the status of Hebraica and Judaica studies has not always been ancient and honorable, and (2) the field has roots other than the consciousness-raising events of the late 1960s. He, at some length, goes into the historical and sociological background and, I believe, proves his case conclusively. His conclusions point out several paradoxes, but the upshot is that Jewish studies scholars seek to avoid the label "ethnic." They try to gain status by tying-in directly to the standard curriculum; that is unnecessary, for the academic process has always "been commited to fostering particular values whether they are nationalistic, religious, sexual, or racial." He makes a potent argument that the so-called "universalist" view of much of the college curriculum is based on a "Western, white, Christian, male view of the world." Perhaps it is these courses, then, which might be considered "ethnic" in a pejorative sense. He goes on to say that all ethnic studies (in an honorific sense) are valid if they "display rigorous disciplinary and methodological questioning of all data, assumptions and conclusions." Adelman himself certainly sustains the validity of this statement in his own meticulously researched analysis.

David Gradwohl's scholarly paper and his slide presentation—informative, interesting, and persuasive—examined aspects of the German immigrants' reformed Judaism and the later Russian-Polish Jewish immigrants' orthodox and conservative Judaism in one city. His ethnoarcheological perspective utilized the tombstones in the cemeteries that each group established, and clearly these served as emblems of each group's essential religious and cultural identities. This perspective on intraethnic diversity was an enlightening methodology, undoubtedly useful as a tool for similar projects; it was a clearly developed and well-imaged presentation.

SESSION II: "EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMY"
Chair: Samuel Hinton, Kent State University.

Norma J. Burgess, Mississippi State University.
"Black Married Women in the U.S.: Theoretical Applications for Employment."
   Since World War II, researchers have attempted to explain and understand the changes in the role of married women regarding expected behaviors within the home and the workplace. More attention should be given to cultural variations among women in society because of variations in labor force participation. What is posited here is an historical explanation for the continued persistence of relatively large numbers of black married women in the labor force based on employment patterns established during slavery. Finally, the ideas of Stinchcombe (1968) are used as a theoretical application of employment among black women in the United States.

Gilbert G. Gonzalez, University of California, Irvine. **"The Citrus Pickers' Camps of Southern California."**
   In the course of the historical development of the Southwestern Chicano community, a number of distinctive types of settlements have been observed. Generally, this variation in settlement has been shaped by the contours of the local economic enterprises employing Mexican labor. Thus, barrios have been established upon the foundations provided by the cattle and sheep industry, agriculture, mining, railroads,

urban manufacturing, and the citrus industry. Each of these general economic branches have created a particular barrio "style" that can be studied, analyzed and compared. This paper reports on a case study of the social history of a common form of Mexican settlement in Southern California, the segregated citrus pickers' camps.

Mary Romero, Yale University. **"Transcending or Reproducing Hierarchy Between Women? Chicana Private Household Workers' Relationships with Employers."**

Chicanas employed as private household workers find themselves in intimate contact with women of a different class and culture. Their work situation is unique in that housewives and private household workers are both women and share the ascribed task of housework. But hiring a domestic frees housewives from the drudgery of housework. As housewives delegate menial work to private household workers who belong to a subordinate group, they also relinquish control over aspects of their lives, such as raising children. The domestic completes the work and does it well, but these conditions perpetuate class and racial inequality. A historical perspective will provide necessary background information to the racial and cultural component between mistresses and maids in the Southwest, as well as existing traditions in the occupation. Based on interviews with Chicana private household workers, the paper examines the interpersonal employee/employer relationship commonly characterized as "one of the family" in order to determine the ways in which status differences are maintained through the interaction and ways that the bonds of sisterhood are established. Particular attention is placed on the informal negotiation of the work, the type of interaction developed with employers, and aspects of daily interactions, including the linguistic and spatial.

Farrell J. Webb, New York University. **"The Social Advancements of Black Americans: Institutional Confidence as a Retarding Agent."**

What is the impact of institutional confidence (the belief that federal intervention improves life chances) on the economic and social development of black Americans? Has it retarded the black community? This paper discusses my test results of Williams' (1982) thesis of blacks' over-reliance on social benevolence and its impact on economic and social development. I use data from the General Social Survey (GSS) to test his belief. I conclude by questioning whether Williams' thesis is valid or if there are other concepts, such as well-being, that also play a role in this issue.

Respondent: Miguel A. Carranza, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

SESSION III: **"MEDICINE AND MENTAL HEALTH"**
Chair: Allene Jones, Texas Christian University.

Ella P. Lacey and Bikash Nandy, Southern Illinois University. **"Considering Health and Census Data on Race, Color, and Ethnicity: A Case of Confusing Terminology and Unfounded Conclusions."**

Race, color, and ethnicity are demographic descriptors to which we have become accustomed related to review of health and medical data. These concepts are used interchangeably with some tendency toward ethnicity as a supplant for race. Our major population database, the U.S. Census, collects and analyzes its data on race, color, and ethnicity in ways that do not suggest support for synthesis of these very different constructs. Data on race or color are gathered independently of ethnicity, with the latter being collected only as a dichotomous variable. Use of related demographic variables in State vital statistics is presented as an example to illustrate disparity in use of the concepts. The data collection and compilation procedures are not consistent relative to issues of race, color, and ethnicity in the decennial census.

As we approach the bicentennial of the U.S. Census, systematic qualitative analyses should be conducted to examine the underlying assumptions about race, color and ethnicity. We need to explore alternatives for the race and ethnicity related procedural changes from one census period to another. It is timely that we determine appropriate frameworks to generate population data on race and ethnicity uncontaminated by conceptual ambiguity.

David McBride, State University of New York. **"African Health in American Medical and Ethnic Thought, 1850-1959: Racial Reductionism Versus Scientific Humanism."**

This paper presents an historical overview of popular medical and ethnological perceptions of African health. The first period, "incohesive racialism," spanned the third quarter of the nineteenth century and drew heavily from medical stereotypes and distorted anthropmetry generated by the slave South. The second period emerged during the turn of the century and early twentieth century, and centered on social

Darwinist and evolutionary approaches to the race concept and the health of blacks. Following World War I a third phase developed in American ideas toward African health based on the fields of "human biology" and genetics. Medical authorities attributed the fundamental cause of epidemics and mortality differentials between blacks and whites to alleged genetic-based racial differences. After World War II race concepts based on biology and genetics are challenged by scientific humanism and cultural relativism. This last development altered significantly approaches to disease and illness of black populations to ones which stressed the environmental and economic causes of disease patterns among blacks. Finally, this paper argues that elements of these old concepts of race and ethnicity are resurging anew in such fields as "comparative ethnogenetics" and sociobiology, and will have a negative impact especially on American academic and policy approaches to health problems confronting current-day African nations.

James A. Schnell, University of Cincinnati. **"The Merging of Traditional Chinese Medicine and Western Medicine in China: Old Ideas Cross-Culturally Communicated Through New Perspectives."**

In 1979, after maintaining a closed society for 30 years, China initiated reforms which included opening its doors to the outside world. This open-door policy has evidenced itself in many areas including economic, cultural, educational, and political reforms. Medical developments have also been enhanced through the merging of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) with western medicine. A better understanding of Traditional Chinese Medicine has been attained by interpreting TCM effectiveness from the perspective of western medicine. This paper describes primary factors which have affected the merging of Traditional Chinese Medicine and western medicine as Chinese and western practitioners have worked to cross-culturally understand the procedures and effectiveness of Traditional Chinese Medicine.

Linda Gonzalves, Rutgers University. **"Triangulation, Meta-analysis and Phenomenological Research Methods Applied to Race, Gender and Class."**

This study surveys contemporary social scientific approaches to issues of race/ethnicity, gender and class. In that there exists a need for increased discourse among researchers concerned with gender, class or race, the goal here is to identify common concepts and contextual meanings in the hopes of cross-fertilization and unity. Triangulation, or the use of multiple research approaches, is seen as a methodological "green light" for the construction of more progressive and unifying paradigms for each of these fields and for social science research in general. Meta-analysis, or the analysis of existing research, is viewed as a means toward re-visioning research findings that have been limited because of stereotype and bias. Phenomenological research, or the orientation that one begins research by observing and interacting with a phenomenon without prior theoretical conceptions, is offered as the approach that can re-cover "lost voices" that have been hidden in positivistic, white male-dominated research.

Because of dialectical and historical realities, the social sciences can never reach a level of autonomy and pure wisdom. They can potentially provide more positive than negative contributions if they are restrained and re-visioned by an introspective, self-critical, evolving paradigm. That is the goal of this paper: to advance the dialogue in the re-visioning of social science methodologies away from their role in reproducing social, economic, and political inequities and, perhaps, to contribute to the role that knowledge and wisdom can have in humanizing human nature. The question for this study is: will the triangulation of gender, race and class, the phenomenological recovering of lost voices, and the meta-analysis of past research contribute to that humanizing, democratizing process?

Because of the vast amount of literature that constitutes social scientific inquiry, this study focuses on theories of mental ability as presented in mainstream educational psychology. However, this will not be an exclusive focus. It is imperative that we keep in mind and operationalize the more fundamental concern for the abuse of the reproductive nature of all the social sciences.

Respondent: Allene Jones, Texas Christian University.

This session on "Medicine and Mental Health" was impressive because of the variety and scope of the four papers presented. The paper presented by Lacey focuses upon the role that census data plays in the distribution of health and disease among the racial and ethnic groups in the United States. This paper emphasizes the fact that the U.S. census has not been consistent throughout its history regarding the definitions of the

key variables such as race, color, and ethnicity. Lack of consistent definitions poses problems for researchers, especially if they want to do research from an historical perspective.

McBride focuses on the role of early crude racial views of African health and how these views affected the views of the health status of black Americans. McBride does an excellent job in showing how a racist's view of African and American health has evolved to a more scientific one. In this paper McBride stresses the importance of shifting from the "racial traits" as a determinant of the health status of black Africans and Americans to that of meeting the basic human needs of these two groups.

Schnell, who was a visiting professor at Northern Jiaotong University, focuses upon the merging of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), and Western medicine. According to Schnell, when Chinese and Western physicians interact they provide a climate whereby the "why" of TCM is better understood. For centuries, the Chinese have encountered few problems in explaining the "how" of traditional Chinese medical procedures. In this paper, Schnell discusses some of the problems encountered when Chinese and Western physicians share their medical practices. Differences in culture and language appear to be two major problem areas. Despite the problems encountered when TCM and Western medicine merge, the benefits appear to outweigh the problems.

Gonzalves focuses on three important research methods—triangulation, meta-analysis, and phenomonology—as important research methods to be utilized when studying race, ethnicity, gender, and class. Gonzalves is to be commended for her ability to show how each of these three methods when applied to the aforementioned concepts leads to a much better understanding and application of these concepts than when the quantitative research methods are used in the study, understanding, and application of these concepts.

SESSION IV: "INTERNATIONAL ISSUES"
Chair: Ernest A. Champion, Bowling Green State University.

Samuel Hinton, Kent State University. "Race and Ethnicity in the United States: A Black-Ethnic Perspective."

Ethnic groups are frequently identified by distinctive patterns of family life, language, recreation, religion and other customs. Ethnic identity is a core element in the development of personality and is intimately linked with the perception of self, early socialization, language learning and/or religious and political indoctrination. However, an individual may have dual or multiple identities depending on roles played in particular and different situations. Indeed, in modern societies individuals face multiple, overlapping and sometimes conflicting definitions of personal identity and group membership. For example, there are people who grew up in households with first generation immigrant families. These persons are now holding high-level jobs in corporate America and are perceived at that level to be members of the corporate culture. They have to succumb to expectations of social behavior relevant to their status, but they sometimes yearn for the familiar and familial patterns of behavior they grew up in. The concept of "Tweeners," relates to the conflict that they have to endure.

Ethnic studies in the United States have tended to differentiate whites into ethnic groups while at the same time regarding blacks as a homogeneous ethnic group. This practice needs to be reviewed and reevaluated because of the serious racial and ethnocentric issues involved. Racial traits are usually defined by virtue of innate and immutable physical characteristics, and people of a common race may be divided into several ethnic groups. Usually, when large groups of people are colonized or subjugated, it is easy to utilize the concept of "divide and rule." Through this process, the "master" ensures that ethnic differences are emphasized so that group solidarity would be difficult to obtain. During slavery, for reasons well outside the orbit of this paper, Africans were not encouraged to emphasize their ethnic differences. In the study of ethnicity some relevant questions come to mind that require some answers: Why have American blacks been banded together as one ethnic group? How would black citizens of foreign birth and their progeny be accounted for in the ethnic mosaic? Are problems of "hidden minorities" (Rollin, 1981) important when we consider black ethnicity? The answers to these questions are crucial to a resolution of definitions of ethnicity devoid of double standards.

The literature on ethnicity is replete with insinuations, sometimes from blacks themselves, of inferiority; Frazier (1957) has suggested that black culture is derived from Southern folk culture (aping whites), while Glazer and Moynihan (1963) went so far as to suggest that blacks had no values and culture to guard and protect. These

writers assume that blacks are capable of shedding their Africanity or diasporal orientation despite evidence to the contrary as indicated in music, dance, religion and even speech patterns which have endured and survived slavery and discrimination throughout the centuries.

