Abstracts from the Eighteenth Annual Conference National Association for Ethnic Studies, Inc. "Ethnicity, Justice and the National Experience"

Fort Collins, Colorado March 8-11, 1990

For the third year in a row, Conference participants were greeted with snow and ice; however, the chilly weather was not indicative of the warmth generated in sessions and special events planned by Conference organizers Larry Estrada and Jeannie Ortega. The theme, "Ethnicity, Justice, and the National Experience," was addressed by plenary session speakers Tom Romero and Dana Sims. Ray Rodrigues and Keith Miser presented a model for dealing with diversity on campus with the "Colorado State University Perspective on Diversity." Orage Quarles III, president and publisher of the Fort Collins Coloradan, eloquently addressed participants at the banquet with his views gained through many years of experiences with print media. Sumiko Hennessay was presented the Ernest M Pon Award for her work with the Asian American community of Fort Collins, particularly for her work with battered women; and the Charles C. Irby Service Award was received by David M. Gradwohl of Iowa State University for his many years of scholarship and teaching in ethnic studies and for his longterm commitment to NAES. Jeannie Ortega organized and evening of entertainment which included Balinese dancers and an American Indian dance and drum group.

In a variety of papers, participants examined issues of justice both nationally and internationally. Although the focus of the annual conferences continues to be people of color in the United States, presenters who addressed such diverse issues as apartheid in South Africa, aboriginal experiences in Australia, and Latvian cemeteries in Lincoln, Nebraska, established the importance of examining issues of justice and ethnicity in a broad context to understand the experiences common to distinct groups throughout the Americas and the world.

As the United States approaches the Columbian Quincentenary, teachers and scholars of ethnic studies must examine anew the histories which are our pasts. That we do not all share the same "story" is yet more evidence of some of the distortions which have been passed down as "truth" and should make us more receptive to the many "voices" of our past. This conference did just that, and we are grateful for the financial support of Colorado State University and the participation of CSU faculty, students, and administrators in the Conference. By the time the Conference ended, the warmth inside had spread: the snow had melted, and the sun came out, sending most of us on our way to Denver to fly back to our homes with a new commitment to the Association and to our responsibilities to the mission of the National Association for Ethnic Studies. Dale Rosebach's commemorative poster designed for the Conference guided our way: "As we struggle together against the winds of injustice, unity of movement flows from our diversity."

SESSION I: "Ethnic Portrayal in the Media."

Chair: Barbara Hiura, University of California, Berkeley.

George Junne, University of Colorado, Boulder. "Afro-American Images in Film and Television."

Afroamerican images in film and television have been negative and inaccurate. Not only are those images long lasting, but they are also extremely detrimental. Afroamericans cannot view their portrayal in film and television as entertainment.

Historically, Afroamerican and African cultures and peoples have been denigrated, as have their aesthetic values, moral codes and history. Early examples are *Birth of a Nation* and *Gone With the Wind*. Both have a recurring slavery motif which can be traced even to current films such as The Color Purple.

Even when the slavery motif is not readily evident, films about Afroamericans and Afroamerican history still contain gross inaccuracies, such as seen in *Glory*. The story, supposedly about black Americans, is still told through the eyes of white people. Scenes were included which promoted white fictional perspectives at the expense of Afroamericans, such as the lack of seriousness and direction shown by the troops of the Massachusetts 54th. In another scene, Colonel Shaw is shown exhorting the troops not to accept the discriminatory wages. While Shaw did send letters, action on the pay did not materialize until Shaw had died at Fort Wagner.

Television is sometimes described as the direct descendent of radio. Many of the early television radio shows moved directly from radio. Examples include "The Lone Ranger" and others. Racist shows which also made the move to the small screen included "Amos and Andy" and "Beulah." Even recent television shows such as "Miami Vice" and "The Cosby Show" are limited in their portrayal of Afroamericans. In "Vice," the series revolved around the character played by Don Johnson, with the character played by Phillip Michael Thomas supporting Johnson's adventures. In "Cosby," a definite step above any other television show starring Afroamericans, there appears to be a disassociation from the major Afroamerican institutions such as school and other community organizations.

Films and television still suffer from the lack of quality programming in regard to Afroamerican images because whites control the production and distribution system. Until Afroamericans and other minorities gain some control in the media, negative stereotypes and incomplete portrayals will continue.

Kumiko Takahara, University of Colorado, Boulder. "Sociolinguistics of Injustice: A Study of Media Exposition on Japanese Internment in Colorado."

The war between Japan and the United States (1940-45) has definite racist overtones as manifested in discriminatory policies and treatment of Japanese during that period of time. Of all the American citizens with different ethnic backgrounds, only the Japanese Americans were made to forfeit their property, civil rights, even their human dignity; they were rounded up in prison camps, not because of crime or harm against anyone, but because of their ethnic origin. This paper is not, however, concerned with details of the history of Japanese internment. The central concern is linguistic distortion of reality to manipulate people's thoughts and attitudes, resulting in their acceptance of social injustice. (This is true not only of Japanese Americans, but of Italian Americans, blacks, Jews, Hispanics . . . in short any easily identifiable ethnic minority.) By tracing the media coverage of Japanese settlement in Colorado from the 1870s through the Second World War period, a journalistic profile of Japanese Americans may be reconstructed as unwanted population and potential threat to mainstream American citizens. From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, Japanese internment can be seen as a consequence of negative political propaganda. Language of negative representation of the Japanese is examined and its specific features discussed. I argue that although racism has a political and socio-cultural origin, the strongest form of its manifestation is linguistic discrimination as exemplified in the case of Japanese internment.

Robert Terrell, University of Colorado, Boulder. "Minorities and the U.S. News Media: The Oppressive Conspiracy."

"Minorities and the U.S. News Media: The Oppressive Conspiracy" documents the manner in which the mainstream news media conspire to maintain the oppression of minority people via biased reportage and discriminatory hiring practices. Special attention is devoted to the fashion in which editors, publishers and other key gatekeepers coordinate policies regarding the ways in which minorities are portrayed in the news media.

Respondent: Jesse M. Vazquez, Queens College, (CUNY).

The papers discussed in this critique focus on the manipulation and distortion of language (newspapers) and visual images (film and television), and the ability of each of these forms of communication or media to shape public opinion, perception, and to reinforce stereotypes and racism in American society. According to Jean Mitry:

On the level of language, the meaning isn't in the words but in the phrase, that is to say, in the relational process implied by their organization within the phrase. On the level of film, the meaning is not in the images, but in the relationships between them. Changing a part transforms the whole, giving it another meaning.¹ [italics added]

It is through the consistently distorted images of the African American, projected in film and on television alongside images of whites--usually portrayed as heroes of an American mythology--that the visual media effectively delivers the messages that reinforce and reify the negative and malignant stereotypes that perpetuate racism in our society. Similarly, key words and phrases, in relation to other words and phrases in the news media, (print media), also serve to create the links between the referent group and feelings of "anger, disgust, hatred and contempt" directed against a particular ethnic/racial target. Kumiko Takahara points out that a "modifier structure" such as Jap submarine, Jap labor or Jap evacuees, effectively elicits predictable reactions from the unthinking mind. And George Junne, in his examination of the African American in the visual media, points to the predictable motifs and genres in American films and in television sitcoms which effectively reinforce the negative stereotypical image of blacks and other ethnic/racial imnorities in American society.

The image is introduced, and the viewer, because he/she has seen this relationship so many times before, assumes and anticipates the stereotypical conclusion. In effect, the repeated presentation of relational images (in movies and television), and words or phrases in the print media, effectively provokes the viewer or the reader to expect the predictable stereotypic message.

The central concern of Takahara's paper is a sociolinguistic analysis of the newspaper media's reporting of the events surrounding the Japanese internment during World War II, from 1942 to 1945. Takahara asserts that the "overwhelming success" of the conspiracy against the Japanese owed a great deal

to media support. She further states that "racial prejudice becomes concrete experience in language, and the language of prejudice in turn propagates more prejudice in the hearer's mind." Key in the misuse of language during this period is the use of the abbreviation Jap, which Takahara says is a "classificatory term which abstracts only undesirable properties of Japanese." On the other hand the use of the term Japanese is a "simple denomination by nationality." In her careful examination of one full year of newspaper reporting on the war by the Denver Post, Takahara found one derogatory reference to Germans in the use of the term Huns. She also notes that the use of the term Nazi does not condemn or encompass the whole of the German people as readily as the use of Jap, which effectively included all of the Japanese, in Japan and in the United States. Interestingly, Italians, also at war with the United States, are referred to in the news media only as Italians during this same time period. While all three were perceived as "potentially subversive aliens" (FBI).

Takahara's analysis includes a review of the Alien Land Law (1903), which restricted the ownership of property by Japanese, and the National Origin Act in 1924, which limited the number of Japanese immigrants to only 100 per year. She also points out that the hard work and the great success of the early Japanese immigrants was not greeted with praise and encouragement, but with intense hatred and resentment. Her point is that for decades escalating anti-Japanese sentiment served to provide the social fuel for the eventual attack on the Japanese in the United States, which resulted in their mass illegal internment.

The history of anti-Asian laws, the perception of Japanese and other Asians as "shrewd alien devils" not to be trusted by their fellow citizens was something that had become part of the racist mind-set of the American people. The history of hatred and racism made it possible for non-Asian Americans to turn on the Japanese and appropriate their businesses and homes and deny them the fundamental rights of any person accused of crime. However, no crime was ever committed, nor evidence of any subversive activity ever unearthed. The news media went to work after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and did everything in its power to destroy the very fabric and credibility of the Japanese American community.

After Takahara completes her analysis, it would be interesting to consider a sociolinguistic analysis in a longitudinal study of how the U.S. news media has portrayed the Asian Americans during key historical periods after the war with Japan. For example, how, if at all, did the news media portray Asian Americans during the Chinese revolution, the Korean War, the French-Indochina war, and the Vietnam War? And now as a result of the dramatic increase of Asian immigrants, how have the newspapers reshaped their reporting of the Asian American experience?

Junne's paper was provocative and raised interesting questions and lively responses from the participants in this session. The visual media, and film in particular, is the one medium that we have all come to know on deeply intimate personal terms. So when we combined the ingredients of Junne's well structured analysis of African Americans in film and television, and the well trained ears and eyes of an audience of ethnic studies specialists, the outcome was a most interesting exchange of ideas, questions, and debates.

Junne's two key assertions, which seem to set the framework for his analysis throughout his paper, are (1) that white America controls cinema in that it controls the scripts, production, direction, and distribution of films, and (2) that "all film is political." All critiques of film, therefore, should be framed within these two fundamental propositions.