Since the 1950s when African countries began to participate in world affairs as independent nations, the stigma of slavery became less of a problem to African-Americans. Unfortunately, Africa's independence became tainted with political upheavals leading to wars and suffering. Many refugees from Uganda, Nigeria (Biafra), Ethiopia (Eritrea), the Sudan and other countries have settled in the United States. Other peoples of African descent who became immigrants include Jamaicans and other Caribbean nationals, the most significant of which in recent times are the Haitians. There appeared to be significant initial strains between these groups and the larger (homegrown) black populations; the latter expected the newcomers to be and act "black" meaning "just like us," while the new groups preferred to retain some elements of their culture, religion and even language. This friction may be explained in terms of the impact of ethnocentrism on the behaviors of minorities. A minority who has been discriminated against and treated as inferior would not only internalize this experience, it will also act it out against other populations it comes in contact with. This reverse ethnocentrism appears to be perpetrated against newer groups of black peoples by members of the larger native-born group and the former are doomed to suffer double jeopardy, being part of an oppressed minority while at the same time being subject to prejudice and rejection from their own kind. The interactions of succeeding generations of black ethnics with the larger group of blacks should be very important to the study of ethnicity and ethnic groups in the United States.

Laura Tabili, University of Maryland. **"Race, Class, Gender, and Ethnicity in Interwar Britain."**

In recent decades, black workers' migration to Britain from the colonies and former colonies has provoked conflict and even violence. In spite of the depiction as foreigners, newcomers, and outcasts, black settlements, institutions and ethnic networks survived and flourished in interwar Britain, in relative harmony with white neighbors. When conflict occurred it often came from outside. Local and national authorities saw these settlements as centers of disorder, and made systematic attempts to dismantle black communities in Cardiff and Tyneside during the Depression. These efforts were directly traceable in some cases to employers' desires to keep their workforce vulnerable and isolated from the white working class.

Labelling black families and communities deviant and dangerous was a pretext for outside interference and attempts to dismantle them. Alarmist accounts of racially mixed couples partook of and played into cultural stereotypes which were gender and class based as well as racist. The middle class reaction to mixed couples in interwar Britain prefigured the "culturalist" victim blaming explanations for black disadvantage in contemporary Britain as well as current attempts to control black men and black communities by controlling black women. Although damaging, these attacks proved ultimately futile, and these communities continued to exist on the eve of World War II, forming the nuclei of postwar black settlements.

W. M. Akalou, Texas Southern University. **"Ethiopians and Afghans in America: A Comparative Perspective."**

Ethiopians and Afghans constitute small but distinctive ethnic communities in America. Both share a number of similar characteristics: long uninterrupted history, mountainous geography, and great pride in their country and cultural heritage. Both have recently undergone drastic political and social changes which have seriously impacted their people. As a consequence, thousands have left their homeland seeking asylum in near and faraway places. A few thousand have come to the United States where both Ethiopians and Afghans have begun to make a living from scratch with little or no social support system of their own. This paper explores to what extent national regime charateristics shape the context with which individual emigration decision occurs among Ethiopians and Afghans, and whether or not there are discernible differences or similarities in the outcome of their decisions.

Respondent: Helen MacLam, *Choice* Magazine.

SESSION V:A. "ETHNICITY AND WOMEN'S WRITING"
Chair: Luis L. Pinto, Bronx Community College.

Arlene Avakian, Paulla A. Ebron, Sara Lennox, and Irma McClaurin-Allen, University of Massachusetts. **"Writing and Reading Women's Lives: Autobiography, Biography, and Life Histories."**

 This panel addresses the various strategies of representation of women's lives. The lives examined are of women of different race, class and ethnic backgrounds. Two of the participants are writers of autobiography and biography and discuss how they came to their projects and the methodological issues that emerged in the process of their writing. Two panelists examine analytical tools for understanding the texts of women's lives. One, an anthropologist, discusses recent work in anthropology that challenges the way traditional ethnographies have occluded women's real lives. The other, a literary scholar, explores recent trends in feminist historiography and feminist literary theory showing how an investigation of strategies of representation in their historical context can uncover the contradictions that shape women's lives and writing about them.

B. "ARMENIAN AMERICAN WOMEN"
Chair: Ruth Thomasian, Project SAVE, Watertown, MA.

Margaret Bedrosian, University of California, Davis. **"Armenian American Women."**

Arlene V. Avakian, University of Massachusetts. **"Armenian American Women: The First Word . . . "**

Redspondent: Flora A. Keshgegian, Brown University.

 Both our speakers address the lack of women's own voice among Armenian-American women. There is little literature by women. There is little recording of women's histories. What we have here today is indeed the "first word," and only the first word, but a word breaking the silence of Armenian-American women. Volumes and volumes need yet to be uttered and written. There is so much to be done that it is difficult to know where to begin. I see that difficulty reflected in our speakers' remarks which remain general, descriptive and indicating, rather than specific and analytical. That is the state of the field right now. We are very much at the beginning stages and so I would simply push the conversation another inch or two with three observations and questions.

 First of all, if there often exists a tension between ethnic identity and gender identity in relation to developing a feminist consciousness, there is a particular twist in that for Armenian-American women. That difference is in large part because of the experience of genocide. The mentality of survivors is often that all they have left is their ethnic identity. As Margaret Bedrosian indicated, they have a "state of siege" mentality. Their way of being in the world and understanding the world is colored by having survived and having preserved ethnic identity. Any proposed change then to that identity is seen as threatening not only their identity, but their existence. Armenians for whom the genocide experience is still fundamental live a threatened existence and feminism, or a claiming of female identity in a different way, is seen as a direct challenge to that existence. To put it bluntly, if I do not marry an Armenian, stay home and raise Armenian children, then am I not continuing what the genocide began? Any societal, generational or gender-related change is interpreted through the lens of a post-genocide threatened existence. Is there a way then to address that sense of threat so that the conflict can be mediated more successfully?

 Secondly, Arlene Avakian spoke of women she interviewed as seeing themselves as strong rather than powerful. That is descriptive of the situation of women in a patriarchally structured society. But again, I think this can be further understood in light of the genocide experience. In that genocide, women were more often the survivors than men. These women could claim that they managed to survive because of their strength, cleverness, resourcefulness, perseverence, etc. Yet they felt powerless. The genocide was a situation in which they had only the ability to survive, not to effect change. We need to ask then whether the dynamic is different among later generations of women who have more opportunity to access power and therefore produce change.

 Thirdly, we need to think about and ask ourselves what we mean by Armenian-American women. Who is named by that designation? One answer is that it refers to any woman who claims Armenian ancestry. But is that enough of an answer? Is it nuanced enough? Are not there different groups of Armenian-American women in different generations and classes and with differing backgrounds? When we say that

we want to understand the experience of Armenian-American women, is there a particular experience or experiences we are referring to? And how does our experience relate to the experience of our mothers? How do we understand the "Armenianness" of their experience when so much of the Armenian culture they knew reflected Turkish and Moslem influences? If we can attempt to be careful and specific about whom and what we are discussing, then we may be better able to understand the history we uncover and discover and the voices we give ear to.

Finally, a word about that history and those voices. We need to gather as much data as possible from available literature, both fiction and non-fiction, and from histories, both written and not yet written. We need to do basic research, collect oral histories and develop resources. When doing that work we also need not to presume to understand easily the experience of our mothers, grandmothers, sisters and daughters. We must not assume too much or assume we know more than we do know, especially about the meanings they assign to their experiences. We need to let these women speak for themselves while we listen carefully and critically, so that we can truly understand and therefore honor them.

SESSION VI: "RACE, GENDER, AND CLASS"
Chair: Linda Gonzalves, Rutgers University.

Robbie Jean Walker, Auburn University. "The Gender Battle in Imaginative Literature: Implications for Interpretations."

Black literary artists, male and female, have contributed significantly to the perpetuation—even exaggeration—of the widely held perception of a destructive adversarial relationship between black males and females. That these writers may well be unwitting perpetrators of this perception is ultimately irrelevant in view of the inevitable generalizations attendant upon character portrayals of blacks in imaginative literature. The phenomenon of generalizability, though a legitimate feature of enduring literature, is often given unique application in relation to blacks—a fact that underscores the necessity of adjustments either in the implementation of different artistic criteria, more sophisticated analytical approaches to interpretation, or better education of the reading public relative to the claims and exclusions of imaginative literature.

James H. Williams, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. "Media Genderfacation in the 1980s: Taste Great or Less Filling?"

This paper critically assesses the impact electronic and print media has made on sexism in America during the decade of the 1980s. The term "genderfacation" was coined to describe the extent to which contemporary media has worked to solidfy and validate sexist behavior in our society. The suffix of this coined term is derived from the word "facade" which means an artificial or false appearance. Recommendations for change are included in the paper.

Of all the sources of gender stereotypes, the media are the most pervasive. Television, books, films, songs, art—all communicate messages about sex roles that are far from subtle. Females and males are presented, for the most part, in stereotyped ways, usually with deviations from the stereotype depicted negatively. The 1980s have seen some improvement in the images of women presented in the media. However, the overall picture still is far from balanced.

This paper is limited to television and the print media. It has been estimated that children spend one-third of their lives at home and/or sleeping, one-third at school, and one-third in front of a television set. Almost all households in the United States own at least one television set. Television usage averages more than seven hours a day in the average television household.

Sexism on prime-time television has been amply documented since the late 1960s. Studies have shown that 65% to 75% of all leading characters have been white males. Men have been three times more likely than women to be depicted as wage earners, and women are more than twice as likely as men to be depicted as nonwage earners.

Other studies have shown that gender stereotypes are even more explicit in television commercials than in regular programming. In order of frequency, women are depicted as predominantly concerned with their appearance, their housework, and family matters. In contrast, men are more likely to be shown working, playing, eating or being nursed. Even in toy commercials, more boys are depicted than girls, and girls are more likely than boys to appear in a passive role.

Sex role messages are clearly found in the print media. The problem is endemic for all forms of the printed media. A 1972 and 1975 study of 2,760 children's stories in 134 books from fourteen different publishers found that 75% of the textbooks focus on male characters. One of the tragedies of the male focus in children's stories is that such

stories not only teach values but also influence behavior.

Magazines aimed at men focus on themes of sexuality, sports, and daring adventures. In most magazines a man is still a woman's most important goal.

As with the other media, newspapers show a sexist bias both in the treatment of women and men, in the language used, and in the comic strips that are serialized. Women reporters generally have a difficult time making the front page with their stories. Comic strips also perpetuate gender stereotypes. Men, especially white men, are represented far more than their proportion in the population warrants, whereas, women are underrepresented.

The media must be constantly held accontable for the impact on society. Models and modes of change must be developed and offered to the media by educational institutions and concerned, legitimate organizations. Students must be taught how to recognize and redress sexism and racism in the media. This objective must become a national moral imperative, because, unlike the famous beer commercial which portrays blatant sexism, media genderfacation neither tastes great, nor is it less filling for the victims.

Walter F. Teachout, California School of Profesional Psychology, Fresno. **"Gender Differences on Hispanic/Anglo Intermarriage: Marital Interaction, Marital Adjustment, and Depression."**

A total of 204 subjects participated in this study which sought to differentiate, by gender, 62 Hispanic/Anglo intermarried couples on three primary variables: marital interaction, marital adjustment, and depression. In addition to a demographic measure, three measures were used. 1) The Beck Depression Inventory (Short form) measured depression in the two research groups: A. Hispanic-female/Anglo-male; B. Hispanic-male/Anglo-female, and two control groups: A. Hispanic-male/Hispanic-female; B. Anglo-male/Anglo-female. 2) The Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test measured marital adjustment levels in the two research groups. 3) Marital Interaction Testing by Bauman and Roman measured five interaction variables: A) female dominance, B) male dominance, C) reinforcement, D) combination, and E) emergence in the two research groups.

The discriminant function analysis revealed one significant function which differentiated the two groups in their interaction style: dominance of the Anglo female. Using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), no significance was found on the other variables of marital adjustment and depression. The results of the study suggest that, other than one interaction variable being significantly different between the research groups, the two groups are more similar than dissimilar in their interaction style, depression levels, and marital adjustment levels. These results are consistent with several recent studies which also conclude that race and gender do not significantly differentiate Hispanics and Anglos. These findings urge one to question long held notions, by many, that minority cultures, or those that intermarry are less psychologically adjusted than those from the dominant Anglo culture.

Jonathan A. Majak, University of Wisconsin, LaCrosse. **"Reflections on Policy Discourse on Race, Class and Gender."**

For a long time racial discrimination has been the most serious social and institutional problem in the United States. It threatened the very basis of American society, particularly the belief in natural political rights embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. In 1964 a more comprehensive civil rights act was passed barring, among other things, racial and gender discrimination. Since then a certain comparability between race and gender has been assumed in public policy. There is, however, no equivalent consideration of class.

In this paper I review the struggle against race and gender discrimination with particular emphasis on how the interaction of race, class and gender has affected meliorative prescriptions in the public policy.

Respondent: Cortland P. Auser, Bronx Community College.

As a result of this session, audience members received new insights. Each presented realizable goals either to us as individuals or to us collectively as the NAES. The authors, in most instances, led logically to what should be done, after each had presented uncontrovertible evidence regarding the thesis being examined and discussed.

Walker focussed upon sexism within race; Williams illustrated extensively the daily provender of sexism that is given to us as TV watchers, readers, or radio listeners. Teachout attempted to provide psychotherapists with statistics to justify certain approaches to resolving what he perceived were intrafamilial or marital problems possibly deriving from the difference in cultural backgrounds of husband and wife.

Majak dealt with race, gender, and class in relation to policy discourse.

Each speaker pointed out the proneness of too many in our society to indulge in stereotypes in observing people of different race, sex, and class. Walker reviewed the gender battle in imaginative literature created by black authors. She placed the onus upon black writers who might have unwittingly provided critics, both black and white, with the basis for an extension of stereotypes through generalizations. She warned her listeners, however, not to conclude that she was condemning them for their creations, nor censuring them for their unknowing perpetuation of stereotypes.

Walker provided listeners with a well-thought out remedy—logical as it is useful. Scholars, interpreters, reviewers and critics among us have to place all in proper perspective. When this is done, then the relevance and the appropriateness of each work is perceived "within the general context of the black experience." These critics, then, have to grapple with the implications of the work. Thus, she points out that critical approaches have to be more sophisticated, even as the reading public becomes educated by responsible criticism. The critics have to take into account all the features that impact on meaning and interpretation.

Williams provided all with a useful neologism, "genderfacation," as he examined the entire range of sexist stereotyping by the media. Let it be pointed out that the word is no "sniglet" for entertainment on a calendar; he provides telling evidence of the denigrating portrayal of women and men in the media. He destroys the assertions that there have been gains so that sexist roles are few and far between. His examination also included data on how much exploitation of sexist material there is in children's picture books, TV programs, and toys. Williams argued that a start has been made to overcome the stereotyping, but greater momentum has to be achieved before success is achieved.

Teachout's paper was an examination of gender differences in Hispanic/Anglo intermarriages, of marital interaction, marital adjustment, and depression. This respondent felt it to be an ambitious undertaking in the light of the complexity of human relationships. If the aim were to dispel stereotypes about such marriages, then the research is a worthy one. The paper was an extract from a longer dissertation and at times the paucity of data may have appeared not to support the researcher's conclusions. Any conclusions might be fuzzy where there is an infinite number of variables in such relationships and many may not have been considered. The classification of "Hispanic" and "Anglo" is not a scientific one and variations within such labels related to an inexactness in conclusions. Moreover, some listeners might have felt that regardless of the researcher's attempt to use "objective" instruments of measurement and control, the Heisenberg principle was at work where the so-called "objectivity" is skewed by the nature of the observer and his presence. It might be sad, but true, that "objective scholarship" changes nothing at times, despite the honesty and purity of the researcher's intentions.

Majak gave those present a comprehensive and masterful overview of his subject. Rightly he pointed out that class discrimination is omitted in research that does pay attention to sexist and racist discrimination. He builds solidly to his meliorative prescriptions in public social policy. He continues and gives us a comprehensive review of civil rights legislation. Following Frantz Fanon's concepts he quotes Robert Bruner's remarks about colonized people in America. He does show that such policies as "affirmative action" are bound to benefit women and minorities. He reasserts that the cause of poverty among women is institutionalized sexism. He sees the alliance between women and minority groups as an asymmetrical partnership, but feels that both groups should seek a more sophisticated relationship of solutions in which both have a strong voice.

SESSION VII: "EUROAMERICAN ETHNICITY"
Chair: Richard F. Fleck, University of Wyoming.

Mary Anne Busch and Kelly Mullins, High Point College. "Women of Ireland: Discrimination in a Homogeneous Society?"

The scope of the women's movement in the world is vast and diverse. Each country experiences the development of feminism in the context of its particular cultural and societal mores. This paper will investigate the issues of class and gender within a society which is considered relatively homogeneous with regard to race and ethnicity. It will consider education, employment, family life, political influence and social status of women in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Emphasis will be on what roles the Catholic Church and the sectarian troubles have played in the development of the feminist movement on this island.

Frank Cavaioli, State University Agricultural and Technical College. **"A Countervailing Theory on the Twilight of Ethnicity."**

This paper challenges the important and provocative theory from Richard D. Alba's *Italian Americans, Into the Twilight of Ethnicity* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1985) that based on recent census data and macrosociological factors, Italians and other European ethnic groups are becoming assimilated, structurally, and becoming more like the dominant WASP culture. I show that despite the rising trend in inter-ethnic marriage among Italian Americans and educational and occupational mobility, there are other countervailing forces at work that actually have been reenforcing the sense of ethnicity among Italian Americans. For example, as Italian Americans become more acculturated into American society, they have come to realize that American society is pluralistic and they have become more conscious of their distinctive cultural background and have organized into interest groups to get the benefits that society has to offer. This paper analyzes interest group politics, ethnocultural factors, and recent demographic data on the Italian Americans in the 1980s.

Edward J. Gallagher, Wheaton College. **"Some Spiritual Empire!: The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1956 and the Irish Diaspora."**

Provisions of the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1956 confer Irish citizenship as a birthright not only on anyone born in Ireland, as would be expected, but on the foreign-born children and also on the grandchildren of anyone born in Ireland. Yet despite the simplicity of the Irish citizenship registration process, between July, 1956, when the Act was passed and the end of June, 1987, a mere 17,935 people world-wide had registered as Irish citizens under provisions of the Act. An analysis of registration by original nationality for a two-year period ending in May, 1986, shows that the greatest number of registrants, perhaps not surprisingly, was from South Africa. In fact, the total number of South Africans of Irish descent registering during calendar 1986 was 2200, approximately 52% the overall total for that year. One interpretation of these figures is that many of these people "were seeking some form of insurance for the future." The drafters of the law three decades ago had other concerns, for it was to satisfy a number of needs that the Costello government proposed and succeeded in having passed in 1956 the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act. On a practical level, it did indeed fill a need for a fully elaborated policy on citizenship mandated by the Irish Constitution, and, in so doing, by referring to the thirty-two Counties and to birth before 6 December 1922, made an unequivocal statement about Dublin's view of the unitary nature of the partitioned isle and of a national reality which pre-dated the founding of the Free State. The law served also as a potentially potent means of bolstering an alarming decline in population; or, at least, of galvanizing world-wide concern for and solidarity with a shrinking Ireland. Curiously though, in this regard, it has hardly proven very effective, for the law seems never to have been widely promulgated. If the law was meant to create, as some have said, "a spiritual empire," it is indeed a gossamer and ephemeral one, consisting as it now does of no more than 18,000 souls.

David L. Hood, High Point College. **"Assimilation or Ethnic Mobilization: Voting Behavior Among Polish-Americans."**

This study examines two major theories which furnish rival explanations for the phenomenon of ethnicity in American politics: assimilation and ethnic mobilization. Assimilation Theory, articulated by Robert Dahl, predicts that with time and ethnic group upward mobility ethnicity as a factor in American political behavior would decline after a peak and eventually be replaced by socioeconomic interest. On the other hand, Ethnic Mobilization Theory, described by Raymond Wolfinger, suggests that the impact of ethnicity on political behavior would not wane after an initial peak and would continue to play a role in the voting decisions of later generation ethnic-Americans. The study furnishes a comparison of these two theories, focusing attention on Polish-Americans in Erie, Pennsylvania. The findings indicate support for the ethnic mobilization approach.

Respondent: Gloria Eive, El Cerrito, California.

Since the arrival of the first Dutch and British settlers, more than 250 years ago, this country has provided a refuge and a "promised" land for the peoples of the world—for the disadvantaged, the disenfranchised, the persecuted and oppressed, the adventurer and entrepreneur, dissident and discontent. They have come in varying numbers and for varying motives, transplanting themselves and their native cultures. With varying degrees of success and efficiency, each has confronted "American" culture and has developed strategies for reconciling old and new.

We refer to this dynamic as "the immigrant experience," and "cultural reconciliation" and to the reconciliation strategies as "assimilation" and "acculturation." Until recently, studies of the "immigrant experience" have focused on the newly-arrived immigrants—the "first generation." With the addition of second, third and subsequent generations, the dynamic of cultural confrontation and reconciliation changes in response to their changing needs. Studies of the "immigrant experience" must acknowledge and provide for the changing dynamic which is still part of this "experience."

The papers and discussion in this session have examined various aspects and extensions of the "immigrant experience" offering new perspectives of second and subsequent generations.

Cavaioli described the social, economic and political status of second- and third-generation Italian immigrants and the effectiveness of some of their organizations in U.S. society today. Hood provided examples of Polish Americans exercising political power as voting blocs. Busch and Mullins described the economic, social, and political status of Irish women in Ireland, and Gallagher presented a vivid expose of "Mother Ireland's" efforts to reestablish ties with its forgotten children and to reclaim them as citizens.

A common motive in the "ethnic behavior" considered in these papers is the individual's need to affirm cultural identity in an indifferent and often hostile society, and the group's need for autonomy and recognition as a valid political, economic and social entity. Social structures and responses developed to answer these needs are conditioned by immediate priorities.

Ethnic and economic discrimination towards immigrants has been countered by collective action. Anti-defamation societies and political organizations, such as those established by the Jews and Italians, exert legal and political pressure to defend and advance the interests of their ethnic groups.

Citizenship and enfranchisement, won with such difficulty and pride by first-generation immigrants, has acquired new meaning as immigrants discovered its political power—demonstrated by the Poles as Hood has shown, and by Italians, Irish and Mexican immigrants. It is convenient to describe the acculturation process, the assertions of ethnic autonomy and power in sweeping generalizations, with theories based on reductive analysis, and in quantitative terms that reduce human behavior to columns of abstract statistics and averages and erase the qualitative properties of the people described. Hood's figures document the numerical presence of Polish candidates. His vote counts provide evidence elections were held. The multiple tables of "type" categories, of mean, standard deviation and error percentage scores demonstrate advanced calculator prowess. Neither the tables nor the tallies however tell us anything about the people whose heads—and votes—are counted and behavior analyzed. Applying abstract theories of assimilation or mobilization to the statistics reveals even less.

Statistical analyses of election results may indicate ethnic voting blocs and political party "line crossings" were operative, just as socioeconomic data documents changes in the status of Polish and other immigrants. Neither set of data however, provides any information about the issues and personalities in a given election where partisan loyalties affected the outcome. Neither set of data provides insights to the specific, "human" reasons for the improvements in education and economic status documented statistically. Neither set of data reveals the human qualities of the people described by the statistics: their economic and social status in Erie, the educational opportunities open to them and to their children, their motives for leaving Poland, for settling in Erie, specifically, their acceptance by the community, the character of their organizations, their attitudes, fears and expectations—all the details of vital, living people which are indispensable to comprehending the significance of the statistics.

What did the Polish American candidates advocate in the election campaign of a given year that distinguished them from the non-Polish candidates? Was support by Polish voters merely an exercise of ethnic bloc voting, or a conscious response to the candidates' sincere efforts to represent their constituencies? Were Polish voters merely using partisan blocs to vote for another Pole or to vote *against* the other candidate? Did the Polish candidates fulfill their campaign promises? If not, were they reelected anyway? How influential were the Polish, social, fraternal and religious organizations in determining voter behavior? And finally, were there any other manifestations of Polish ethnic solidarity, apart from voting behavior? Who were the Polish Americans represented by these statistics? What insights do the tables of statistics offer to understanding other ethnic groups in similar micro-societies?

All of these questions are relevant to an analysis of ethnic voting behavior such as

Hood's, and must be addressed if the analysis is to support his conclusions.

It is gratifying to hear Cavaioli's statistical documentation indicating Italian Americans are improving their social and economic positions in the United States and are learning to use their numerical strength and political clout to defend themselves against defamatory attacks and to advance their cultural and commercial interests. The list of Italian Americans who have achieved distinguished positions is impressive. Impressive also are Cavaioli's accounts of the activities of the American Italian Historical Association and the growing effectiveness of political activities on behalf of Italian Americans.

There are misleading implications, however, in this self-aggrandizing recital of statistics and hyperbole. Italian Americans have not always enjoyed the high levels of education, occupational and economic success suggested by Cavioli. The societies and the "prominenti" offered so proudly are *not truly* representative of the Italian American community.

Italians in the U.S. have had a long and well-documented presence. They have had an equally long and well-documented tradition of providing for their members through cohesive, well-organized mutual-aid and welfare societies, fraternal and religious organizations, social and political clubs. These traditions are part of the mother culture, and the organizations created here often were simply reproductions of established structures in the "old country." Creation of these and the (new) mutual-aid societies, immigrant clubs and "native son" ("filiopietistic") organizations were pragmatic solutions to the needs of the first generation immigrants, struggling to survive in a hostile environment.

Direct social and economic reform became a priority for immigrants confronting a highly industrialized society. Many had acquired political skills and had learned the effectiveness of group action in efforts at social reform in Italy. These lessons were applied when conditions in the new country made unified action necessary. They learned very quickly that union shops paid higher wages and provided better working conditions. The well-documented strength and effectiveness of Italian labor unions during the 1920s is only one example of how well these lessons had been learned.

The mutual-aid and "native son" organizations flourished and remained alive and vital as long as they were needed. They declined and disappeared when they ceased to be relevant. Cavaioli's description of these organizations is "filiopietistic"—a compound term created from the Latin word for son ("filio") and "pietist" (from the Italian form of the word), intended perhaps to mean "Pious Sons"? In Italian however, "pietist" is used pejoratively to describe an ultra-conservative (Protestant) point of view. This pejorative connotation is perhaps not what is intended here, since these organizations served the immediate needs of the Italian community and were more directly representative than the newer societies which have replaced them.