Junne begins his analysis of the visual media with an account of an incident which took place in Japan more than one hundred and forty years ago. This particular incident illustrates the power of negative images to be sustained in the collective memory of a culture over a long period of time. Until very recently the logo for *Darky Toothpaste* consisted of a picture of a "grinning Black man in a top hat and tail." This image, Junne reports, can be traced back to a Japanese artist's sketch of a minstrel show presented shipboard by sailors on the *Commodore Matthew C. Perry*, shortly before a trade treaty agreement was signed in 1854.

This artistic rendering was apparently so powerful that it eventually found its way onto the label of a popular toothpaste label years later.

The destructive power of this nineteenth century image promoted by American sailors, and the countless number of images that followed in films like the *Birth of a Nation* (1915), offer strong evidence of how the visual media can and has contributed to the perpetuation of a distortion of the African American reality in the United States, on and off the screen. Blacks simply did not exist as real people until at least fifty years after *Birth of a Nation*. Myths and beliefs were passed on to each succeeding wave of new imigrants, and a good part of that mythology was the Hollywood-contrived version of the Afroamerican reality in the United States. Junne points out that a good many movies were built around "historical or historically rooted incidents," which tended to give these movie dramas a touch of pseudo-authenticity. As such, they served to educate, or as Junne suggests miseducate, Americans about the history and character of African Americans.

Junne effectively identifies a succession of films whose central depiction of African Americans is in the frequently used slavery motif. After Birth of a Nation, Gone With the Wind further cements in the American imagination the distorted and inaccurate images of slaves in ante-bellum America. Instead of the "brutal, dehumanizing experience of slavery," the moviegoer is given images which alter and deny the truth of that reality. Over and over again, the American viewing audiences are given false images, distorted events, sometimes romantic or idyllic settings which effectively wash away any traces of or approximation of what it means to be black in America.

Junne cites a number of films that use the slavery motif as a central part of the story line. He suggests that although a number of these films may seem very different, the essential slavery motif can be gleaned not too far beneath the surface. To illustrate this, he recalls Song of the South (1946), Slaves (1969), Mandingo (1975), and more recently The Toy (1982) with Richard Pryor, which Junne suggests is a parody on the slavery motif. Junne concurs with Guerrero's (1988) critique of The Color Purple, which suggests that the creators of this film continued the slavery motif except, in this instance, they had black males switch roles with the white males to then act out the oppression of black women.² Once again, the institution of slavery and the experience of African Americans is distorted and deflected towards other interpretative ends.

Junne continues his line of criticism by including the recent highly acclaimed film *Glory*, a film that for the first time in American cinema reveals the role played by black soldiers during the Civil War. Although Junne acknowledges that *Glory* is cinematically far better than previous films in this genre, it, nevertheless, fails to accurately tell the whole story; and consistent with the Hollywood formula, it effectively distorts and omits key issues, not only in the experiences of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, but in others as well. Junne sees this as another film, which once again can serve as an "example of the exploitation of black history which continues to perpetuate a one-dimensional view of Afroamerican society, a view which has its roots in ante-bellum myths."

Junne's overview of the images of Afroamericans on television spans the medium from the early days of the "Amos 'n' Andy Show" through spin offs such as "Beulah," and the prominent yet stereotypical depiction of supporting character roles such as Rochester in "The Jack Benny Show," maids in "The Great Gildersleeves," and the handy man on the "Stu Irwin Show." These minor characters cast black actors in the usual stereotypical roles and social status. While some critics see "The Cosby Show" as greatly separated from the institutions of the African American community, Junne's sense is that it is "definitely a step above previous family shows (e.g. "Sanford and Son," "Good Times," etc.). Another television show, which was not discussed in Junne's paper, but worthy of mention was "Frank's Place." Shortlived by major network standards, this show is guilty of intelligent writing which reflected the complexity of the Afroamerican community as expressed through real multidimensional characters and situations. Unfortunately, it seemed to have suffered the fate of most good solid shows---it was cancelled.

Of "Miami Vice," Junne is critical of what seems to be a most subtle but accurate reading of the relationship between the Detective Tubbs character, played by Phillip Michael Thomas and Detective Crockett, played by Don Johnson. Tubbs, according to Junne's interpretation, when stripped of the "sophisticated trappings" which make him a most appealing character, is in the end not "really an equal partner but a subordinate one in relation to Johnson's character."

My sense is that there are more television shows and films guilty of this dynamic than meet the eye. The ones that come to mind are the recent spate of buddy films with an Afroamerican as part of the team. Films pairing Gregory Hines and Billy Crystal, Richard Pryor and Gene Wilder, and Danny Glover and Mel Gibson perhaps should be examined more closely to determine whether or not there is a formula in these buddy films which parallels the "Miami Vice" partnership of Thomas and Johnson. Do these pairings provide the American audience with anything new about the Afroamerican reality and the relationships between blacks and whites in America, or are they simply superficial casting gimmicks which guarantee big box office profits? I wonder if *The Defiant Ones* (1958), starring Sidney Poitier and Tony Curtis, was not the first of the buddy genre, albeit an inverted sort. Shackled together, these two escaped prisoners are forced to come to terms with their hatred for one another and their shared goal of freedom.

Today, a new more subtle brand of racism and distortion of the realities of ethnic/racial minorities in the United States has been introduced into the media as well as into the society at large. This does not mean, however, that the more blatant, virulent forms of racism have been abandoned. The two types are sometimes presented together in such form that the viewer is often unaware of the distortion or of the manipulation. For example, incidental characters, either Afroamerican, Latino or Asian, may be introduced into scenes where the particular ethnic/racial stereotype is clearly the only rationale for introducing the character at that particular time.

The War of the Roses (1989), starring Michael Douglas, Kathleen Turner and Danny Devito, a Buñuel-like dark comedy about the break up of an upper middle class white couple, provides an interesting example of this kind of incidental or gratuitous racial stereotyping. In one isolated emergency room scene, a black man is brought in with a knife wound in his abdominal area, inflicted, he says, by his enraged wife. In a very quick impressionable moment, he offers sage warnings to Douglas's character about the unpredictability of the enraged women. It's not a white collar white man who is lying there bleeding giving advice to another white man; it is a working class black man who delivers the message. This kind of image manipulation is not coincidental. It is inserted to give the viewer an opportunity to make the associations between blackness and violence, as well as between violence and gender; so, the net effect is that one is exposed to two kinds of manipulations. There is a not so subtle connection between the almost surrealistic violence that the white couple has chosen to inflict upon one another, and the stereotypical violence in the black community that the filmmaker chooses to distort, reinforce, and link to the white couple in this one brief scene. The writers obviously felt they needed this device to lock in a particular psycho-cultural and political link between violence, race, and gender. These kinds of gratuitous conscious distortions and associations serve to further imprint the image of the stereotypical Afroamerican on the minds of the viewing audience.

Finally, Junne's and other critics' suggestions that those who control the economics of the media will ultimately control the images portrayed by them, is inextricably linked to whether or not we will see an authentic depiction or one which distorts the reality of the subject. Junne's concern with films like *Glory*, and other similar ventures, is that "because it is a movie of one culture's actions filtered through the 'lens' of another culture, the subjects are not given a chance to tell their story." Junne believes that Afroamericans and other ethnic/racial minorities will have an opportunity to "tell their own stories" only when they gain the means to control production and distribution of their films.

In a way, the question of authenticity in film and television raised by Junne goes to the very heart of our own founding principles in ethnic studies and in our need to establish autonomous programs, departments and centers. Who indeed is chosen to tell the stories of ethnic groups in America? What materials and methodologies ("lens") are used to document these stories, and through what form or structure in the university can these stories be told with a minimum degree of distortion? The answer in part is already being forged by the interdisciplinary approach used by ethnic studies practitioners in universities throughout the United States, and in the opportunity to test out our own observations and ideas in the emerging community of scholars in NAES and other similar organizations.

¹Gumpert, Gar & Robert Cathcart, "Media Grammars, Generations, and Media Gap[s]," Critical Studies in Mass Communication 2 (1985): 23-35.

²Ed Guerrero, "The Slavery Motif in Recent Popular Cinema," Jump Cut 33 (Winter 1988): 52.

SESSION II: "Curriculum Development in Multicultural Education."

Chair: David Mielke, Appalachian State University.

Mackie Faye Hill-Mays, Metropolitan State College. "Challenging Discrimination and Combating Prejudice by Integrating the Accomplishments and Contributions of People of Color into the Curriculum."

Although difficult to accept and/or admit, professors in the higher education arena are and have been the most dedicated gatekeepers of racism and sexism. We, all of us, are and have been instilling prejudice in our students by continuing to present curriculum materials that dwell on one thing, the young male of European heritage. We either ignore the existence of other ethnic groups and women or present them in such a way that they are perceived by students as societal burdens rather than contributors. On rare occasions when we do attend to the accomplishments and contributions of people of color and women, our presentations are handled as afterthoughts or delivered in a separate context. Rarely do we integrate our curriculum, giving people of color their correct place in history. Ignoring the accomplishments and contributions of people of color and women, and women, and simply presenting them as convicts, welfare recipients, and dope dealers, says to students that these groups are inferior, lazy, and not to be tru sted.

Globally, people of color and women have always been the majority, and recent demographics indicate that they will soon be the majority population in the United States. Our elementary schools are already more than fifty percent students of color and female. Our future workforce will need to be chosen from a population of women and people of color. These facts demand that our curriculum can no longer focus only on white males. Higher education curricula must be aimed at the integration of scholarship on women and people of color. Not to do so will contribute to a situation in which the new majority might act out of anger and simply reverse the situation.

Establishing and maintaining a multicultural perspective in curriculum is a difficult task. It takes commitment and many hours of hard work--but exciting and rewarding work. This presentation relates the need for the integration of women and people of color into the curriculum. It also presents information regarding existing programs--how they were accomplished as well as the success of such programs.

Lupe Martinez, Metropolitan State College. "Prospects for Multicultural Education."

It is important to understand concepts such as racism as a basis for the implementation of an integrated multicultural education curriculum. It also is necessary to have an historical perspective on the development of multicultural education in our public schools. However, in order to change the attitudes of adults in our society and to influence children to accept cultural and physical differences in people, the curriculum must represent all groups equally. Therefore, any multicultural education curriculum must describe and define the problems and the emotional pains of racism and how to use an infused

multicultural curriculum in public education from grade school through graduate school.

Marva L. Lewis, University of Colorado, Boulder. "Multicultural Perspectives on the Family."

This presentation describes the curriculum and format of a successful undergraduate course that focuses on culturally determined family dynamics from five ethnic groups in the United States. This class has been taught on a predominantly Anglo campus through the ethnic studies department. The theoretical organization of the course, criteria for selection of reading materials, curriculum content and class projects are presented. Unique issues that occurred in teaching the class are discussed as well as methods to address these issues. An experiential exercise utilizing a sample of the courcepts as well as a specific teaching method found to be effective for the content of the course is presented.

Respondent: Victor Baez, Colorado State University.

SESSION III: "Justice, Religion and Ethnic Minorities."

Chair: Curtis Jones, Grand Valley State University.

Lisa Borini and Joseph G. Rish, Marywood College. "Santeria Practice and the First Amendment."

This paper examines the limits of the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment as applied to a "non-mainstream religion," the Santeria cult or religion. Santeria is a religious sect which practices animal sacrifice as an integral part of its ritual. Do the rights to exercise such beliefs fall under First Amendment protection? Does the government interest in prohibiting such conduct outweigh the burden on religion? Is Santeria a "religion"? If Santeria is protected, must all obscure sects be recognized or is our definition of "religion" limited by mainstream religious belief?

Allene Jones, Texas Christian University. "The Practice of Satanism Among Blacks."

According to the media, the practice of Satanism is increasing at an alarming rate. Associated with the practice of Satanism is the committing of many heinous acts of crime and violence against animals and human beings. The Satanism that will be addressed is the Satanism as practiced by Anton S. Lavey, who founded the first legal Church of Satanism in the United States. The purposes of this paper then are two fold: (1) to discuss Lavey's Church of Satan, and (2) to ascertain how many blacks in the United States are participating in the practice of Satanism as advocated by Anton Lavey.

Keith Miller, Arizona State University. "Seeking Justice: The Language of Rev. C.L. Franklin and the Black Folk Pulpit."

Despite the importance of black folk preaching, scholars, including Bruce Rosenberg in his MLA award-winning study, have consistently dismissed the black folk religion as little more than an emotional circus. Folk preachers like Rev. C. L. Franklin do not deserve such treatment. Packing auditoriums around the country for three decades, Franklin recorded at least seventy commercial albums of sermons.

Franklin creates a self by merging his voice with the sanctified language of scripture and hymns. Repreaching traditional sermons, he reinvigorates the great theme of liberation by inserting black American experience within the story of Exodus. Current struggles become later chapters in the tale of Hebrew slaves straining against Egyptian bondage. The recurring, archetypal event of Exodus guarantees freedom to blacks shackled by white pharaohs in an American Egypt.

Alberto L. Pulido, Michigan State University. "Are You an Emissary of Jesus Christ: Justice, the Catholic Church, and the Chicano Movement."

Through an examination of Catolicos Por La Raza this paper explores the notion of "justice" within a spiritual and religious context. As a group which arose in direct opposition to the actions of the American Catholic Church in 1969, a clear notion of justice emerged for these young urban Chicanos. As an emerging consciousness in direct opposition to the American Catholic Church, not only was it influenced by the Church but it was also instrumental in bringing about major change to this institution. This notion of justice and its implications for contemporary community-church relations are fully examined in this presentation.

Respondent: Faythe Turner, Greenfield Community College.

The baseline for the papers in this session was religion and religious institutions, more specifically Christianity (in most cases, the Catholic Church), its historical and immediate role in people's lives and its contribution to or detraction from justice for ethnic peoples.

The paper presented by Lisa Corini and Joseph G. Rish, "Santeria 'Religious' Practice and the First Amendment," is a justification for court intervention when the practice of a given religion involves activities that the court deems forbidden by law or defines as an infringement upon the rights of others. The religion in question is Santeria or saint worship, a religion brought to Cuba by African slaves who, not permitted by the Catholic Church to practice their own religion, cleverly merged the identities of African gods and Catholic Saints. Santeria is practiced in Cuba and other parts of the Caribbean today. It also has a sizeable following in the United States, 50,000 members alone in the Miami area of Florida since the large immigration of Cubans in the 1960s.

The case in question concerns a church in Hialeah, Florida, La Iglesia Lukumi Babalu Aye. Although much of the practice of Santeria in the United States takes place underground, the church in Hialeah tried to gain a legitimate place in the community there and in so doing came up against the law due to the inclusion in their religion (when necessary) of ritual animal sacrifice. While the people of Lukumi Babalu Aye were organizing their church, the town was busy passing ordinances that would prohibit animal sacrifice locally as anti-cruelty statutes do state-wide in Florida. The ordinance that brought about the suit from the Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye was based on Florida's Kosher Slaughter Act which prohibits all ritual killing except for the primary purpose of food consumption.

This paper is a detailed exploration of the trial between the Santerias and the town of Hialeah. The Santerias took the position that ordinances prohibiting ritualistic animal sacrifice discriminated against them and interfered with their First Amendment rights, arguing that most of the animals sacrificed were, in fact, eaten. The town argued, successfully, that it passed the ordinances to prevent cruelty to animals, to protect the health, welfare and safety of the community, and to prevent adverse psychological effects on children.

It is important to note that a sizeable community of Fundamentalists and Charismatic Christians resides in Hialeah as does the American Catholic Church. The critics of the Santerias say that, unlike the aforementioned, they are not practicing a religion; the lawyer for the town argued this: "Santeria is not a religion. It is a throwback to the dark ages. It is a cannibalistic, voodoo-like sect which attracts the worst elements of society, people who mutilate animals in a crude and most inhumane manner." (New York Times, 29 June 1987) So a central question issues from this case: how much power will dominant religions, those considered acceptable, respectable by establishment standards, have in setting the definition of religion? The authors acknowledge that religions which seem strange to the dominant religion (referring to the Christian orientation of the Founding Fathers) are sometimes not accepted in the United States but trust that acculturation and blending will take place. They feel that the present combination of free exercise and governmental intrusion is a fair compromise. The reaction of the Catholic Church--that the Santerias should "purify" their faith in the Catholic Church (New York Times, 29 July 1987)--is instructive.

Alberto L. Pulido's paper, "Are You an Emissary of Jesus Christ?: Justice, The Catholic Church, and The Chicano Movement" treats the subject of the proper role for the American Catholic Church and its stated ideal of Christian justice with respect to the Chicano community in the San Diego/Los Angeles area. Pulido's interesting explication of the political and religious implications of the now famous 1965 grape boycott is enough to make the old Dominican, Bartolome de Las Casas, the Spanish priest who as early as 1542 fought for fair wages, hours, and conditions for the Indians of Latin America out of his experiences in what is now Mexico, roll uneasily in his grave. Given the size of the Chicano community's membership in the Catholic Church (although size alone cannot be a legitimate reason for action) and the fact that the Church in Rome had recognized labor's

right to organize, one would think that the Church would have actively participated in winning justice for poor Mexican farm workers. Instead it gave no support to the workers and developed an overly chummy relationship with the wealthy Catholic growers. In response to this situation an ethnic protest group, Catolicos Por La Raza, emerged in 1969, objecting to the church's elitist practices. This group arose out of the powerful and successful farm workers' movement, led by Cesar Chavez, that worked for union organization to secure decent wages and working conditions for farm laborers. The Church in Rome had recognized labor's right to organize. However, when Chavez and the National Farm Workers Association joined Filipino labor from the AFL-CIO in the boycott of 1965 and some priests of the Catholic Church joined the picket lines, the Church, as Pulido puts it, did not "practice what it preached." The hierarchy sided with the growers as the community watched. That Chavez was a devoted Catholic and that he had such an enormous influence upon young Chicano identity put him in a very good position to challenge the lack of Church participation within the Chicano community. Catolicos Por La Raza encouraged the people's deep religious beliefs to bolster their political beliefs and as a bulwark against wealthy, elitist forces denying them decent lives. They drew in urban youth and college students, linking them with the farm workers. The Catholic Church was forced to take a stand on political and economic issues on behalf of the community. In so doing the movement strengthened the remnants of old ties and established a new affirmative relationship with the Catholic Church.

This paper has wide implications not only for the Chicano community but for others associated with the American Catholic Church: The Liberation Movement in Central America, the Gay Movement, and the Women's Abortion Rights Movement to name but a few. It may be that grass roots may again finally win out over the hierarchy and bring this powerful institution to the side of the people.

SESSION IV: "Justice and the National Experience."

Chair: Saundra Taylor, Western Washington University.

Malik Simba, California State University, Fresno. "Gong Lum v. Rice: The Convergence of Law, Race, and Ethnicity."

In the constitutional case of *Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U.S. 78 (1927) the United States Supreme Court, composed entirely of Bok Guey (Whites) adjudged Hon Yen (Chinese) to be in the same social classification as Lo Mok (Blacks). The case, which pertained to "racially" segregated schools, reveals the problematics of law, race and ethnicity.

The Supreme Court's decision permitted the state of Mississippi to define Martha Lum, a Chinese-American, as a member of the "colored races" so that "white" schools could remain segregated. The concrete meaning of American ethnicity was, to a large degree, revealed by this convergence of law and race as ideological constructs reflecting real social relations in the second decade of the 20th century.

This presentation explicates this convergence by examining the validity of critical legal theory. This theory "explains the way in which law ultimately reflects and sustains the social order yet has its own internal logic, and unique modes of discourse and institutional patterns that are to some extent independent of the will of powerful, nonlegal, social and political factors and that represents an important constitutive element of the social totality...."

Jane Starfield, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. "The Law and the Proverbs: Plaatje's Search for Ethnic and National Justice."

Paul G. Zolbrod, Allegheny College. "Federalism Grew Out of Native Soil: The Roots of the U.S. Constitution in the Iroquois Great Law."

The influence of the Iroquois Confederacy on the making of the United States Constitution goes unnoticed even after the recent celebration of the Philadelphia Convention in 1787. The debt goes all the way back to prerevolutionary times. It is registered in certain similarities between the Constitution and printed texts of surviving Iroquois oral poetry and reflected in the journals and diaries of early settlers and explorers. To glean evidence from that material, however, we must use it differently from the way scholars customarily work with source material. Only then will we do Iroquois tradition the justice of recognizing its importance to the fabric of law and government in the United States.

Respondent: Ronald S. Martinez, Western Washington University.

In Gong Lum v. Rice, the Supreme Court's decision permitted the state of Mississippi to define Martha Lum, a Chinese American, as a member of the "colored races" which permitted white schools to remain segregated. School segregation was and still is a national issue.

In "Federalism Grew Out of the Native Soil," Paul Zolbrod argues that the Iroquois Confederacy has significant influence on the writing of the U.S. Constitution. Here is an irony that begs for recognition in the theme "Justice and the National Experience." Full recognition is long overdue.