Third generation immigrants, enjoying the protection of congenital citizenship and personal freedom, secure employment and education can now reclaim their heritage with historical societies and protective lobby and defense groups, such as the A.I.H.A. and N.I.A.F. The activities of both are an extension of the first generation's survival skills.

The issues are no longer as simple or as clearly-defined, however, as they were for the first generation. There are also many more Italian Americans now which makes collective representation far more difficult and complex. It would be comforting to believe that N.I.A.F. will ultimately serve as the political voice of all Italian Americans. For now, however it represents the interests of a small elitist group and we deceive ourselves to believe otherwise.

Mullins and Busch have offered us an unsettling account of conditions endured by women in Ireland. Their point of view is presumably that of third-generation immigrants looking for their mother culture but the perspective from this poisition may be deceptive. Efforts of "post-immigrant" generations (i.e., second, third and subsequent generations) to reestablish contact with the mother culture take many forms. The creation of historical societies represents one effort, ethnic studies another. In studies of the mother culture, perspective and subsequent conclusions are determined by one's generational and geographical distance from the source. It is tempting—and dangerous—to negatively compare social and ecumenical institutions of the mother country with those of the new country, condemning the "old" because they do not conform to the "new." It is especially dangerous to undertake these cultural comparisons without intensive first-hand experience in both countries.

Social and economic conditions in Ireland may very well be as repressive and discriminatory for Irish women as Mullins and Busch assert, and legislative reform ineffectual to date. Neither Mullins nor Busch offer any information as to the efforts of

Irish women to remedy this situation. How do they (Irish women) view their social and economic conditions? Is the Irish Church truly as powerful as Mullins and Busch would have us believe?

Gallagher's statistics indicate the birth rate in Ireland is dropping, and not solely because of emigration. Since the death rate in Ireland is not rising drastically, we must infer that Irish women are finding ways to limit the number of children they bear, prohibitions of the Church notwithstanding. Is the Irish Church silently and tacitly ignored when its doctrinaire teachings are in opposition to general and individual welfare—as it is often disregarded in other Catholic countries such as Italy and France? Are conditions for Irish women different from conditions for women in France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, where the Church is also a powerful cultural force? Does the economic and social repression experienced by Irish women differ from the economic and social discrimination suffered by American women up to and even after E.R.A. legislation? What do recently-immigrated Irish women have to say about their lives in Ireland?

A different aspect of Irish nationalism is revealed by Gallagher's discussion. The Irish citizenship law he describes is a fascinating example of ethnic mobilization—in reverse. The avowed intent of the Irish government is to reclaim "lost" Irish children by reaffirming their heritage and mother culture. Are the Irish also trying to mimic the techniques used by other countries to maintain nationalistic pride and loyalty in large emigrant populations? (The closest example is France, which encourages its expatriate citizens to remain loyal French citizens by providing direct economic assistance for tuition expenses in non-resident French schools, and guaranteeing placement in state-subsidized national French schools for children from these schools.)

To judge by the small number of Irish expatriates who have taken advantage of the citizenship offer, the benefits appear to be largely academic and the significance of Irish citizenship of minimal importance. Do the Irish offer no other inducement to its expatriates than a passport and citizenship? Or have the memories of Mother Ireland become so bitter and the ties to the mother culture so weakened that Irish citizenship for expatriates is now more a curse than a blessing? Have Irish immigrants assimilated so well in their adopted countries that affirmations of Irish heritage are limited to eating corned beef and cabbage and "wearing of the green" on St. Patrick's Day? What do the Irish in Ireland think of this citizenship offer? Do they want these self-imposed exiles to return at all? Or would they prefer to limit their appearances to the brief visits of free-spending tourists?

The answers to all these questions are subjects for further discussion and for field work and cannot be resolved in a single panel. There are no simple solutions to the problems of establishing ethnic identity. Attempting to force conclusions into field theories and reductive analyses is dangerous and may invalidate the inquiry.

We have examined several aspects of ethnic identity and the immigrant experience. Like the proverbial elephant to the blind men, each inquiry reveals only one part of our animal. With unclouded vision, and at a little distance, we will better perceive the whole.

SESSION VIII: "GENDER, ETHNICITY, AND THEORY"
Chair: Phyllis Gray, Mississippi State University.

Jesse M. Vazquez, Queens College, CUNY. "The Co-opting of Ethnic Studies in the American University: A Critical View."

The birth of ethnic studies in the American university was accompanied by the politics and pedagogy of rage, pride, and mistrust for the then prevailing curricular academic structures and its tradition-bound, academically conservative gatekeepers. The campus take-overs, student demands, and confrontations were a common expression of the times, and concomitantly these were also shapers of the changing times. The presence or absence of ethnic minority faculty and students in our universities was and continues to be one of many indices by which we measure the willingness of this society to live up to its responsibility and promise to guarantee expanding educational opportunity for all. The creation of ethnic studies programs as a legitimate academic course of study in the university was one key part of that long range objective. Many universities now boast of departments and programs in Afro-American Studies, Puerto Rican Studies, Chicano Studies, Native American Studies, and other ethnic studies entities. Today's student can leaf through the semester's schedule of courses and choose from a wide array of ethnic studies offerings and think only of whether or not it fits into her/her program. Even traditional academic departments, formerly resolute in their refusal to include ethnic studies courses in their curriculum, now cross-list, and in many instances generate their own version of ethnic

studies courses in direct competition with existing ethnic studies programs.

Thus, the university, through a wide ranging set of curricular reforms and innovations—in the best "culturally pluralistic" tradition—has effectively managed to co-opt some of the more socially and politically palatable aspects of the ethnic studies movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is, therefore, not surprising to see the liberal arts sequences, and especially the pre-professional training programs (education, counseling, psychology, social work, criminal justice, and other mental health professions) now showing a marked interest in anything that focuses on the cross-cultural, multicultural, international, world or global studies perspective.

These latest curricular trends seem to be moving us away from the political and social urgency intended by the founders of ethnic studies and toward the kind of program design which conforms to and is consistent with the traditional academic structures. Are we now beginning to witness a gradual intellectual and political de-railing or erosion of a curriculum which once constituted a significant threat to the academy?

Certainly, the struggle to legitimize these programs academically has taken the edge and toughness out of the heart of some of our ethnic studies curriculum. Not all of these changes, however, have been negative or detrimental to the integrity of these programs. There is little doubt that some of the shifts in our approach, which have been either generated by us or in response to academic rigidity and intransigence, have been a sign of our own maturity. Similarly, these new perspectives and approaches have allowed us to survive in an ever changing university environment. My argument is not with responsible adaptability for the sake of academic survival, it is with the issue of how far we have allowed ourselves to drift from the central intellectual and social issues that brought us into the university in first place.

As we witness the abandonment of the inner cities, experience a greater separation between the poor and the middle class, struggle with the spiralling drop-out rates of ethnic minorities, and learn of the latest racial attacks, we in ethnic studies must ask ourselves what happened to the original or founding principles and concerns of these new and radical interdisciplinary programs of the 1960s and 70s. While we recognize that the politics have shifted along with a restrictive economic climate, and while the administration in Washington has undermined whatever social programs there were that made a difference, nonetheless, the major social, political, and intellectual questions and issues of the sixties are still with us today. In many ways, conditions have worsened for the ethnic/racial minorities in American society.

In this presentation I share some of my own observations, perceptions, and concerns about what I see happening in the university as it might directly affect ethnic studies. I believe that many of us, and indeed our programs, through the misapplication of our curriculum, have been seduced and lulled into believing that the institutionalization of our programs signals a dramatic positive shift in university policy and a change in traditional faculty attitudes. My contention is that it does not; but at the same time, this *glasnost,* if you will, in the university's approach towards ethnic studies curriculum does not necessarily have to represent a threat to the original principles of ethnic studies. Far from being a Luddite's proposal, which would have us turn the clock back to 1969, this paper strongly suggests a serious reappraisal of where we are, and how far we have strayed from some of our original objectives. Structures and academic entities nothwithstanding, are we doing what we set out to do when we first entered the university almost twenty years ago? Rather than "a critical view," perhaps this paper should be more aptly sub-titled a *cautionary essay.*

Elizabeth V. Spelman, Smith College. **"Aristotle, Females, and Women."**

In Aristotle's work, the significance of the distinction between men and women varies according to whether the men and women in question are free or slave. What Aristotle says about the nature of free women is quite different from what he says about the nature of slave women. An account of "Aristotle's Views about Women" which does not inquire seriously into what he says about slave women not only announces that the position of slave women is theoretically insignificant, it also gives a radically incomplete picture of what he says about women who are not slaves.

Arlene A. Elder, University of Cincinnati. *"Sassafrass, Cypress, & Indigo:* Ntozake Shange's Neo-Slave Narrative."

When Indigo, the youngest of the three sisters of Shange's title, plays her fiddle so magically that her music rekindles a love and desire for life in a scarred, beaten black man, the author explains: "The Slaves who were ourselves aided Indigo's mission, connecting soul & song, experience & unremembered rhythm" (Shange, 45). The presence of these slave ancestors is felt throughout this "novel," with its experimental

form—the use of poetry, slogans, recipes, conjuring spells, and letters, providing semiotic and signifying commentaries on the conventions of dialogue, characterization, and narration—a mode that rekindles the traditional African concept of the unity of the arts.

Also in harmony by the end, are the three young women—with each other; with their mother, Hilda Effania; with their various communities; with their artistry; and, most significantly for their development, with their African and slave forebearers. Shange explores this growth of self and awareness of others through a feminist variation on the convention of the journey of maturation, a staple of all literatures, but particularly pertinent to the African-American literary tradition of the Slave Narrative.

Respondent: James H. Williams, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

"They who know the truth are not equal to those who love it, and they who love it are not equal to those who delight in it" (Confucius). Much truth was presented in this session. I'm not certain about the audience, but I'm delighted with the effort of these panelists.

Vazquez's topic, "The Co-opting of Ethnic Studies in the American University," could have been presented as the keynote address. It is a most timely paper, given current overt and covert debates about the validity and viability of ethnic studies as we approach the 21st century.

One subtle, but very important point that is often overlooked is that the notion of ethnic studies emerged after "race specific studies" (i.e., AfroAmerican Studies, Chicano Studies, and Native American Studies). These "race specific" programs and departments proliferated during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The concept of "ethnic studies," ethnicity, and courses such as "Racism and Sexism" emerged slowly in the early and middle 1970s. Today, one will find more "race specific" studies departments than ethnic studies departments. Furthermore, ethnic and women's studies departments (where the two are combined into one department) are much rarer. Herein lies a major weakness and a major challenge for NAES in terms of strengthening ethnic studies curricula. NAES must become more assertive, on a national level, if we are to take Vazquez's observations and concerns seriously.

After reading and hearing Spelman's presentation on "Aristotle, Females and Women," I am reminded of a quote by Baron De Montesquieu: "Women are not altogether in the wrong when they refuse the roles of life prescribed in the world, forasmuch as men have established them without their consent." Spelman did an admirable job of illustrating and clarifying Aristotle's distinction between women and slaves and male and female based on his treatise in political theory—the Politics. Ultimately, what the author points out is that the notion of female oppression, based exclusively on gender, is not tenable according to Aristotle's rationale. One cannot look at sexism in isolation of other variables such as race and class.

Although Aristotle's intent may not have been to define oppression and gender based on sex, nevertheless, his philosophy still created the notion of "Them vs. Us." Ethnic and Women's Studies courses should be designed to eliminate this type of thinking in our society. The corner stone of Spelman's presentation may be found in the last paragraph of her paper:

The asumption that gender is isolable from "race" will blind us to some very important elements of Aristotle's views about gender. The magnitude of this statement becomes apparent when one considers the number of students who study the writings of Aristotle without the benefit of this type of critical analysis.

Finally, it has been said that knowledge counts only if it enhances self-understanding, if it deepens and broadens the image of human life. Such is the case with Elder's presentation. Elder's contribution, though not explicitly stated, illustrates the importance of simultaneously evaluating author, society and artifact when one studies ethnic literature. Total perception and understanding of the ethnic experience is difficult without combining object and experience.

So, we have come full circle. We can reflect on Vazquez's reference to Charles Irby: "The vibrant and healthy ethnic studies programs entering the twenty-first century will involve individuals in the process of liberation through dynamic consciousness; the mission is to bring liberation to fruition for all citizens." The use of ethnic narratives, ethnic literature, may be utilized as intellectual guideposts on the road to self-discovery and psycho-social liberation.

The major challenge before us is to decide whether or not the practical and intellectual "buck" stops here at the close of this session, or be taken seriously enough such that this organization will synthesize these presentations into a national

Manifesto or meaningful working paper which could become a preamble for a national accreditation document by which all ethnic studies programs will be judged.

SESSION IX: "CONTROVERSY AND CHANGE"
Chair: Silvester J. Brito, University of Wyoming.

Angelo A. Giugliano, Long Island University. **"The Education of the New American Immigrant: A Renewed Challenge for Democracy and Education."**

In this paper I show that the new American immigrant, with his or her distinct heritage and biography, with his or her distinct language or dialect, offers American education an opportunity to renew its commitment to, as well as improve its implementation of, a democratic educational ideal.

This democratic ideal is succinctly expressed in our nation's motto, *E Pluribus Unum.* However, our history has illustrated that too often we have merely stressed the *unum*—our educational process has pressed for an Americanization or assimilation which has assaulted many forms of cultural and ethnic differences.