In a similar vain, Jane Starfield, in her paper "The Law and the Proverbs," presents that under apartheid ethnic identity has been presented as being nondistinguishable from tribal identity in South Africa. She contends that this extrapolation of segregation has consciously disguised the effect of South Africa's manipulative educational systems, media propaganda and the engineering of a political and economical geography upon ethnic peoples. According to Starfield, ethnicity in 20th century South Africa is a process of selective memory, invention and state intervention.

Each of these papers fit well with this session's theme, "Justice and the National Experience." The major premise in "Gong Lum v. Rice" is that the meaning of American ethnicity was revealed by the convergence of law and race as ideological constructs which reflected real social relations existing in the 1920s. Simba explained this convergence of law and race by examining the validity of critical legal theory. Simba stated that the theory explains the way in which law ultimately reflects and sustains the social order. This case reveals the complex nature of law, race and ethnicity. Simba examines four concepts within critical legal theory to state that: (1) federalism supported the view and interest of the southern ruling class; (2) "separate but equal" was an ideology that helps solidify the material basis of society but could not obscure its racist reality; and (3) the law did not function in a manner which sought to structure socially acceptable classifications of race, color and ethnicity.

When Chinese labor came to Mississippi, they met a type of social system in which their status had been predetermined by the customs, traditions and institutional usages of 300 years of black and white relations. In rejecting Gong Lum's appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court asserted that if you lived in the South, you must abide by Mississippi law. Thus, racism as a dominant cultural and political view of both Northern and Southern ruling classes was expressed through legal doctrine to legitimize and support the interest of the ruling classes. Simba shows that, while critical legal study has a lot to offer legal scholars, the theory has to be severely adjusted when it is applied to race relations law. American law has consistently shown minorities the illegitimacy of law and its ideologies of fairness and justice.

In his paper, "Federalism Grew Out of the Native Soil," Paul Zolbrod contends that the foundation of American justice rests as firmly on pre-Columbian Iroquois tradition as it does on any European source. Zolbrod believes the problem stems not from the lack of documented evidence, but from the way the evidence or other material is conventionally utilized. Instead of looking for sources which attest to some direct influence, Zolbrod believes we must learn to make inferences on the basis of what we can learn about relaying information in a preliterate tribal culture. This paper was very enlightening to me. I had no idea there was such a strong connection between the U.S. Constitution and the Native peoples of this nation. Full recognition is far overdue.

Here is a prime example of how U.S. history has excluded ethnic minorities of their rightful place in the construction of this nation. Chicanos, blacks and other minority groups have had similar experiences. However, this example goes to the very core of governance, which is significant in determining who are the "haves" and who are the "have nots." It is very sad and unconscionable to discover the U.S. Constitution is but a piece of plagiarism.

Obviously, this issue needs to be made public. I would be naive to think historians would jump at the chance to re-write U.S. history, but that process must begin and Zolbrod should be commended for his role.

He has pointed out several areas that need further study. These should be pursued. Many of the Iroquois contributions and influences were subtle and indirect and have to be more carefully documented before historians will accept them. They are registered in similarities between the Constitution and surviving printed text of Iroquois oral poetry. They are also reflected in journals and diaries of early settlers and explorers. Zolbrod made it clear, however, that further research must be unconventionally viewed to really do justice to this issue.

This paper is part of a book Zolbrod and Frederick Seeley are writing on the influences of Native American poetry on an emerging American character. I am looking forward to the book, but I can't help but think what a marvelous miniseries or movie this would make.

In "The Law and the Proverbs: Sol Plaatie's Search for Ethnic and National Justice" Jane Starfield studies a member of the subordinated South African community who made it his life's work to see that political, social, and economic contributions of black people were not excluded from history. Starfield declares that it is through the efforts of persons such as Sol Plaatje that ethnic history survives against overwhelming odds. Plaatje's ideal was to preserve the history and customs of his people by recording or otherwise writing them down. He was a very educated man and also used these recordings to argue for the equality of all social groups. Starfield closes her paper by reflecting on one of Plaatje's writings, "The Sechuana Proverbs," by sadly acknowledging that the pen could not save what the white South African government would neither read nor hear. Starfield asserts that by examining two questions historically, we can come to understand South Africa both past and present. The two questions used by Starfield as a guide in her study were: (1) how is it that some articulations of history came to be instituted as dominant and others subordinated? and, (2) how are these relations of dominance and subordination actually lived?

These questions can be applied to all three of the presentations given today. Clearly for ethnic studies, the historical task has been made much more difficult because of the exclusion of minorities' contributions to the building of these nations. Further, the lack of a political and economic base for minorities can also be attributed to racially motivated policies implemented both in South Africa and the United States.

SESSION VI: "Justice, Media Images and Popular Culture."

Chair: Jim Gray, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Theresa M. Carilli, Purdue University, Calumet.

Italian Americans are often negatively portrayed by the visual media as buffoons, criminals, or pasta-eaters. These negative portrayals indicate that Italian Americans are becoming a scapegoat culture. In this paper, some of these negative images and stereotypes, expressed in the visual media, are explored. Proposed reasons as to why Italian Americans make comfortable scapegoats and measures Italian Americans can take to overcome these images are discussed.

Irene I. Blea, Metropolitan State College. "Chicano and Other Ethnic Jokes: A Critical Perspective."

This paper is part of a larger text reviewing the origin of racist and sexist Chicano jokes. Presented is the methodology, the collection of jokes, the different categories into which they fall, and how these jokes are incorporated into the Introduction to Chicano Studies curriculum at Metropolitan State College. Central to the focus of the paper is the relationship of Chicano jokes to other ethnic jokes and the social messages about ethnicity. Justice is raised as a question: What can justice mean in the context of racism and sexism in popular culture?

Linda Wells, Boston University. "The Portrayal of Justice and Ethnicity in American Film."

Issues of racial injustice have fascinated filmmakers recently, but the history of American film might be said to reinforce racial and ethnic injustice through the portrayal of ethnicity as a threat to progress, social order, and American (read, white) supremacy. This paper explores issues of justice and race in a number of films and film genre, as it raises the following questions:

How does film reflect the spirit of the times and the values of the dominant culture?

Does film reinforce racial attitudes held by the dominant culture, or is it a subversive form which seeks to change attitudes?

Who owns the means of production and how does this affect the portrayal of ethnicity and justice?

Historically, how do films give a voice to ethnic identity--i.e., how do films treat the shift from object to subject?

Respondent: Garrett Ray, Colorado State University.

SESSION VII: "Current Legal Issues and Examination of Past Judicial Decisions."

Chair: Phillips G. Davies, Iowa State University.

Mary Alice Herrle, Pennsylvania State University. "Spiritual and Judicial Thunder: The Harmonie Society and the Courts."

In 1805 the Harmonie Society became a legally sanctioned religious communal society. Even though it was a small community, numbering only between eight hundred and one thousand members at various times, it still became an important economic force in both Pennsylvania and the nation. However, the success came at a high cost. In 1816 the founder's son, John Rapp, died. Investigating the reports that John was either killed by his father or that he committed suicide, the courts intervened and saved the community's reputation. In a second legal matter, Count de Leon seduced over one third of the society's membership to leave the group. He then persuaded the former members to sue the society for a large share of its profits. Again the courts intervened and preserved the integrity of the society's reputation and secured its finances. It is quite probable that had the courts ruled unfavorably in both cases, the Harmonie Society would have been destroyed.

Jonathan A. Majak, University of Wisconsin, LaCrosse. "U.S. Immigration in the Post Civil Rights Era: The Myth of Declining Significance of Race."

The U.S. Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965. It was hailed as the fulfillment of the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibited, among other things, discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin. This immigration act abolished the national origins quota system which had severely restricted immigration from the Third World in general and Asia in particular. Since then, however, there has been the assumption that not only is there equity, but also that race is no longer a relevant factor in the U.S. immigration policy. In this paper, I present a critical analysis of the supposedly race neutral criteria of admission/exclusion in order to demonstrate the continued significance of race in the immigration policy.

Rudy Mattai, CUNY College, Buffalo. "Justice Delayed or Justice Denied: An Examination of the Inefficiency of the Judicial System in the Desegregation of Schools."

The origins of formal education for African Americans were foreshadowed by grit and determination on the part of African Americans despite the adversities encountered. So severe were the adversities that W. E. B. DuBois was moved to conclude that "probably never in the world have so many oppressed people tried in every possible way to educate themselves." The earliest attempts of African Americans to enter the public educational institutions were met with stiff opposition and even the rulings of the highest judicial body of the land were not able to prevent a situation that evolved into "separate but equal" treatment.

Beginning with Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896, there were several judicial decisions that sought to ensure the provision of educational training for the African American albeit in a benign fashion. The very language of the judicial decisions made in the period immediately following the famous Brown v. The Board of Education contended that African American institutions were inherently inferior. Alvis v. Adair contends that "the court held that separate facilities for [African Americans] could never be made equal to those for whites because of certain "intangibles." Those "intangibles" related to the prestige of the school, its

distinguished alumni, professors, etc. In essence, if African Americans were to be recognized by the society then they were expected to be products of majority institutions.

This position that minority institutions are inferior has had and continues to have severe implications for the desegregation efforts. It is no wonder then that while the Statistical Abstract of the United States exhibits data which show very little differential between inverse relationship between the two groups when higher educational levels are compared with the former occupying the negative position.

This paper analyzes the language of eight Supreme Court decisions between 1896 and 1974 in an effort to show how the desegregation efforts have been stymied by the deeply ingrained thoughts that African Americans are inferior to the majority population.

Otis Scott, California State University, Sacramento. "An Analysis of the Post Civil Rights Status of African Americans."

This paper examines the post civil rights era in American society and what this era has wrought for African Americans in particular and people of color in general in their historical quest for social justice. Particular attention is given to examining the last decade. During this time period we have witnessed an unabashed attempt by top level public policy makers, and policy making institutions, e.g., former President Reagan and the U.S. Supreme Court, to turn back the hands of the civil rights clock to a preceding era in which the rights of people of color were presumed non-existent much less respected. This retrenchment in civil rights commitment and enforcement especially by a former President of the U.S. is instructive; it institutionalized the national movement away from issues of equity and justice. This paper contends that this slippage has been underway since the decade of the 1970s. This paper further asserts that the present social climate characterized on a more visible level by an increase in ethnophaulisms and physical violence against the person and property of people of color is a manifestation of an increasing hostility toward racial/ethnic issues. This climate signals the emergence of an era whose major characteristics are likely to be increased social tension and strife. This paper introduces the insideroutsider concept as an explanatory device for analyzing and otherwise attempting to account for the anti-civil rights sentiments and practices contemporarily shaping public discourse.