I develop a dialectic focusing on the notions of ethnicity and education, especially in the schools during the past quarter century, beginning with the "ethnic revival" of the sixties and ending with the "English Only" movement of the eighties. Against this historical background I pose two fundamental questions, which I believe educators must ponder as we continue our quest for a quality and just education in our schools:

1) How can eduators continue to develop a curriculum which is a more true recording of *all* human action and ideas? In the phenomenological tradition, I call this educating toward "historicality."

2) Why should educators, on the one hand, encourage the young to preserve their private non-English language or non-standard English dialect, while at the same time, help them master standard English, the contemporary public language of power throughout the world? In the tradition of sociolinguistics, I call this educating toward "multi-lingualism."

In developing my response to these questions, I conclude with a critique of current works such as E. D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy* and Ravitch and Finn's *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know?* Throughout the paper it is my primary aim to move between educational ideology and educational *praxis,* the hope being that a new perspective on—perhaps a new synthesis of—education and ethnicity may be suggested therein.

Gretchen M. Bataille, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. **"Literacy in a Multicultural Society: Ethics, Ethnics, and Controversy."**

In 1892 the Committee of Ten made recommendations for an eight-year course of study in literature and history. The assumption was that a certain body of knowledge was necessary for productive citizens, and that this knowledge was to be imparted by the schools. At that time, the percentage of school-age children actually in school was very low. The assumptions about "who" would be educated were also very narrow. As more and more children enrolled in schools, a new view prevailed. Educators such as John Dewey, influenced by Rousseau, argued for more practical education for all students and education as a process of natural development, and the lines of battle were drawn for the next one hundred years. Reports, government studies, and independent research for the past century has argued the relative merits of skills v. content in education. I do not argue with E. D. Hirsch, Jr., who writes that "literacy is far more than a skill and that it requires large amounts of specific information" (p. 2). The issue to be discussed in this paper is what "specific information" is needed.

In 1987 those arguments were given wide and popular attention in two best selling books, *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* and *The Closing of the American Mind.* In addition, the National Endowment for the Humanities published a report *American Memory: A Report on the Humanities in the Nation's Public Schools.* During the summer of 1987 the English Coalition Conference brought together teachers and scholars as well as representatives from national organizations to discuss the literature and language and curricula at all levels. The report of that meeting has not been published, but a summary of the Conference in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (5 August 1987) reported: "General-education courses would be interdisciplinary and look at such subjects as 'Racial and Sexual Difference in Reading and Writing' and 'Metaphor in Language and Cognition.'"

In the scramble to decide who is literate in America, few of the reports have given more than a cursory acknowledgement that the America of 1988 is quite different from

the America of 1892. Not only is the population more diverse, the expectations of who will be educated have changed considerably. On a global scale, the need to know new information is even greater. Although Hirsch acknowledges the different needs for different countries, he fails to note that Americans need to know about far more than their own history in order to function in a world society. Further, Americans need to know the standard history of Washington and Lincoln, but they also need to know the history of Hispanics, American Indians, blacks, and Asians in this country.

Hirsch's list is interesting for what it includes as well as what is omitted. Why is Eskimo on the list and Amish is not? Why is Pocohontas listed but Sacajawea is omitted? Black Muslims are included, but Black Panthers are excluded. Fiesta is included but pow wow is not; however, wampum, Indian file and Indian summer make the list. Yellow Peril, yin/yang, pagoda, kamikaze, and geisha are among the terms which focus on the Asian American experience. Hirsch admits that everyone will expect different terms, and he is correct. Although he believes, "to be culturally literate is to possess the basic information needed to thrive in the modern world (xiii)," Hirsch has a limited view of that world.

This paper examines the list provided by Hirsch and other recent studies about literacy to determine the degree to which these proposals ignore the multi-ethnic dimensions of American society.

Arlene Harris Mitchell, University of Cincinnati. "Comparisons of Attitudes and Reactions Towards Characters and Language Used in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in Relationship to Student Readings, Historical Perceptions, and Critic Appraisals"

This study was prompted by the increasing challenges to reading materials in K-12 classrooms, especially works involving ethnic and racial groups. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was used because of its accepted merit as a significant literary novel, which has been included among the twenty-five most challenged books in American literature, the book most challenged by the black population. The study included 71 students—27 black students—from three school districts. Both quantitative and qualitative measures were used, as well as an extensive review of criticisms of the work and historical perceptions.

Marcia J. Weiss, Point Park College. "Unequal Protection."

As a lawyer teaching undergraduate legal studies courses, my approach to the matter of ethnicity is one of using legal analysis of Supreme Court decisions to illustrate current trends in legal and judicial thought. My study has demonstrated a shift in the Court's rationale from a focus on concerns regarding individual equality and fundamental rights to an emphasis on group classifications and group rights. In my view, recent case law distorts original Equal Protection Clause and Fourteenth Amendment constitutional principles, which require that people similarly situated must be treated in the same manner.

Often the Supreme Court has obeyed the dictates of equal protection only selectively and when it felt compelled to do so for reasons not entirely required by the legal fact situations before it. Many of its decisions actually work an injustice on members of society by rewarding group members who were not wronged personally, by creating unnatural stratifications based on arbitrary group distinctions, and by basing the granting or denying of rights on immutable characteristics over which individuals have no control (e.g., race, sex, national origin, and the like)—also contrary to the spirit and intent of the Civil Rights Act.

Policies which aim to enhance group welfare such as "affirmative action" are being implemented; actual results, however, run counter to theoretical goals of righting past wrongs and promoting parity among all people, as the traditionally preferred groups (e.g., white males) are experiencing inferior status while members of groups formerly the objects of discrimination (e.g., blacks and women) are receiving favored status. This gives rise to a continuous cycle in which the oppressors become the oppressed. Depersonalization and loss of autonomy ensue as a consequence, undermined by notions of "group entitlement," as Courts and legislatures often pay only lip service to an individual's qualifications, innate ability, and inherent worth.

A generally increased awareness of race, sex, and gender is evident; however, people "similarly situated" are being treated dissimilarly, as surrogates of the actual victims of past injustices are reaping undeserved benefits. Legal questions have become clouded by value judgments and moral issues, and the Supreme Court frequently strains to reach and justify results which it apprently feels will implement and strengthen desirable policy goals. Because the Court must act as mediator and balance

the equities before reaching judgments, often what results is a compromise position.

The Court, perhaps in an effort to ensure harmony among the competing factions and special interest groups, and in a conscious endeavor to rectify the injustices of the past, is in fact creating new ones in the name of "equal opportunity." While striving for worthwhile social policy, judicial activism as well as judicial restraint have induced a simultaneous outgrowth of artifical criteria actually resulting in unequal protection and preferential treatment.

Without definitive criteria against which those properly entitled to redress may be assessed, and without a timetable as to eventual termination of these remedial programs, the new injustices will be permitted to continue indefinitely and we will move no closer to the ideal of due process in a color-blind or gender-blind society. Just as courts overrule outdated, ineffective, and inefficient precedent, I suggest that neutral, uniform criteria which emphasize a meritocratic system be implemented, and haphazardly applied and ill-defined discriminatory criteria abolished.

Respondent: David M. Johnson, North Carolina A&T University.

My comments are organized around what I see as two concerns that lie behind the papers, two observations I can make that help me think about ethnicity issues, and two strategies for deciding what to teach.

One main concern behind the papers presented at this panel is a concern over not only how to choose *what* to teach or emphasize, but also *how much* to teach about it. This can be called the "is my ethnic group more important than your group?" concern. If one teaches a lot about Native Americans, what time is left for content on Asians? for blacks? The assumption here is that the amount of time and effort available is like a pie, and there are only so many pieces it can be cut into. Another concern is what seems to be an assumption that there has to be a uniform curriculum for every student, who must be exposed to the same material in the same way. This kind of thinking may be mandated by many boards of education, but does not make sense if we acknowledge that every student comes out of a unique matrix of ethnic and personal experiences and interests. These two concerns/assumptions seem to work to constrain some of the possibilities for teaching; I have some suggested strategies for deciding what to teach that may help get around these perceived constraints.

Before I get to these strategies, I want to share two observations. One observation is that everyone lives in a multivariate environment, regardless of what specific background he/she comes from. I like to use the "cultural scene" idea for thinking about diversity of settings and cultural information. As formulated by anthropologist James P. Spradley, a *cultural scene* consists of both a *setting* where interaction occurs and the *cultural knowledge* people need in order to negotiate it. Usually a scene involves several sets of knowledge, depending on who is involved. One example is that of the classroom, where teacher and students use complementary knowledge about how to negotiate a setting. Another is the scene of a professional meeting. I use this idea to think about diversity in life and how people negotiate it, through acquiring knowledge about categories and the plans for action based on them as applied to the scene. The implication of this perspective is that every individual is part of many different scenes, which may not overlap totally with anyone else, even close friends, so that everyone has a unique mix of experience and knowledge.

Another observation is that there needs to be a balance between the *skills* known to students and the *information* or content they have to use with those skills. I am reminded of the struggles within the computer world to create what they call "artificial intelligence." It is possible to create computing machinery that can do certain kinds of tasks blindingly fast by human standards; for example, computers can calculate numbers fast and accurately, and can help with word processing because of their ability basically to crunch numbers. However, it is fiendishly difficult to create a machine, such as a robot, that can navigate around an ordinary room without looking totally stupid by human standards. This is partly because the machine has to be able to recognize pieces of furniture and walls and animals quickly and from any angle, and then know how to compensate for or move around them. This is very difficult to do. For my example, one needs a lot of information in order to do these simple tasks. Intelligence by itself won't do the whole job. So one of our tasks as educators is to decide what knowledge and skills are minimum for students to know.

I propose two strategies for deciding what to teach. One is to promote an attitude of acceptance for a diversity of ethnic backgrounds. The main issue here is to have students feel good about and interested in themselves and their ethnic backgrounds. One way to promote this might be to have students do their own biographies so they can recognize that they have histories and their groups have histories. If this approach

is supported by the teachers and gets the young people involved with their own life context, I think they will become interested in the life stories of their own group and eventually branch out into interests about other groups. Once awakened to these issues, they will themselves want to research their own and others' histories and experiences, so they will go beyond whatever limited space/time is allotted in the formal curriculum. In this case, the concerns I outlined at the beginning of my remarks may no longer apply.

A second strategy is to listen to young people regarding (a) the skills needed for survival in the modern electronic age, and hence (b) ideas for what would constitute the core curriculum. My question is: Do we need traditional education to survive in modern America? Young people may be telling us that they do not! I think about this as a contrast between *literacy* and *literateness*; that is, between being able to read and participate in current life, and being steeped in cultural traditions. I see tensions between the electronic age, which I see as nonhistorical, nonlinear, and nonliterate, and the old linear ways of thought and traditions that are passed down by writing. All of us are inundated by TV messages that are quick, slick and colorful; and we can jump back and forth between stories and messages at the flick of the dial, so that we are not constrained to follow a story to the end. Furthermore, one does not need a knowledge of history to follow and understand much TV fare. In addition, computers are becoming ever more powerful and will in the future be capable of more "TV quality" visual output and at the same time be tied into ever larger and more sophisticated electronic databases, with the result that more information will be available for less effort. In other words, the drive to ever more sophisticated consumer electronics may bring about empowerment and access to technology in ways that are not currently possible or even envisioned. As a member of the last generation that grew up before TV, I am curious about what the young are telling us!

SESSION X: "HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES"
Chair: Jerry Savells, Wright State University.

Barnetta McGhee White, North Carolina Central University. "Duration of Early African-American Marriages: A New Perspective."

If the present American family can be said to be in trouble, the black family in America can be characterized as being in a state of crisis. Writers often have presented this family's structure as fragmented and deficient. The historical model of marriage was seen as one which prevented couples from forming strong familial ties.

History texts, combined with the writings of pseudo-social scientists, often presented false images of the ancestors of many African-Americans. This work, based upon original historical documents, presents a different perspective.

Rennie Simson, Syracuse University. "Politics and the Race Issue as Presented in the Works of Afro American Women Writers of the 19th Century."

In June, 1981, the Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women took place in Poughkeepsie, New York. One of the speakers at the Conference was Professor Marquita James of Nassau Community College in Garden City, Long Island; she noted that

Black women believe they are oppressed not by black men but by white society. Black women are almost unanimous in their insistence that their own liberation depends on the liberation of their race and the improvements of the life of the black community. White feminists must immediately begin to recognize that black women are foremost victims of oppression in this country because of their color, not their sex.

Nineteenth Century Afro American women were keenly aware of the racial difficulties blacks in this country encountered and they addressed themselves often and eloquently to the problems of being black in white America. Sometimes they voiced their concerns in a straightforward and outspoken manner; at other times their approach was subtle, but their anger at being the victims of an unjust society is evident in many of their works.

Clearly anyone who has been the victim, either directly or indirectly, of an institution such as slavery is going to be profoundly and negatively affected by the experience and feel little love for the government that forced him or her into slavery. Even the slaveholding President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, showed his awareness of this when he wrote in *Notes on the State of Virginia,* "If a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another." Few black women had their works published before the Civil War; among the more notable pre-Civil War Afro American women authors were

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Eleanor Eldridge, Ann Plato, Frances Harper and Harriet Jacobs.