Respondent: Brij Khare, California State University, San Bernardino.

SESSION VIII: "Justice and Literature."

Chair: Russell Endo, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Cortland Pell Auser, Bronx Community College. "Literary Response to Ethnic Injustice: Works by Imprisoned Japanese American Citizens."

- One of the most infamous examples of ethnic injustice in the United States was the imprisonment of American citizens of Japanese ancestry in concentration camps in the days of governmental infamy following 7 December 1941. Literary selections by four generations of Japanese Americans are presented in the paper. Representative works discussed include productions by Takahashi, Inada, Mori, Mirikitani, and others. Such works in fine literary expressions reveal the traumas of this experience of innumerable unjust acts at the time of and during the period of incarceration. (This paper is a tribute to Gordan Hirabayashi who refused to obey the Relocation Order in May, 1942.)
- Jim Gray, Indiana University of Pennsylvania. "The Reception of Native Son."

Fifty years ago Native Son permanently changed the writing and study of Afro-American literature. Most of the reviewers had difficulty with the character of Bigger Thomas. Some attacked Bigger (and Wright) virulently and defended the status quo. Wright explained his intentions best in "Blueprint for Negro Literature," "I Bite the Hand That Feeds Me," and "How 'Bigger' Was Born." The response of James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison also criticized the depiction of Bigger Thomas, but these two writers were primarily concerned with establishing the validity of their own work as novelists.

Rennie Simson, SUNY, Morrisville. "The Garies and Their Friends: The Black American Novel Comes of Age." In a critical review of The Garies and Their Friends, emphasis is placed on:

- a. The depiction of the lives of free blacks in the North (Webb's novel was the first novel by a black author to treat this subject). He illustrated several incidents of Northern racism (including a lynch mob) to emphasize that the South did not have a monopoly in racist practices.
- b. A study of what was needed for blacks to survive in the North, namely the necessity to adhere to racial pride and identity rather than an attempt at complete assimilation into the white society.
- c. An analysis of the characters Webb presented to illustrate the intelligence, courage and strength, as well as the weaknesses, of black people. Webb's dark skinned, independent characters are the central figures of the novel and are worthy of admiration and respect. The light skinned black people who try to assimilate into white society are depicted as weak and unsuccessful. This approach contrasts to that of several other early black American authors whose central figures are often light skinned black people.

Webb had the courage to hold the mirror up to the Northern whites who enjoyed wagging their fingers at the "cruel" Southerners. Northern whites who read Webb's novel could hardly look into his mirror and find themselves "fairest of all."

Respondent: Joan Sullivan, Morehouse College.

SESSION IX: "Justice in Higher Education."

Chair: Harriet Ottenheimer, Kansas State University.

James A. Jaramillo, University of Colorado, Boulder. "Hispanic Student Recruitment and Retention at the University of Colorado at Boulder: An Evaluation of each Agency's Effectiveness."

At the University of Colorado at Boulder, I interviewed nine minority recruiting agency representatives, two retention agency representatives, and a sample of the Hispanic student population to assess the strengths and weaknesses of each agency. The informant replies provided me with the problems that students, recruiters and retention agency representatives undergo on campus. The project's main goal was to propose solutions to the problems that minority recruiting organizations and their recruited students reported on their questionnaires.

The questionnaires also sought the recruitment and retention rates for each of the minority recruiting agencies. This data was derived by annually recording and comparing each agency's recruitment and retention figures for the 1978-1988 period. Because this data was quantifiable, I utilized my knowledge of SAS (A Statistical Analysis System) and constructed a broken line graph to compare each agency's performance. I will conduct a follow-up study to ascertain the University's Hispanic student recruitment and retention rates for the academic year of 1989-1990.

Eugene C. Kim, California State University, Sacramento. "Recruitment, Retention, and Successful Completion of Ethnic Minority Candidates for Teaching in Higher Education."

This paper addresses the need for the recruitment, retention and the successful completion of the prospective ethnic minority candidates for teaching positions for higher education in the nation.

Specifically, the presentation proposes ways and means to:

1. attract and mentor ethnic minority candidates to the teaching profession;

- reach out to prospective candidates via personal contact and/or media resources in all levels of higher education institutions, both public and private;
- 3. retain prospective candidates in the respective degree program through personal counseling and advising;
- place prospective candidates as paid teaching/research assistants in their training institutions prior to their graduation;
- 5. inform prospective candidates of the Affirmative Action guidelines for recruitment and hiring practices to enhance ethnic diversity;
- 6. assist the candidates in their job searching in collaboration with Placement Offices of graduating institution and the prospective hiring institution.

Alan Spector, Purdue University, Calumet. "Minority Student Retention in Higher Education: A Case Study of Institutional Obstacles and Meritocratic Myths."

Public attention has been focused on a wave of reported incidents of overt racist harrassment and violent attacks on a number of U.S. college campuses. While it is important to bring these incidents to light and develop strategies to counter them, there are other, less dramatic processes at work on college campuses which also serve to intensify racial discrimination in U.S. society. In the 1960s, the term "institutional discrimination" was widely used to describe policies which had a racially discriminatory effect even as the administrators of those policies denied any racist intent. The focus on overt racism has provided a way for some institutions to avoid dealing with institutionally racist policies; a recognition of those policies and a commitment to change them is essential if colleges are to be serious about opposing racism.

Luz Maciel Villarroel, Western Washington University. "Retention of Minorities and Women."

If higher education's long term planning effort is to be useful and effective, it must include a commitment for the development of a comprehensive approach for addressing a multiplicity of issues related to minorities on campus and in the community. One of the institution's primary goals should be to create or to support a truly pluralistic environment where individuals of diverse background feel accepted as an integrated part of the institution.

A comprehensive minority affairs program is essential in higher education for at least three reasons: First, a fundamental mission of any institution of higher education is to be an agent for significant social change. This can be achieved only if the institution actively purposes complete diversity in the student body, faculty, administration and staff. Second, education in racial and cross-cultural sensitivity regardless of race, religion or background should be an integral component in the institution's curriculum. Beyond providing for such specific training, this educational objective cannot be accomplished in a social, cultural and racial vacuum. Third, on-going demographic change nationwide suggests that the population of potential incoming students will be increasingly comprised of minorities, at least one third. If Western Oregon State College is to compete for these students then it must create an environment, both academic and social, which will appeal to the diverse student population. To adequately address concerns of and for minorities it is my judgement that institutions of higher education must: (a) strengthen and expand the support network for individuals in the university/college community, and (b) continuously pursue improvements which will make the campus and community environment one in which each member of a diverse population feels welcome, comfortable, and nurtured.

Respondent: Betty Jean Valdez, Colorado School of Mines.

In January Ernest L. Boyer, President of The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, gave a speech called "In Search of Community." In the five part speech, the second section dealt with *A Just Community*. Boyer said, "Especially disturbing is the fact that minority students, when they come to campus, often feel a sense of isolation, and racial tensions seem to be increasing, especially at large research and doctoral institutions where sixty-eight percent of the presidents we surveyed said race relations is a problem, the second most serious problem they mention. . . Here then is our conclusion. If the nation's colleges and universities are to be just communities, prejudice in all its forms must be challenged and every college should develop a comprehensive plan to strengthen pluralism, within a community of learning."

The roads to justice in higher education for some are met with roadblocks, detours, and pot holes. In paving the roads to educational opportunity there is also the responsibility of providing conditions that are not more difficult to navigate based on gender, physical ability, culture, age, surname or skin color. Our future and the future of our country is strengthened through the education of its citizens. We need to be vigilant in not allowing the hopes and dreams of generations of young people to be buried in our educational bureaucracy and the glacial movement called "change."

The conflict and struggles of our lives can and will make us stronger and better equipped to handle difficult situations and hard times. Challenge is needed to grow, develop, and learn. No one is asking for lower standards or less challenge. Instead the future should provide students equal opportunities to meet educational challenge.

Simple answers are often wrong. Our panel grappled with the question of justice in higher education and the retention of minority students on our college and university campuses. The panel's insight can help students travel the road to higher education and help us make that road smoother for future students.

Alan Spector presented case studies. His illustrations were helpful because they told a story that needed to be heard and they gave us specific behavior that can be questioned, discussed, and addressed.

Eugene Kim provided a list of successful program models. These models were examples of individuals and institutions who were not satisfied with the rate of change and chose to be proactive in their commitment. In contrast some individuals and institutions do not accept the challenge of effecting change due to the expense and uncertainty of intervention. This is no longer an acceptable stance since there are intervention models that can be adopted/modified with minimal strain on the current resources of our institutions. As Kim points out, "There is an information gap on what is available and working." We need to be willing to investigate and share intervention strategies.

James Jaramillo brings us into the arena of evaluation and monitoring of existing recruitment and retention practices. We need, and our institutions need to be accountable. One of the best ways to evaluate student satisfaction is to ask the students themselves. They not only can assist in identifying problem areas but can initiate change, and often do so in a more timely manner.

Luiz Maciel de Villarroel discussed specific ways to make campus wide change, including: inservice workshops for faculty and staff; revising curricular requirements of all students; hiring minority faculty; changing the institutions so that they are attractive to the minority populations; and appointing nonminority officials to advocate and mediate for change. Her strategies include strengthening and expanding the support network.

In conclusion, each of us can begin to build sections of the just road to higher education by becoming advocates for change through educating ourselves on what can and must be done. Our panel gave us a new focus on road building. Rather than simply accommodating minority students in our higher education institutions, we must construct and build roads to justice with the needs and aspirations of minority students in mind.

SESSION X: "English as Official Language or English Only?"

Chair: Phillips G. Davies, Iowa State University.

Karen L. Adams and James Weinstein, Arizona State University. "Ethnicity, Justice, and the Official English Movement."

The campaigns to pass referenda making English the official language in Arizona, California, Colorado and Florida were replete with charges of racism and counter charges of unfair and misguided campaign tactics. This paper examines the crucial legal issue of whether such laws once in place do indeed create a *de jure* preeminence of one ethnic and racial group over another.

Barbara J. Boesker, Moorhead State University. "The English Only Movement: Social Glue or Xenophobia?"

This research paper focuses on the English-only movement, which is a movement to have English designated as the official language of the nation. Included is a discussion of the changes in ethnicity which the United States is experiencing as well as a brief history of multilingualism in America. The group known as U.S. English, which has led the campaign to designate English as the official language, is examined as well as arguments in favor of such legislation. The status of an English Language Amendment (ELA) to the U.S. Constitution and various state referenda are also discussed. Opposition to the English-only

movement, citizen outcry to the changing language and ethnic patterns of the country, and consequently, racism, are explored.