This paper focuses on a discussion of these early "foremothers" and shows how they felt as women and blacks in early American society. Eldridge, a Northerner, stated in her autobiography *Memoirs* (1841) that she was certain that many of her problems were the direct result of being a *black* woman; she was confident that no *white* women would have been subjected to the manifold indignities which she frequently experienced. Plato used more subtlety than Eldridge in her indictment of the minority position in America; this view is reflected in much of her poetry. Harper stated the greatest need of black people in America was not for money but for an unselfish and total dedication to emancipation from slavery. She deals with this issue in many of her works. Jacobs, in her autobiography, her only published work, included comments not only on her "sexploitation" but on the brutalities of slavery experienced by both sexes.

There can be no doubt of the fact that politics as they related to racial issues were of deep concern to nineteenth century Afro American women writers. It would indeed have been difficult to be a nineteenth century black and not have been deeply concerned about racial issues.

Louise Mayo, County College of Morris. " 'A Dangerous Class:' New York Newspapers and Working Class Jews at the Turn of the Century (1890-1902)"

New York newspapers in the 1890s and early twentieth century were very concerned with the advent of millions of Jews who flooded in from Eastern Europe. These Jews altered the previous perceptions about Jews. The earlier German Jews were easily assimilated and middle class. The newcomers, on the other hand, were obviously poor, adherents of strange religious rites and exotic in dress and speech. While they were generally hard working, up-ward striving and law-abiding, at times they appeared to be anarchistic and oblivious to the need for law and order. There was fear that persecutions may have destroyed the abilities of these newcomers to function in a society which required comprehension, cleanliness, and order. The language used to describe them was preoccupied with "savages," "dwarfing" of personality, and "Oriental" qualities.

The eight New York newspapers examined for this paper reveal a composite of class perceptions and ancient stereotypes. There was a mixture of disgust, admiration, and compassion. There were also fears about the social disorder which might arise from a European working class which resisted real assimilation into American society. Could this be a "dangerous class"?

Cary D. Wintz, Texas Southern University. "The Black Migration: Old Ideas, New Perspectives."

The first three decades of the twentieth century witnessed a major population shift that had a dramatic impact on life in America—especially urban America. The "black migration" saw the movement of tens of thousands of blacks from the rural south to the industrial cities of the urban north. The rise of the urban ghetto in America's northern industrial cities has been fairly well documented. However, the migration itself is more misunderstood than understood. This paper uses recent research and especially census data to analyze in detail the black migration, focusing on its causes but most importantly discussing its true nature—both in terms of the destinations of blacks who left the rural south and the origins of blacks who migrated into the industrial centers.

Respondent: Paul A. Cimbala, Fordham University.

The papers presented at the session "Historical Perspectives" have more in common than a session title. First of all, they touch on each angle of the guiding theme of the conference: race, class and gender. Secondly, in their own ways they challenge old ideas and present new perspectives on that theme. Finally, and most importantly, each paper explores the problems minorities experienced as they attempted to make their way in a hostile or indifferent majority society. In addressing specific aspects of this problem, each paper confirms the reality of past difficulties and hints at implications for the present.

Mayo's paper examines the public opinion expressed in several major journals. These were influential newspapers and undoubtedly reflected as well as informed the attitudes of their readers. In the end, they failed to represent with honesty the lives of the city's working class eastern European Jews. At best journalists presented mixed-up, exotic impressions of Jewish religion, culture and day-to-day existence. The half-baked ideas and misperceptions may appear naive or unfounded to modern observers, but these were the ideas around which long-time New York residents ordered their lives.

What is striking about Mayo's paper is the amount of press devoted to the so-called "Jewish problem" that it uncovers. The very amount of coverage suggests that New Yorkers were concerned about the potentially "dangerous class" but at the same time it also reveals how hopeful the older residents were when these new "exotic" residents revealed bourgeois aspirations. Interestingly, the tension that the paper notes existed between the older German Jews and the newer Eastern European Jews had a parallel in the northern communities that received some of the southern black migrants studied by Cary Wintz in his paper "The Black Migration: Old Ideas, New Perspectives."

Wintz's paper is a challenging one for the questions it raises concerning old beliefs about black migration from the South to the North at the end of the nineteenth century and during the early decades of the twentieth century. He uses census data to challenge old ideas about the role of southern violence and southern poverty. For example, figures reveal that large numbers of border state blacks left their homes for the North, suggesting that proximity to economic opportunity provides the significant explanation as to why blacks pulled up their rural roots to transplant them in the urban North. According to Wintz, there apperas to have been a greater "pull" effect than a "push" effect, which does not eliminate but certainly diminshes the role of violence and poverty in the Deep South states. Wintz also hints at the importance of migration within the Deep South, which may force the author to modify his own conclusions. That migration, however, requires further study.

Simson's examination of a selection of works by nineteenth-century Afro-American women writers clearly illustrates the views of the racial problem in which they found themselves. Black women writers provide an example of minority group members who used their talents in an effort to enlighten their readers (predominantly white middle class Northerners), hoping to dispel the myths perpetrated by the majority society. In this case, the writers illustrate the burden of slavery, race prejudice and segregation—institutions as American as apple pie. These women also show how Afro-Americans carried this burden and refused to assume a beaten posture. The collective spirit did not bend even when individuals found it expedient to wear the mask.

The fact that black slaves entered into enduring marriages that withstood the problems posed by the South's peculiar institution is testimony to that spirit. Even if masters recognized the benefits of stable relationships, they were not the source. Marriage endured despite paternalism, not because of it. White clearly makes this point in her paper. White's work is significant because it attempts to document the existence of strong, dual parent households, institutions that might have escaped notice in abolitionist novels or fugitive slave autobiographies which were concerned with the propaganda impact they might have on northern readers. The documentation for North Carolina exslaves, the state that receives White's primary attention, is impressive and the actions of the freedmen after the Civil War should dispel any lingering doubts about black commitments. White's work retraces and confirms the important work of the late historian Herbert Gutman.

SESSION XI: "LITERATURE"
Chair: Johnnella E. Butler, Smith College.

Calvin E. Harris, University of Oregon. "Alienation as a Social-Political Theme in Asian and Hispanic American Fiction Since the 1960s."

This paper focuses on immigrant literature published in the United States since the 1960s. The primary interest is in fiction written by Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Hispanic authors. These particular immigrants share a certain isolation from the dominant Anglo-Protestant society despite their diverse make up. Like other immigrant populations they strive to re-define their cultural heritage in a new context. In observing this process it is possible to discern a strain in the relationship between the new arrivals and native born Americans of Asian and Hispanic descent. Intra-ethnic conflict is often a central theme in this genre of fiction. The discussion within this paper explores some of the political undertones of this theme.

Lucy Wilson, Loyola Marymount University. "Doubly Dispossessed: Paule Marshall's Protagonists."

Paule Marshall's parents emigrated from Barbados to the United States during World War I, and the author grew up in Brooklyn during the Depression. As a result, Marshall's fiction is characterized by what Edward Said calls the exile's "contra-puntal vision." According to Said, "Seeing 'the entire world as a foreign land' makes possible originality of vision. Most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives rise

to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that—to borrow phrase from music—is *contrapuntal.*"

The uniquely literary nature of the exilic condition has been examined by Said, Andrew Gurr, and Michael Seidel, among others. But the fact that Marshall's characters are black people living in a predominantly white society intensifies and multiplies the effects of Marshall's contrapuntal vision. Furthermore, Marshall's protagonists are female, and as women they experience what Kenneth Ramchand calls "alienation within alienation."

In my paper I examine the condition of exile—racial and sexual—in *Brown Girl, Brownstones* (1959) and *Praisesong for the Widow* (1983). I refer also to *The Chosen Place, The Timeless People* (1969) and *Merle and Other Stories* (1983).

P. Gabrielle Foreman, University of California, Berkeley. **"Looking Back from Zora: More Issues of Problematic Address on Talking Out Both Sides of My Mouth for Those Who Have Two Ears."**

Giulia Scarpa, Smith College. **"Couldn't They Have Done Differently?: Caught in the Web of Race, Gender, and Class."**

Respondent: Doris Davenport, Bowling Green State University.

SESSION XII: **"DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES"**
Chair: Glen Kraig, California State University, San Bernardino.

LeVell Holmes, Sonoma State University. **"In Search of Self: Images of the Black Male in the Fiction of Ernest J. Gaines."**

Ernest J. Gaines describes and gives positive portrayal in his fiction to the black man in search of self. Gaines' use of history, the Southern Cultural environment and well balanced folk symbols depict the black male in transition from a rural society to an urban world in which his acquired skills and personal values are undergoing unprecedented change.

The black man is an embodiment of alienations, internal conflicts, and fears of being alone in his world of unresolved external and psychic issues. The themes of alienation (man's estrangement from himself and from his surroundings) is prevalent in the works of Gaines. The black male struggles with his personal code of honor. The character is a man of action, webbed in his culture, battling for his cause and giving up his life rather than sacrificing personal honor.

The American black male is universal, yet unique. His search for self has passed through many phases and his present quest involves contemporary issues: alienation, sexual relationships, generational dialogue, personal uplifting and inner peace. The psychic balance and acceptance of self enables the black male the affirmation of stating: "I am just a man." Just a man. That's all.

Barry Rigby, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and Dolores Janiewski, Mount Holyoke College. **"With the Nez Perces: Alice Fletcher and Archie Phinney in the Field."**

The paper presents an analysis of the activities of two anthropologists—Alice C. Fletcher and Archie Phinney—who administered federal Indian policy on the Nez Perce Reservation of Northern Idaho. It discusses the ways these two agents reflected prevailing and alternative ideologies about ethnicity, economics, and politics—Fletcher of the late 1880s and early 1890s and Phinney from the 1920s and 1930s—in their activities before and during their time on the reservation. At the same time it explores the connections between Fletcher's and Phinney's own gender, ethnic identities, theoretical positions, and efforts to transform Nez Perce society. Because Fletcher and Phinney were acting as agents of governmental policy, the paper sheds light on the role of the state in the construction of ethnic identities and relationships.

Fletcher, a pioneering anthropologist, studied under Frederick Putnam at the Peabody Museum at Harvard, where she was heavily influenced by the anthropological theories of Lewis Henry Morgan. At the same time, as a single woman of mature years, she initially visited Native American reservations in pursuit of answers to the "woman question." A part of the New England circle of reformers, she actively sought to turn Native Americans into yeoman farmers through lobbying for and the implementation of the Dawes Act. Closely associated with local missionaries, she arrived on the Nez Perce reservation in 1889 to allot the land prior to giving the inhabitants individual title. Seeing her efforts as lifting the Nez Perce from barbarism to civilization, she ignored their opposition and signs of the losses that the Nez Perce might experience from the onset of "white man's civilization."

Phinney, an assistant of Franz Boas and a student of Soviet minority policy in the 1930s, was the grandson of a marriage between a Nez Perce woman and a white settler.

After education at Haskell Institute, he went to New York to assist Boas in the study of Nez Perce texts. Meanwhile, he also sought to influence federal policy toward the Nez Perces. His trip to the Soviet Union in the mid-1930s heavily influenced his understanding of what should drive policy towards Native Americans. Finally, in 1937, he was able to work for the Bureau of Indian Affairs under Commissioner John Collier to carry out the reforms of the "Indian New Deal." Then, in the mid-1940s, he returned to the Nez Perce Reservation as the first member of his group to serve as the chief administrator of federal policy for the Northern Idaho Agency. Like other members of the Collier coalition, Phinney was attempting to reverse the reforms implemented by Fletcher and her allies some forty years earlier.

Taken together, the careers of these two scholars and agents can reveal the complex interaction between their social identities, ethnic theories, and the actual implementation of policy to one group of Native Americans. The ultimate failure of each of their efforts also demonstrates the inadequacy of their analyses at fully grappling with the interconnections between issues of gender, ethnicity, and the social order in which both were embedded.

Peter L. Kranz, Lock Haven University. "Interpersonal Skills Class: An Educational Vehicle to Enhance Better Understanding Between Black and White Students."

The paper reports on a unique class offering at an undergraduate university in Pennsylvania, "Interpersonal Skills." The focus is better racial understanding between black and white students. Important activities included in the class are keeping a daily log, class discussions, and exchanges with other Pennsylvania universities. Films, required readings, and speakers are also included within the class structure. Results indicate positive changes in racial understanding between the two groups.

Ruth Yu Hsiao, Tufts University. "Passage to Selfhood: Stages of Development in Chinese American Literature."

Chinese American writers are preoccupied with establishing their identity as American writers. Ever since World War II when the first Chinese American memoirs came into print, creating an authentic image and asserting their own voice mark the literature. This may not be as easy as it seems because as ethnic Americans their identity has been entangled with the hostile reception Chinese immigrants had been subjected to for nearly a century. Yet, the literary preoccupation with identity is not uniquely Chinese American. The concern is primarily of modernist origin. Assertion of will and selfhood are the hallmark of modern literature. Similarly, American literature itself evolved from dependence on and association with European, primarily British, antecedents to independence in the late nineteenth century. Anchoring roots in the native soil is a common struggle shared by American literature and its ethnic varieties.

Under the continuing pressure of Americanization, the ethnic writers have to struggle with even what the native ground is. Their writing responds to myriad pressures, such as the tug and pull of old-world tradition, the blandness of the melting pot, the lure of popular images of the ethnic self. To succumb to these pressures is to lose one's identity. Yet it is not possible to be entirely free from them. The pressures create a tension in the writing. Depending on the writers' own extent of Americanization, the writing manifests four modes or stages of expression: the dangling self, the emerging American self, the American self, and self in a universal quest. To construct this model I used Jewish American writers' experience and their works. Each stage projects a composite self-image, the "self," which reflects its response to the impact of Americanization.

These four stages also parallel the historical experience of the Chinese Americans since their arrival in the mid-nineteenth century. Part of my paper therefore includes a synopsis of that history, which corroborates the literary stages. Although my approach to the study of Chinese American literature relies on a set of socio-historical events unique to the Chinese Americans, these stages have a universal applicability.

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

SESSION XIII: "PUBLIC EDUCATION AND STUDENT PERCEPTION"

Chair: Otis L. Scott, California State University, Sacramento.

Raymond L. Calabrese, Wichita State University. "The Structure of Schooling and Minority Dropout Rates."

The increased number of students from white, middle class backgrounds who are

dropping out of school are one reason the dropout issue is receiving greater national attention. Unfortunately, solutions that are developed in this context may focus solely on reducing the white dropout rates and fail to take into account minority needs and culture. This paper examines possible reasons for the school organization's failure to consider minority dropout rates as a major concern.

Glen M. Kraig, California State University, San Bernardino. "Asian-Americans: A Minority Success Story."

This paper deals with the academic success that many Asian American students have encountered in their school systems in the United States. Examples of the achievements made by Asian students are documented. This is followed by an analysis of some of the factors that might have contributed to this success rate. Both demographic and cultural factors are examined. The final part of this paper treats some of the problems that Asian American students have encountered in the schools and how they dealt with those problems.

Elizabeth Whalley, San Francisco State University, and Charlotte Basham, University of Alaska. "Teacher Response to Writing: A Cross-Cultural Perspective."

This paper presents two studies on composition correction and discusses how student preferences, writing skill and cultural background relate. In addition, new perspectives on giving writing feedback to multi-ethnic populations are presented.

Respondent: Otis L. Scott, California State University, Sacramento.

The overarching theme of the three rather diverse papers is the authors' successful attempts to focus attention on how organization and function in public education processes shape the experiences of ethnic minority students. More directly, the authors draw our attention to the fact that what happens inside of the school, its administrative offices and classrooms alike, may well indeed determine the success or failure of students of color.

Whalley's paper is a report of research she and a colleague have conducted. Whalley's research explores the types of feedback (written from instructor, oral from instructor, peer) from composition teachers preferred by diverse cultural groups of students. The substance of this paper stands as a challenge to instructors to be sensitive to the learning styles/needs of culturally diverse students and to adopt critique/assessment modalities (and pedagogies) consistent with the learning styles/needs of culturally diverse students.

The paper by Kraig deserves careful attention more so for what it intends than for what it establishes. The title of the paper, "Asian Americans: A Minority Success Story," gives us a clear indication of the point that Kraig intends to establish. His paper overall joins the mainstream of what currently appears to be an amassing discourse on the continuing subject of Asian Americans as a model minority group. It is curious that this scholarship, particularly in California, seems to be gaining popularity given the changing demographics in California and given what some public policy makers and members of the general citizenry are beginning to pay close attention to—the numbers of Americans of Asian descent in California colleges and universities and their strategic positions in the work force. The central questions raised in this paper are: why is the school performance of Asian Americans on par with or above the level of white students and why is the school performance of Asian Americans consistently above the performance of other colored ethnic groups? And as the author establishes, these questions are not easily answerable. And yet, the author attempts to provide an easy answer to the complex questions he poses. In his paper he suggests that a good place to start looking for the answers is in what he refers to as the "demographic situation of Asian American parents."

Our attention is referred to a table titled, "Income and Poverty Level by Ethnic Group, 1979." This table lists ethnic groups: white, black, Hispanic, (with no differentiation made by Latino ethnic group), Japanese, Chinese, Philipino, Korean, Asian Indian, and Vietnamese. Native Americans are not included in the chart. The table notes the median income of full-time workers and the percentage of families below the poverty level. The author's apparent intent is to establish a connection between income level, socio-economic status, and academic achievement of Asian American students. The chart does not convincingly establish this connection. In fact, the table raises more questions than it puts to rest. For example, we don't know how many household workers contributed to the Japanese/Chinese/Philipino, *et al.* median income. We don't know, for example, whether these workers were foreign born and educated, or whether they are recent arrivals to the United States. On this point,

the record tells us that immigrants from Korea, the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Japan since the early 1970s have tended to be better educated; they have tended to be men and women with professional and technical training.

An important methodological failing of this paper is the inadequate historical analysis attempted by the author. A proper historical context for viewing Asian American immigration is not established. The author asserts that the immigrant experience of Asian Americans, without distinguishing which groups he is referring to, are experiences similar to those of European immigrant groups. Kraig asserts that just as with European immigrant groups, Asian Americans have adopted the American success ethos and are well on their way to becoming assimilated.

The immigrant success story model employed here is typically used to exalt the assimilation of various European groups into American society. Such a model is facile when used to explain and analyze the status of societal integration by people of color in American society. The author should be reminded that black Americans, Native Americans, and Chicanos are not immigrant groups. Black Americans were brought to the New World and subsequently to the United States against their will. Native Americans and Chicanos have experiences of a colonized people, subjected to the banalities of a European mind that believed the air, the commons and all abounding thereon, were subject to the private dominion of white men. And while Americans of Asian descent have immigrant experiences, they are the experiences of immigrant groups whose lives were shaped by national, state and local policies designed to remind Asian emigres of their outsider status.

In examining the educational achievement of various ethnic groups, what must be taken into consideration are the particular kinds of socializations that people of color have experienced in American society. While people of color generally have their social realities shaped by race and ethnic discrimination in American society, particular groups of people are subjected to particularized forms of racial and ethnic discrimination. One could argue, for example, that Native Americans and black Americans are examples of a people whose social histories are shaped by a particularized discrimination and exclusion enforced by statutes, federal court decisions and racial etiquette.

The author drawing from copious sources on this particular subject fails to take into consideration just how race and ethnic discrimination shape the learning and teaching environment for ethnic minorities in general—and given the subject under investigation—the various Asian American people in particular. Kraig importantly points out the role that culture plays in shaping the learning environment of Asian American children, e.g. deference to authority and a willingness to accede to parental guidance. Unfortunately, he asserts that the same cultural imperatives transfix all Asian American groups. This assertion fuels the long standing stereotype that Chicano, black and Native American parents play insignificant roles in the educational lives of their children.

Kraig's paper does keep alive questions as to the factors which apparently result in some Asian American children performing well in schools when compared to the performance of some black, Chicano and Native American students. The paper very likely could have better assisted our understanding of these factors had more attention been given to historico-socio-cultural factors which shape a people's experiences in the United States. Of particular value would have been an examination of how people of color develop cultural mechanisms for coping with the predicament of discrimination in American society.

Too often the experiences of ethnic minorities are examined against the backdrop of paradigms developed in the larger society for the purposes of explaining the social realities of Euro-Americans. Assimilationist and Euro-Americanist explications of the ethnic minority experiences are examples of such paradigms.

Given the currency of the subject of student drop-out rates and particularly among minority youth and the underrepresentation of people of color on college and university campuses across the nation, the paper submitted by Calabrese represents an important addition to the national discourse.

Calabrese's concerns are two-fold in this paper: 1) the drop-out phenomenon affecting minority students and, 2) accounting for minority drop-outs. There is in fact a third concern raised in his paper: the role schools play in the drop-out phenomenon. This paper draws attention to how schools carry out their day-to-day business and how these activities may indeed contribute to the high drop-out rate of minority students.

This last point represents a particular strength of the paper inasmuch as studies of the minority drop-out phenomenon often times fail to examine sufficiently the milieu of the school itself and how that milieu contribute to what I will refer to as a shutting down of many minority students' learning engines. Typically, such explications of

why minority youth stop out or drop out build cases on impoverished poverty/acculturation models. Such explications posit a major reason minority youth drop out of school is because they issue from cultures and particularly from family backgrounds where the necessary nurturing and support for education is missing. Such explications tend to place the responsibility for student failure on the culture of the individual and the family. Clearly, strong family support, providing the kind of nurturing and reinforcement needed by all school age children, goes a long way towards building confidence, and esteem. But to suggest, as tends to be the trend in too many studies of the minority drop-out phenomenon, that the reason minority youth fail is because of some innate cultural pathology tends to give short shrift to the complex of issues accounting for much of the failure phenomenon.

This presentation focuses our attention on some of the structural, institutional, and procedural factors contributing to the failure of minority youth. Calabrese joins Jonathan Kozol, John Obgu, and other critical thinkers who have long studied the structure and function of schools as these bear on teaching minority youth. In this portion of his presentation, Calabrese directs our attention to what happens inside the school and how what happens may play a major role in shutting down the learning engines of minority youth.

For example, he draws our attention to the tracking phenomenon and how schools across the nation have historically used this as a device for sorting out and preparing students for low level work functions in American society. He brings our attention to the behaviors on the part of educators which signal their belief that minority students are already lost causes. Educators don't expect much from minority students and adopt behaviors and teaching styles guaranteed not to get much from the students.

An important point made in this paper is how intimidating the school and particularly its structure, its administration, and its staffing can be for many minority parents. And this is particularly the case with people whose cultures dictate deference to teachers and to those who are highly educated. People who may not themselves have much education, who may not be native English speakers, or who may not speak English very well are likely to see themselves as powerless in confronting the education bureaucracy. Often times, and especially if they are not organized or a part of a larger organization, they are unable to communicate the essence of their concerns in a fashion that public policy makers, e.g., boards—school boards, trustee boards and principals will feel compelled to address.

The author also addresses another important organizational and functional point deserving attention. Increasing attention, as John Ogbu, Asa Hilliard, and Ron Takaki have challenged us, needs to be given to the socialization that occurs within schools via the curriculum. Not enough attention in my opinion is given to these points. Over the last twenty years, more attention, some of it even genuine, has been given to the need for schools adopting curricula that are culturally sensitive and culturally correct. The fact of the matter is that schools in the United States being the repositories and transmitters of Western culture and civilization are the principle transmitters of Eurocentric culture and values. To what extent in this transmission process do minority children shut-down? To what extent are they alienated from the process of education? To what extent do schools in their normal course of dispensing large doses of Eurocentric and Euro-Americo centric culture and values contribute to the moritification esteem among black and brown school children. These are essential questions raised in this paper. These questions must be addressed if there is any hope for improvement in the learning environment of minority students.

The author does provide a prescription for the ills he discerns. He suggests that community people must review school policies and regulations and particularly engage a review with an eye towards targeting policies, regulations and procedures which work against the retention of minority students. He secondly suggests that prejudicial and racist behavior on the part of teachers should be changed. To this list of prescriptions I would add that the curriculum of most schools remains an experience down the path of Euro-American history, culture, values and experiences. Teachers tend to be shepards leading children down this path. The curriculum of most of America's schools needs to be significantly overhauled. I know that this will not come easily. It will not come about in the absence of a political struggle over knowledge and what it deemed to be essential for learning. Nonetheless such a struggle must be engaged. Minority students, just as non-minority students, must be presented with a panorama of the experiences of human beings. This panorama must contain the history, culture values, life experiences of people of color and these experiences should be presented not as a side bar social science lesson but as an integral part of the total human experience.

While this paper is refreshing in its approach, challenging in its thrust, and revealing in its analysis, it leaves me less than sanguine respecting the possibilities for the much needed and major overhauling of America's education process. I understand that schools in America's social order are major instruments used to maintain the extant political, economic, social, and cultural order. The social order is militantly resistant to proposals for significant changes in its fundamental composition and direction. This intransigence only assures the inevitability of struggle.

SESSION XIV: "LITERATURE II"
Chair: Phillips G. Davies, Iowa State University.

Victoria Aarons, Trinity University. "Jewish Women Writing in America: A New Ethnic Identity."

Elsewhere I argue that Jewish-American women writers of the late twentieth century are emerging in the literary mainstream as powerfully vocal figures forging a complex ethnic identity in the midst of a male-dominated literary tradition. (Aarons, "The Outsider Within," *Contemporary Literature* 28.3 [Fall 1987]:378-393). Contemporary writers such as Grace Paley, Tillie Olsen, Cynthia Ozick, and Susan Fromberg Schaeffer (to name only a few) are among the voices of women writers who have sprung from what has traditionally been defined as a male-dominated literary heritage, a heritage that has "silenced and marginalized" (Greene and Kahn, "Feminist Scholarship and the Social Construction of Woman," in *Making A Difference,* Greene and Kahn, eds. [London:1985]:1) women from those writers included in the literary canon, that is, from the cultural paradigms that emerge in the critics' reading of the texts. Women writers historically, as we know, have been denied what Virginia Woolf characterizes as the necessary requisites for productive writing: tradition, place, status, economic mobility—in short the freedom of expression created by the "unfettered mind" (Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own.* Such a denial has of necessity long since forced women writers into an "outsider" status, writers on the periphery of the established literary canon. As such "women's literature" has become distinguished as a literary sub-genre, often categorized among writers of "ethnic literatures," writers who raise issues of identity and place. Such issues for women writers is complicated further still in the works of contemporary Jewish-American writers, writing in the face of a two-fold "outsider" position as an ethnic group with an immigrant tradition and as women. I would argue, further, that the fiction written by contemporary Jewish-American women underscores such concerns that stem from a perceived gender-specific marginality: place, identity, ethnicity. These dual issues—gender and ethnicity—are combined in the fiction of Jewish-American women writers, each bringing to bear further complexities upon the other. Contemporary Jewish-American women writers, as I will show, expose through the medium of their fictive protagonists, a paradoxical stance not only in relation to Judaism, but to their position as women in a male-dominated literary and social context.