Luis Torres, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo. "The Proposed English Only Constitutional Amendment: An American Debate."

The national English Only supporters are nearing their goal of having two-thirds of the states pass amendments to their constitutions proclaiming English the official language of the states; such passage will allow the supporters to propose an Official English Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The recent past, the current status, and the proposed future of the movement have far-reaching implications for language minorities, especially in such crucial areas as bilingual education and bilingual ballots. Through understanding and utilizing the intricacies of the Constitutional amendment process, the proposed amendment can and must be defeated.

Respondent: Stephen P. Mumme, Colorado State University.

If there is any doubt that the national English Only movement is not the latest round in an ancient cycle of xenophobia and bigotry, the papers on this panel should lay it to rest. It is clear enough from the papers presented by professors Boseker, Torres, and Adams and Weinstein that thinking Americans should regard the national English Only movement with deep suspicion, its disclaimers and qualifiers as to its motives notwithstanding.

It is worth reflecting on what our panel has told us. First, the national EO movement is on the march, capitalizing on latent--and manifest--fears of minority empowerment. It is a backlash movement, led by a coalition of individuals with profound and disturbing connections to overt xenophobic and exclusionist, even explicitly racist, organizations. Second, it has been successful in appealing to the emotions of American voters, uncritical voters who often fail to understand or appreciate the "hidden agenda" of racial exclusion contained in the softened syntax of proactive integration, assimilation, of English Only (Official English). In fact, the movement has sufficient momentum that unchecked it has a good chance of reaching its goal of a constitutional EO provision. Third, it has thus far managed to peddle its message in a positive, national integrationist, package while explicitly avoiding the kind of viscerally racist terminology that could readily discredit the movement. In this sense, it is a modern response, a sophisticated response to underlying racist imperatives.

Our panel has also shown that the claims of EO proponents lack merit. Is language the integrating glue of American society? This question gets an emphatic "no." Not only does the United States have a rich history of language diversity, but it did at the time of the founding of the republic and even then it was not regarded sufficient to warrant reference in the Constitution. Are contemporary minorities more retarded than earlier waves of immigrants in entering the mainstream of American society, in learning English? No. On the contrary, we may be witnessing some of the most rapid and successful integration processes ever, especially judged in terms of language competency. Do bilingual programs retard integration into the mainstream? Again the answer is no. As professor Boseker notes, there is no really reliable evidence that bilingual programs of any type retard learning English. And there is quite a bit of evidence that suggests it enables the student to better make adjustments, and retain self esteem in the process.

In fact, the EO agenda is an agenda that panders to nativism, xenophobia, bigotry, and parochialism. At a time of global change and global challenge, at a time of demographic change in the United States, it is clearly in our national interest to encourage cultural pluralism, to encourage multilingualism. The EO movement works against both these desirable aims, and violates (as professors Adams and Weinstein aptly argue) some of the most fundamental values of the land, constitutional values, in the process.

Obviously, groups like the National Association for Ethnic Studies carry a large burden in making the case against the well oiled, slick, monied machines of English Only, et al. The arguments made by our panelists are telling and need to be actively disseminated. To these I would stress several other points, based on my own background as a political scientist interested in comparative politics.

First, I would ask our panelists to direct their attention to much of the large and growing literature on cultural pluralism to bolster their arguments against English Only. Research on ethnic pluralism abroad provides substantial evidence that language, as a single variable, does not carry with it the results purported by EO spokesmen. Language diversity does not lead inexorably towards civil unrest. When and if language is a factor in group mobilization in politics it is invariably only one of a large number of conditions leading to group solidarity. By itself it means nothing. Our own national experience, in fact, Boseker shows, actually bears that out. But placing the U.S. situation in comparative relief is valuable, especially since EO proponents are fond of making improper and unsubstantiated analogies to Quebec, Africa, and these days, the Soviet republics. The cultural pluralism literature shows that cultural identities tend to become activated only where they are used to exclude or discriminate against others. That, of course, is what the EO agenda will accomplish, in fact, if successful. What they really mean to do is use the language issue as a condensation symbol to obscure the multiple sources of social conflict, rooted in inequality and injustice.

Second, I would encourage our panelists and other opponents of the EO agenda to emphasize the historic importance of cultural pluralism in the United States, and its essential grounding in our constitutional framework. As Torres aptly and rightly observes, the basic tendency in constitutional development in the United States is towards expanding, rather than restricting, individual liberties. Even if judged as a desirable goal, assimilation as such has no real constitutional standing. The EO agenda would change that.

Third, it needs to be stressed that demographic change is in the offing, but that such change is in the national interest as it has often been in the past. We are facing major shortfalls in our labor markets, in our fund of intellectual capital. Immigrants and minority groups are our promise of coping with these basic structural problems. The material costs of failing to make adjustments--learning English, for example--are such that few groups and individuals will foreswear them in the long haul. In the meantime, the accommodation of diversity is critical to our national success.

Fourth, and last, I would echo Boseker's objection to the claim that English is somehow under assault, or in peril. Resisting the cultural imperialism of the English speaking world has been a major concern of most third world nations since the global community assumed its modern organizational form. One only has to travel abroad, to Mexico City, to understand the pervasiveness of English as a cultural form. In an important sense, perhaps one that an internationalist and comparativist would best understand, the EO folks have the problem exactly backwards; English is on the march, and English is actively penetrating the global community. Its institutional standing for the rest of this century and the next is not in doubt. The marginal economic and social advantages, however, will accrue to those of us who are fluent in more than one language. And that is anathema to EO, whose proponents fundamentally fear minority participation and empowerment.

SESSION XI: "Race, Ethnicity and Equality Before the Law."

Chair: Catherine Udall, Arizona State University.

David Hood, Norwich University, and Jon R. Harlan, Pullman, Washington. "Ethnic Disparities in Sentencing and the Washington Sentencing Reform Act: The Case of Yakima County."

This study examines the impact of the Washington Sentencing Reform Act (SRA) on sentencing disparity. The purpose of the statute, among others, was to establish equal punishment for equal crimes, i.e., impose similar punishment for the same offenses. Thus, the SRA was to reduce the potential for ethnic/racial bias in the criminal justice system. We investigate the SRA's success in achieving this objective in Yakima County, comparing sentencing among Hispanics, Native Americans, and whites who have been convicted of a particular class of crimes labeled "violent."

Noel Kent, University of Hawaii at Manoa. "Minorities, Social Justice, and the New American Political Economy."

Since the early 1970s, a restructuring of the political economy of the United States has occurred under the impress of global economic corporatism. In the political realm, the Reagan period has seen a partial dismantling of public services and protections for lower income Americans. Major American corporations acting within a sympathetic political environment, abandoned the social contract with organized labor, and effectively constructed a new hierarchical labor market on a global scale. This has been accompanied by a dramatic shift from goods production to services employment and a changed opportunity structure for young entrants into the labor force. Ultimately, the new U.S. political-economy has functioned to intensify and to further rigidify ethnic stratification. Because of their location in the class ethnic hierarchy, blacks and Hispanics have been especially and negatively affected by the new political-economy. Deeply-rooted racist patterns of employment, education and housing have exacerbated this.

Respondent: P. Rudy Mattai, SUNY College, Buffalo.

SESSION XII: Language, Tradition, and Ethnic Identity, Part I." Chair: James Williams, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. Silvestre J. Brito, Universidad de Colima. "Raza or the Cosmic Race."

The purpose of this presentation is to better understand the socio-political use of the term Raza by both the Chicanos in the U.S.A. and the Mexicans in old Mexico. It can be postulated that the use of this term creates a paradoxical state of affairs for both communities. On the one hand, it serves as a socio-cultural umbrella to ideally unite the Chicanos as well as serving as a unifying unit in old Mexico, the national unity of one people. On the other hand the use of this term tends to fall short of representing significant points of a personal state, as a form of individual or group identity and world views of a minority in both of the above cited countries. This study then, attempts to identify and explain the basic factors which create this paradoxical state of socio-cultural relations within the U.S.A. and old Mexico.

Brij B. Khare, California State University, San Bernardino. "Asian-Americans in California: The Case of South Asians."

According to one estimate, there are more than ten million people of Asian Indian origin living in different parts of the world. More than a million are now in North America. A large number of these were brought as indentured laborers by their British masters and other European colonials beginning in the first part of the nineteenth century. In recent times most of the emigrants have been either the displaced persons from Africa or the students and professionals who tend to be somewhat resourceful, diligent, and singularly concerned with their success and survival in a new and alien land.

The early migrations of South Asians are fascinating because of the distance, coming from the other side of the globe, having a totally different cultural background, and creating ingenious devices to prosper against all odds. South Asians were still coming to California in the second decade of the twentieth century when the situation for Asian immigrants was unpleasant because of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement that drastically curtailed Japanese entry into the U.S. What attracted these Asian Indians? How did they survive in this unfriendly Anglo-dominated society? What social and cultural innovations did they adopt to create a new pattern of life?

The early arrivals from South Asia were farmers from Northwest British India. They saw a similarity in agriculture, including the weather, and they wanted to farm here. Since they could not own land, they developed business partnerships with friendly Anglo landowners, lawyers, and even the bankers. They had no family. About the same time large numbers of Mexicans moved into California from Mexico and Texas. The agriculture brought the Asian Indians and Mexicans together. Often the Mexican families had unmarried girls who married Asian Indians. They lived along the dirt roads and canals of Imperial County in Southern California. These couples and the children they had were known as "Mexican-Hindus." By the end of the 1930s there were at least five hundred such families in the area. Some interesting questions arise out of this cross-cultural union. Who socialized the children? Were they Mexicans first or Indians first? How were they treated in schools? How did they do in schools? In jobs? How did society treat them?

Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, SUNY, Cortland. "Spanish Colonial Justice, Indians and Water: The Example of Puebla."

Scholars have analyzed in great detail the Spanish legal concepts of justice within the colonial situation but rarely examine how judicial doctrines affected indigenous peoples in their everyday lives. Access to water is an inevitable necessity and one which was affected by the involvement of Iberian farmers in areas previously cultivated intensively by Indians. In Spanish America, hydraulic law gave the indigenous peoples an initial advantage in access to water through the doctrine of prior use. Yet, by the end of the colonial period, few Indian communities still held unimpeded rights to the rivers and streams that they used traditionally. This paper examines the judicial doctrines which governed water rights, the processes by which the Indian peoples of Puebla lost their control of water resources, and finally, the effects of this loss for the Indian communities of the region.