Cortland P. Auser, Bronx Community College. "Self-Creation: 'Mothers' Gardens' and Sisterly Communities."

Minority women writers of various American cultures (i.e., Chicana, Asian American, black American and Italian American) have created themselves in their writing. To accomplish this, they have drawn upon maternal legacies and the support of their sister writers.

In *macho* or patriarchal societies, women have been relegated solely to the functions of breeding and home making. These writers have broken out of this imprisonment through the quality of their literature (Cervantes, Kingston, Hurston, Walker, and Helen Barolini).

This paper examines the nature of how they created themselves, overcoming the double yoke of racism and sexism.

Shirley Geok-lin Lim, Westchester Community College. "Japanese-American Women's Life Stories: Race and Gender in the Maternal Texts of Sone's *Nisei Daughter* and Kogawa's *Obasan."*

Both Sone's autobiography and Kogawa's novel treat the experience of West Coast Japanese-American internment during the Second World War. Sone's book is an attempt to undo the figure of the Japanese mother. In seeking to reconcile the psycho-social conflicts between white and Japanese races, the narrator/daughter demonstrates in her "fiction" the destruction of the maternal racial text and replaces instead the triumph of a white patriarchal discourse. Kogawa's novel, on the other hand, begins with the erasure of the Japanese mother and seeks to re-construct this lost racial origin in the unknotting of plot and textual enigmas. My paper argues, through a reading of symptomatic passages, that the thematics of maternal writing and

re-writing in these two books are part of a larger thematic tradition in Asian-American women's literature.

Linda S. Wells, Boston University. **"What Shall I Give My Children? The Role of the Mentor in Gloria Naylor's *The Women of Brewster Place* and Paule Marshall's *Praisesong for the Widow."***

Gwendolyn Brooks' poem "What Shall I Give My Children?" asks the central question for black mothers in America: how can I who am considered less than perfect by mainstream America give to my children a sense of their own self-worth? In a culture where being poor, black, and female triply marginalizes an individual, what kind of consciousness develops from such marginality? How does such marginality carry over into the next generation and into the community of other women who are also poor, black, and female?

Gloria Naylor's novel *The Women of Brewster Place* exposes the sources of power among women traditionally seen as powerless. Naylor creates women who by mainstream standards are marginalized yet develop a sense of their own worth and pass that same worthiness on to others in their community. Paula Giddings in her book *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* chooses an epigram from Toni Morrison which captures the same power of the women of Brewster Place: about the black woman Morrison says "she had nothing to fall back on; not maleness, not whiteness, not ladyhood, not anything. And out of the profound desolation of her reality she may well have invented herself." Naylor creates for us a community of black women who not only invent themselves, but also take responsibility for assisting others in the act of self-creation. Self and others are inextricably linked in the consciousness of the women of Brewster Place, and such linkage is the source of power in this community.

The narrative device Naylor uses to develop the idea of black consciousness is the voice of the mentor. The novel is told in seven parts, each from the perspective of one of the inhabitants of Brewster Place. As the women tell their individual stories, they bind the community together in their shared experiences. Naylor creates a series of mentors, women whose voices reverberate throughout the novel, and each mentor carries the voices of past mentors who have healed her and bound her to the community. The paper details the narrative techniques that shape the consciousness of these women.

Brooks' poem also reverberates throughout Paule Marshall's Novel, *Praisesong for the Widow*. To answer Brooks' central question, some black parents would advocate materialism, teaching their children the work ethic and the model of success epitomized in the American dream. To achieve success the children must perfect themselves by white standards because the white power structure determines who will have access to material well-being. Other black parents, however, see the danger of perfecting oneself in the white image to gain wealth and success, and, instead, counsel their children to learn about their African heritage and to connect themselves to their ancestors and the culture they provided. The conflicts between materialism and spiritualism are central to Marshall's novel.

Avey Johnson, the central character, involves herself in a personal quest which leads to the discovery of her heritage and to the re-discovery of herself. Structured in four parts, the novel traces Avey's quest as she rejects the material world in favor of the spiritual world. She seeks her own personal history as a way to place herself in the history of black people, a history within the white power structure, which has marginalized blacks and called them defective by white standards. Avey has been able to obliterate this history because of the measure of wealth and success she and her now-dead husband have achieved over the years. At sixty-four, the widowed Avey experiences an awakening and an alteration in values that arise from her journey, both literal and figurative. The paper details the narrative, as Avey recaptures the voice of her ancestoral mentor, her great-aunt Cuney. Avey recalls the lesson from her aunt learned years ago but forgotten until now. Cuney told her of the visionary or spiritual capabilities of the Ibos: "Those pure-born Africans was peoples my gran said could see in more ways than one." When the Ibos looked at the Landing, the story says they walked on water, trying to get home. The implication is that the Ibos could see into the future, a future of enslavement and deprivation at the hands of the white masters, and that seeing what lay before them, they tried to flee. The parallels in faith, determination, and spirituality the story draws between the Ibos and Christ are internalized by both Cuney and Avey.

Avey's awakening is complete when she acknowledges the mission she is duty-bound to fulfill. Each summer she will bring her grandchildren to the Landing and tell

them the story of the Ibos and the spirit that connects them all. She will become the mentor to her grandchildren, internalizing the voice and values of her great-aunt Cuney. To answer "What Shall I Give My Children?" Avey would now respond with Baraka's words that "there were black angels straining above her head, carrying life from the ancestors, and knowledge, and the strong nigger feeling."

Respondent: Giulia Scarpa, Smith College.

The papers of this second session of literature have a very broad thematic synonymity, although they each focus on writers who belong to different ethnic groups and races. All presenters thoroughly discuss women writers, which is an important indication that literary criticism is not only acknowledging the blossoming season of women's creativity but that it is beginning to incorporate it in its discourse.

One of the crucial points addressed is that of "self-birthing" or "self-creation": the process by which women writers—Afro-American, Asian American, Chicana, Euro-American—have to invent and create models for their self-identity and their art. All these writers take upon themselves the responsibility of reconstructing American history and literature, of creating myths, of exploring the unbalance of power and marginality. As all the presenters have discussed, for women writers the process of learning and becoming is connected to their mothers and their relationship with their daughters. It is interesting to note that the daughters and granddaughters of immigrants—Asian American and Euro-American—meet with a complex dynamic of conflict and denial of the previous generations' experiences and expectations. The ambivalence generated by these tensions makes them perceive heritage also as a curse. Moreover, this makes them outsiders in the world of their mothers as well as in the American world: their ambivalence makes them uncomfortable in either world.

On the other hand, it is by acknowledging and rediscovering the beauty of their mothers' creations that Chicana and Afro-American women writers contend with marginality, racism and sexism in order to shape the world of their art. Mentoring and spiritual nurturing become powerful weapons with which elder women pass down to the younger ones the legacy of struggling to achieve self-identity.

As it is discussed in all papers, one of the specificities of these women writers' literary discourse is their concern with gender, race and class distinctions, which is not a rhetorical narrative device. All papers successfully lead us to understand that these writers' novels must be read in a specific race, class and gender history simply because it is the history embodied in all of these women's life-stories. The way historical circumstances have shaped their personal stories makes it impossible for us to read them without understanding the implications of this complex predicament. This will make us, as readers and critics, more aware and responsible while contributing to reconstructing history along with them.

SESSION XV: "CHILDREN AND ETHNICITY"
Chair: Janice White Clemmer, Brigham Young University.

Jeanne M. Clidas, "Women's History in the Elementary School Curriculum."

This is a description of a program designed to foster an appreciation for the contributions of all people regardless of their sex, race, or ethnic background by including women's history in the existing curriculum. The paper discusses the importance of changing the way the social sciences have been historically taught at the elementary level and presents methods used to teach women's history. The creation of a Women's Hall of Fame with school-wide participation, an in-service awareness program for teachers, and a community involvement program are used to illustrate how to implement such a program.

Cynthia Price Cohen, Defense for Children International, U.S.A. "Human Rights of Children."

The activities of the United Nations and regional organizations to combat discrimination, coupled with an overview of the state of international law in the areas of race and gender (class discrimination prohibitions exist, but the mechanisms are not as developed) is a "new perspective" of human rights, particularly as these efforts affect children.

John L. Weinkein and Dennis M. Dake, Iowa State University. "New Art Basics: A Pilot Project."

This media presentation reports on a two-year cooperative research and curriculum development project between the art education faculty at Iowa State University and the art educators of twenty-five Iowa public school districts. The project, New Art Basics, has created and tested over 400 teaching strategies with students K-12. The

purpose ot the project is to improve art education curriculum by integrating knowledge from psychologies of perception, visual and creative thinking, multicultural education and the history of visual art. This presentation will particularly focus on original strategies which include non-western European art, ethnic and folk art sources.

Ofelia Garcia, CCNY. **"The Education of Biliterate and Bicultural Children in Ethnic Schools in the United States."**
This paper discusses the results of ethnographic sociolinguistic research conducted over a two year period in thirteen ethnic schools in the New York metropolitan area. The thirteen schools include two Armenian, one French, one German, two Greek, one Haitian, one Hebrew, one Italian, two Spanish, one Russian and one Japanese school.

On the basis of observations, intensive interviews, and questionnaire data the education of American ethnic children and their ethnicity within a United States context is analyzed. The paper discusses the context of education in these ethnic independent schools. It also examines issues dealing with methodology and approaches both in teaching the ethnic language, as well as English. Finally, it presents children's attitudes toward their own biculturism.

Respondent: Janice White Clemmer, Brigham Young University.

SESSION XVI: **"AMERICANIZATION AND IDENTITY"**
Chair: William Oandasan, Venice, CA.

Barbara Hiura, University of California, Berkeley. **"Japanese American Women Writers: Breaking Silence."**
An analysis of Nisei women's writings is important because they comprise the first generation of writers to attempt to break a deafening silence—a silence generated by gender and culture, a silence perpetuated by the incarceration of Nikkei peoples during World War II, a silence which has lasted nearly forty-five years. Nisei women writers are telling about themselves, their history, their perceptions, and their search for identity within the broader sociohistorical context.

Pearl Harbor, World War II, and the concentration camps were personal as well as community experiences. The historical experiences are well documented in such historical and sociological tracts as Thomas and Nishimoto's *The Salvage* and *The Spoilage,* Hosokawa's *Nisei: The Quiet American,* Kitano's *Japanese Americans,* and Weglyn's *Years of Infamy.* Interestingly, the emergence of Nisei autobiography is emblematic of the historical period in which they were written.

Although Nisei women were not the first to reflect upon their American and Canadian experiences (Japanese women's autobiographies in English were published during the 1920s, 30s, and 40s), they were the first generation raised in the United States and Canada to write autobiographies and later novels. Nisei women writing from their own "memory" reflect a Nisei experience which needs to be examined.

Forty-five years have passed since Japanese Americans and Canadians were sent to concentration camps. In spite of this blatant abrogation of human rights, most Japanese Americans and Canadians have been silent about the injustices they suffered. Why has it taken so long before their silence was broken? Until the 1970s and the Reparation Hearings, few literary accounts had been written by Nisei about the Nikkei experience. Hisayo Yamamoto, short story writer of the late 1940s and 1950s, and Mine Okubo, who wrote *Citizen 13660,* were not widely acknowledged. Monica Sone's *Nisei Daughter* (1953) and John Okada's *No-No Boy* (1957) remained obscure until recently. Japanese American literary works were little known until 1973, when Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston wrote *Farewell to Manzanar.* Since then, recapturing historical experiences has become popular; half-forgotton autobiographies and short stories have been reprinted and new literary works have surfaced.

Nikkei women are developing a genre of literature which, although historically recent, concern gender as a specific issue along with perceptions of race, culture, and class. This paper examines the works of Monica Sone (*Nisei Daughter*), Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston (*Farewell to Manzanar* and *Beyond Manzanar: Views of Asian-American Womanhood*), Yoshiko Uchida (*Desert Exile* and *Picture Bride*), and Joy Kogawa *(Obasan).*

Gladys Ebert, Iowa State University. **"Ethnographic Monitoring: Application in Ascertaining a Workable Educational Program for Single American Indian Parents."**
The single parents residing on the Mesquakie settlement, and in some cases, in the rural small towns near the settlement, find it necessary to acquire additional training/education to be better able to secure meaningful employment commensurate with their needs—financial, psychological and emotional. While the majority of the

single parents realize the advantages of continuing their training and/or education, there are many real and preceived obstacles. The purpose of this project was to identify these obstacles and to assist the single parents in surmounting the barriers, real or perceived, to gain the courage to begin participation in an educational program. In addition to helping them "begin to participate" it was important to identify characteristics of the program that might contribute to premature attrition. "Dropping out" prior to realizing some measure of satisfaction could result in a variety of negative reactions as discouragement, loss of self-esteem and a lack of trust in their ability to succeed.

Lawrence Estrada, Colorado State University. **"Evaluation of the Diversification Plan at Colorado with Hispanics in Focus 1978 to 1985."**

Respondent: LeVell Holmes, Sonoma State University.