Respondent: David A. Crocker, Colorado State University.

Justice, whether a matter of ethics, laws, and institutions, concerns who gets what. More precisely, justice deals with the distribution of burdens and benefits within and among communities. Injustice is all too common in our world: the goods and bads of communal life are often unfairly allocated. The few get more benefits--sometimes much more--than they should have; the many usually get fewer benefits and more burdens than they deserve. Ethics, as a normative discipline, tries to formulate principles of justice and injustice. The law, often influenced by ethical ideas, has its own principles for determining fair and unfair distributions.

Ethnic identity is connected to the issue of justice in multiple ways. Most obviously, ethnic identity has often been used as the basis for unjust allocation of burdens and benefits. As Sonya Lipsett-Rivera shows in her informative paper, Mexico's Poblano Indians were often treated unjustly with respect to their ability to exercise or defend the legal water rights they had been accorded by Spanish law. Spanish colonialists deprived Indian villages and individuals of their rights. Being Indian (as well as being poor) was thought sufficient to treat this category of persons as less than full rights bearers. The sixteenth century Spanish legal code was surprisingly relevant to the protection of indigenous water rights. The Islamic influence in Spanish jurisprudence granted communities, and not just individuals, rights to water on the basis of the antiquity and an uncontested character of their possession. Consequently, Indian villages could and did appeal to the conquistadores' own legal code to defend their access to water. For who had better claim to prior possession than the Indians. Indians were not passive recipients of the extralegal injustice of those conquistadores who violated the law. The Indians also used the judicial system to defend themselves and survive. Khare also mentions that early South Asian immigrants to the U.S. created "ingenious devices to survive and prosper against all odds." Unfortunately, both legal and extralegal cards became stacked against the Indians. This became increasingly true when the reduction of the Indian population through epidemics enabled the colonialist to (legally) gain some water rights. Moreover, colonialists stole or destroyed Indian deeds. The colonials also managed to deflect Indian outrage from its proper target and get the Indian villages to fight amongst themselves for scarce water. Divide and conquer. Given these historical injustices described by Lipsett-Rivera, it would be interesting to ask whether there are (or should be) any recent Mexican efforts to compensate Indians for earlier abuses. Compensatory justice requires that communities rectify past wrongs just as distributive justice demands that they fairly allocate benefits and burdens.

Ethnic identity also becomes a moral (in the widest sense) issue in that any group is continually engaged in the process of deciding who they are and what counts as being an insider and an outsider to the group. Khare helpfully portrays the recent explosion of various kinds of Asian immigrants to the United States. They not only bring their bags but their Asian beliefs, values, and practices. In the Mexican-Hindu families of California, one Mexican stream flows together with one South Asian stream. And these two streams are themselves composed of various and changing currents. The Mexican-American current in California differs from the old Mexican current in Mexico, itself a unity of Spanish and various indigenous streams. (We have already seen how the sixteenth century Spanish identity was an amalgam of Iberian and Islamic influences.) Brito explores how the one concept of "la raza" has enabled both Mexican-Americans and old Mexicans to form their self-identity. In the former case the concept links Chicanos to Mexico and in the latter case it contributes to Mexican nationality. In all these cases we see communities having to answer a question that other creatures in social evolution have created for them: How should we integrate our past culture with the new culture in which we find ourselves? What does it mean for one group to "do better" (Khare) in a new (or changed) social context? Two answers seem ethically problematic if not factually impossible: (1) Communities can turn their backs on the new culture and try to maintain their old culture or return to a "pure" past (which was itself an amalgam). "Doing better" means more effectively holding on to the past. If this is even possible, it is undesirable as an absolute. For it prevents the transplanted to take up and incorporate good ideas from their new environment. (2) Transplanted (or old) communities can sink their roots so deeply in the new soil that they lose the enduring values of their traditions and/or uncritically take on the bad as well as the good of their surrounding culture. here "doing better" means assimilation and adaptation to the new environment. The challenge for every community, seen most dramatically in immigrant or conquered communities, is to ask who we are and want to be. The best answers will be those that maximize the good and minimize the bad in both the old and the new.

Justice and ethnic identity come together in a final way. It is ethically important that the identities which communities forge are constrained by distributive and compensatory justice both within their own bounds and with other communities.

SESSION XIII: "Language, Tradition, and Ethnic Identity, Part 2."

Chair: Larry Estrada, Western Washington University.

David M. Gradwohl, Iowa State University, and Hanna R. Gradwohl, Iowa Area XI Education Agency.

Following World War II, many Latvians fled their homeland on the Baltic Sea. Among the Latvian "Displaced Persons" was a contingent who settled in Lincoln, Nebraska, where--during the early 1950s--they established two churches, a newspaper, a youth group, and other communal organizations based on their common national heritage. Ethnicity is also expressed in mortuary behavior. Most deceased Latvian-Americans have been buried in Wyuka, Lincoln's largest cemetery; some burials have occurred at Fairview Cemetery and Lincoln Memorial Park. During the summer of 1989, we conducted a preliminary survey of Lincoln's Latvian-American gravestones. Assisting us in an interdisciplinary approach were Herbert and Elsie Thomas, respectively an artist and a library archivist, who were born in Latvia and came to Lincoln as refugees in 1952. Of particular interest on the gravestones are Latvian epitaphs, references to place of birth, and folk art motifs. The particularistic Latvian designs have origins in Iron Age contexts and continue as familiar embellishments on jewelry, textiles, ceramics, paintings, and wood carvings. Folk art motifs with ancient religious connotations include the Sun, Morning Star, Tree of Light, and Goddess of Destiny. In Lincoln, the epitaphs and designs on Latvian-American gravestones represent significant material manifestations of on-going ethnic identity.

Akbarali Thobhani, Metropolitan State University. "Reservations in South Africa and the United States, A Comparison."

This presentation examines the comparative history of the development of reservation systems in the United States and South Africa by exploring the relevant legislation, rationale, territorial divisions, relocation of population groups, and economic conditions in the reservations.

Johnny Washington, Florida Atlantic University. "What is in a Name: "African,' 'Afro-American,' or 'Negro'?"

Respondent: Deborah Martinez Martinez, University of Southern Colorado.

Ethnic identity is the pervasive theme which binds together not only these three presentations but also the people and nations they explore. Despite their diversity, Thobhani's comparison of United States Indian reservations and South African Homelands, Washington's discussion of the terms "Black" and "African American," and Gradwohl's survey of Latvian-American grave markers, these papers have cut to the core of ethnic identity. In their diversity, this grouping of presentations may yet prove to point out the urgent need for further discussion about ethnic identity and its impact on self identity and national identity. These scholars have demonstrated that the challenge for American society, beginning with academia, is to integrate the American love/hate relationship with ethnic identity into the very fabric of our institutions.

At the center of any discussion on ethnic identity is the issue of self image and self chosen labels that reflect pride or shame, that reflect a winner or a loser, a survivor or a victim. It may be an over-simplification of the discussion theme, but pride or shame will ultimately determine an individual's accomplishments and his or her contributions to the society as a whole.

Washington asserts that a people constantly undergo ethnic transformations. His assertion may be powerful and disdainful at the same time; after all, it is difficult to study ethnic identity knowing that it's changing even as we discover its implications and terminology. For example, by the time the Southwestern United States has accepted using the term "Black" in all references, those on the coast are gaining wide acceptance for the term "African American." This constant change is particularly important to consider when scholars review the ways in which a people ascribe meaning to terms or symbols as the Gradwohls' work expresses.

Thobhani also relates that the terminology ascribed to a people, the blacks of South Africa, is important in political posturing. It is interesting to note that he uses the term "blacks" as opposed to "South African" or "Black South African" when referring to the people of the South African Homelands.

Cultures are constantly and uncomfortably undergoing change as Washington, quoting the philosopher Locke, repeatedly states. Change is part of the human condition and should be accepted as such, he asserts. however, our American culture is experiencing a significant difficulty with such acceptance of change as a commonality of the human experience and this difficulty affects the struggle to isolate "ethnic identity" as "yours, mine or ours."

Gradwohl demonstrates that ethnic identity is manifested in many ways in daily life and death as with the grave markers in this Latvian-American community's cemeteries. These people, the "displaced persons," chose to retain cultural identity through their lives and to their final resting places. These designs reflect light and life and a positive self-image.

Washington states that the African American is now *choosing* to retain cultural identity with Africa. The key word is "choosing.". He notes that other terms of ethnic identity were given, and indeed were forced upon the people of color in the United States.

In conclusion, we may note that these scholars assert that the tag, the label, is a matter of comparison, of change, and of ongoing research. Research has yet to be definitive about the human need to communicate with others and self through the use of ethnic identifiers. Scientists have yet to present their analysis about what happens to people when they lose or forfeit their ethnic identity. Indeed, can the loss be measured?

SESSION XIV: "Western Washington University Minority Achievement Program."

Chair: Gretchen M. Bataille, Arizona State University.

Presenters: Maurice Bryan, Jr., Ronald Martinez, and Saundra Taylor, Western Washington University.

In January of 1987, Western Washington University launched a new program to more systematically recruit, retain, and graduate ethnic minority students. The program is called the Minority Achievement Program (MAP) and has the following goals:

1. to increase the enrollment of Afro-American, Asian American, Hispanic/Latin American, Native American students to the University from 4.5% to 13% of the student enrollment;

- 2. to increase scholarship and financial aid support;
- 3. to provide faculty and peer mentor support;
- 4. to increase availability of academic advising services.

A Presidential Task Force was commissioned to design and implement this program. Three of the members of this Task Force analyze the outcome of two and one-half years of operation of the programs.

SESSION XV: "Intercultural Issues in Education."

Chair: David M. Gradwohl, Iowa State University.

Gretchen M. Bataille, Arizona State University. "Intercultural Communication on an International Project."

For almost one year now students at Arizona State University have been working together to translate computer educational materials from Tandem Computers, Inc. into French, German, Spanish, Korean, Chinese, and Japanese. Because of the nature of the task, the students selected to work on the project must be bilingual. Most of them are foreign students who have come to study at Arizona State University. During the fall of 1989, twenty-eight students from twelve different countries were participating in the project. Only three of the students are American citizens. The principle investigators, the project director, and the secretary to the project are all white Americans. The project has provided a mini-laboratory to study interaction among different cultural groups and interaction between students and the project staff. This paper presents examples of specific incidents which have occurred during the project. Some of the examples demonstrate linguistic differences; others are clearly representative of different cultural expectations. Strategies for lessening tensions created by cultural differences will be presented as part of the paper. These examples and strategies are not limited to international students, however. Racial and ethnic tensions in educational settings in America continue to exist, and these examples might provide some new solutions to on-going problems.

Terry Huffman, Northern State University. "Prairie, Perceptions and Prejudice: Campus Racism and the Northern Plains Indian."

This paper is a discussion of campus racism and the educational experience of Northern Plains Native American college students. The conclusions are part of an on-going research project on the subjective perceptions of Native Americans on their college experience. The paper addresses: the extent and nature of racial prejudice, the perception of prejudice versus the overt expression of racism, and the consequences of racial prejudice.

Glen M. Kraig, California State University, San Bernardino. "A Study Comparing the Differences in the Levels of Achievement of Tenth Grade Anglo and Hispanic Students in One- and Two-Parent Homes."

The problem of this study was to determine if significant differences exist between the degree of academic achievement of tenth grade students who currently reside in one parent/guardian homes as compared to those who reside in two parent/guardian homes when students are grouped by sex, total family income, and ethnicity. Subproblems were to determine if significant differences in academic achievement exist within the various groups consisting of the students in the single parent/guardian group and the two parent/guardian group dependent upon the ethnic identity of the student and if significant differences in academic achievement exist within the various groups consisting of the students in the single parent/guardian group and the two parent/guardian group dependent upon the ethnic student.

Respondent: Alfonso Rodriguez, University of Northern Colorado.

After enumerating some of the difficulties encountered in the project, Bataille concludes that in spite of the linguistic and cultural diversity positive communication was achieved within the test group. This was possible because of the common goal the students shared, namely, the translation of the same materials and the relationships they fostered among themselves outside the work environment.

Since these graduate students were involved in a project of such magnitude and far-reaching implications, one of the most relevant questions to pose is with regard to their credentials to work in such a project. The first concern that comes to the reader's mind is the area of specialization of these students. Were they all students of language and linguistics? Had they studied, or were they studying, their native language formally? Because of the nature of their work they had to be bilingual, but there are degrees of bilinguality. Most bilingual people tend to be partially bilingual, with dominance in one or the other language, depending on formal training and experience. Therefore, were certain procedures set up for selecting the best student translators? If so, what were they?

Another concern has to do with the translation skills of the students. Since translation is not only a skill but an art, this type of undertaking is extremely delicate. The fact that a person is fully bilingual does not necessarily mean that he or she is a competent translator. Finetuning translation skills takes a great deal of time, perseverance and practice. Only then can one succeed in minimizing the translation difficulties that seem insurmountable.

Other questions that came to my mind on several occasions during the reading of the paper were: Who are the supervisors and assistant supervisors? Are they also graduate students or are they instructors? Have they achieved the level of bilinguality that has equipped them for such a task? Also, what exactly was their role in fostering good intercultural communication among the members of the group?

Bataille observes that "this test group does not fit the paradigm of much of the research focusing on cultural differences and interpersonal communication." Are we to conclude, then, that the obstacles to communication and the successes attained by the group are not representative of a larger reality? Is it safe to assume that it is much easier to achieve intercultural communication among individuals within a university setting since one of the goals of being educated is to endeavor to understand and appreciate other cultures?

Of the three papers in this session Huffman's is the one that touches most directly the theme of justice in education. His approach and methodology are very well defined and his conclusions are very clear.

It is absolutely true that racism against Native Americans has received very little national attention. Over the years they have been, and still are, "an invisible minority," like the Chicanos were only a quarter of a century ago. Unfortunately, the Native American movement of the sixties and seventies lacked the force and the unity of the Chicano and Black movements. But, of course there are historical and other reasons for that phenomenon. Ironically, it would seem that the plight of Native Americans would receive more attention and the people more sympathy and support from American institutions if they were immigrants rather than citizens. This is not to say that immigrants from Third World countries are treated well in the U.S.

Racism directed against Native Americans, as was pointed out in the paper, is more subtle and lacks the violence and sensation associated with racism against other minorities. At times, it is simply described by means of euphemisms such as "cultural conflict" or "lack of social adaptation" which is nothing more than the age-old strategy of blaming the victim. Huffman's paper is very clear about the negative consequences of racism on campus against the Native American students. In light of his findings some very relevant questions must be posed: (1) Will Native Americans in higher education be able to overcome racism despite its stifling effects? (2) Will research projects such as this one have an impact on governing boards and administrations of institutions in higher education? (3) Will the making of new policies and the revamping of curricula prove to be effective means to stimulate in non Native American students an attitude of respect and mutual cooperation? All these goals are within the realm of the possible, and they are being put to the test in different places. That is, research on these kinds of issues is being placed at the service of social and educational change, because in a pluralistic society like ours this is a necessary and worthy endeavor.

The most important assertion that can be made from Kraig's study is that the determining factor in the academic success, or lack of it, among the students participating in the project at Fontana City High School is their socioeconomic condition. That is, the higher the income attained in each family, the greater the success of the child in school. If this assertion could be substantiated in a broader context through research, then perhaps the real relationship that exists between

poverty and justice in public education could be revealed more clearly. Or to put it in the form of a question: To what extent does poverty engender academic failure?

As I read Kraig's paper several questions arose in my mind, questions that, given the time and space constraints, could not be included. For example, was the group of Hispanic participants homogeneous or heterogeneous in terms of the students' degree of ethnic awareness and their experience of acculturation and assimilation into the larger society? Do they come from traditional families or from families that have adopted the values of the mainstream culture? What is the percentage of Hispanic students in relation to the total school population? In general, are relations between Anglos and Hispanics cordial or hostile within the school setting and out in the community? It seems to me that one of the merits of this type of research is that as certain questions are answered other questions inevitably arise that could be resolved through further research.

However, as far as this paper is concerned, perhaps some statistics could have been included for the sake of more precision and further clarification and interpretation of results, statistics relative to the total number of participants, and to the number of participants in each group, as well as the average income of each group. On the positive side, the paper contains an excellent review of the research that has been done by experts on the interrelatedness of one-parent home environment, socioeconomic status, ethnicity and academic performance in children and young people.

SESSION XVI: "The Australian Aboriginal Experience."

Chair: Emmanuel S. Nelson, SUNY, Cortland.

Arlene Elder, University of Cincinnati. "Self, Other, and Post-Historical Identity in Three Plays by Jack Davis."

The plays of Aborigine poet, actor, and playwright, Jack Davis, powerfully express the consequences for his people of the contrasting temporal periods he has defined as "history and neo-history. Before the coming of the white man and after the coming of the white man."¹ In this sense, it is by our concentrating not upon particular events or policies of the period of British exploration and conquest in Australia, but by our recognition of the clash between Self and Other, according to Jack Davis, that we can best understand that colonization. The Self and Other conflict represents two opposing concepts of human worth, one based upon the Aborigines' experience of the realities of their history and of colonialism. one upon the European assumptions leading to the invasion. Also of importance to Davis is the existence and development of conflicting psycho/temporal periods of Aboriginal history, European neo-history, and what I would like to call Aboriginal post-history. The complexity of imperialism demonstrates that the colonizer and the colonized live in the same time periods chronologically but in vastly different psychological realms. It is the oppressor's purpose to transform the selfvalorizing realm of the suppressed into his own region of neo-history, and it is to exploring this psycho/political aspect of colonization that Jack Davis's plays, The Dreamers (1972), Kullark (1979), and No Sugar (1985) are devoted.

It is a tribute to the playwright's artistry that he utilizes the Self/Other dichotomy not only as a theme but manipulates this concept in a compelling aesthetic way by juxtaposing contrasting *formal* elements representative of the two opposing Australian cultures. In the face of officially-sanctioned genocide, whether by annihilation or assimilation, Davis's plays attempt to reinvigorate the culture of Aborigines' historical past in much the same way that their traditional pictographs served as mnemonic devices for bringing to the mind of the initiated various events in the stories of spirit beings whose actions were often reenacted, as well, in ritual and dance. Art is never anachronistic, and Jack Davis's plays may be contextualized as a contribution to the growing body of Aboriginal art drawing upon what remains of the orature of Aboriginal history in an attempt to educate audiences into the reality of that culture. Their intent is to transform the post-historical denigration of Aboriginal identity into the renaissance of a powerful sense of self. ¹Shoemaker, Adam, "An Interview with Jack Davis," Westerly 4 (December, 1982):114.

Christine Morris, University of Queensland. "Oral Traditions Under Threat: The Black Australian Experience."

The "Black Australian Experience" addresses the encroachment of the written tradition upon the oral tradition of the Australian Aborigine. I put forward the argument that I see this move as a step toward another form of colonialism and the eventual extinction of a living culture. Within this argument I elucidate the special relationship between Aborigines and the land and how they see themselves as being "of" the land rather than living "on" the land. It is this special relationship I see as the axiom of the environmental harmony that has persisted in Australia since time began.

Emmanuel S. Nelson, SUNY, Cortland. "Aboriginal Autobiographies as Oppositional Australian Histories."

Autobiographical discourses are not only recollective narrative statements but they are also modes of interrogating history. Their quasi-documentary realism and semi-ethnographic character allow them to function as alternative, sometimes subversive, histories. They are, therefore, especially valuable texts when produced in colonized, historically silenced cultures. A close analysis of representative Aboriginal autobiographies reveals an oppositional version of Australian history--a version that poignantly and powerfully challenges the imperialist assumptions of white Australian historical discourses.

Craig Tapping, University of British Columbia. "Memory as Difference in Aboriginal Fiction: Literary Reflections of Orality in Colin Johnson's Doctor Wooreddy's Prescription."

This paper introduces an analysis of those aspects of the text which reveal Johnson's attempt to translate the range of conventions and breadth of *Enduring* the Ending of the World. Such "tracks" of an oral tradition and ancient, though neglected culture, chart one possible route into literacy, and out of the silenced past.

"De"construction, as practiced by theorists who are seldom on the margins, or in the fringes as it were, merely repeats the casual privileging of one kind of discourse. In contrast, this paper attempts to introduce a methodological practice which would allow us to begin to perceive the "re"construction of marginal discourses--the emergent "literary" traditions of fringe-dweller or Aboriginal cultures--through the appropriation of the tropes of dominant culture's "high" art and theory.

Such writing is the discursive practice of decolonization--the refutation of a language system which refers to an "actual" world where social, economic, racial and gender practices oppress those for whom this is at least a second, and historically imposed, language--and is thus directly political: a feature of new literatures which challenge the institution of literary studies itself.

Finally, the novel is read against contemporary models of orality, presenting the "other," and reading the land. The presentation suggests grounds for the comparative study of similar writings by other, formerly silenced native peoples.