

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY IN THE CLASSROOM

Second Edition

Compiled and Edited by

Peter Kaufman
SUNY New Paltz



1307 New York Avenue, NW Suite 700
Washington, DC 20005
www.asanet.org
(202) 383-9005

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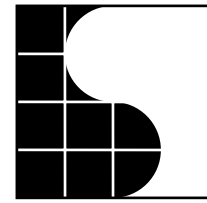
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The ASA's Academic and Professional Affairs Program thanks Maxine Atkinson and Theodore C. Wagenaar for serving as reviewers of this volume.

From Smorgasbord Pedagogy to Critical Pedagogy: Rethinking How we Teach About Race

Stephen Phillion and Linda Mhando
St. Cloud State University

It would be hard to deny that positive changes have occurred in the teaching of race these past two decades. Attention to issues of power and experience has enabled educators to go beyond the narrow framework of assimilation or deviance that once encumbered this area. The Civil Rights Movement pushed educators to take more seriously the critical role of racism as a means of domination in modern capitalism. The result was a new attention to social movements across racial and ethnic boundaries, with a focus on specific experiences and modes of resistance.

Nonetheless, while this positive trend has given ‘voice’ to the grassroots in ways that were not possible in the heyday of pre-Civil Rights Movement sociology, shortcomings to the methods used to teach race remain. Most prominent of these fault lines is an approach that is now prevalent in the field: “Smorgasbordism.” We believe that smorgasbordism tends to fall short in terms of providing knowledge about the historical origins of racism and has little to contribute to the capacity to develop *movement strategy*. After first clarifying how such flaws manifest themselves and why it matters, we will suggest an alternative approach to the smorgasbord approach to teaching race that is both history centered *and* provides students with the tools to analyze activism strategies.

Smorgasbord

What we call the smorgasbord [others have called it the ‘Baskin Robbins 31 flavors’] approach finds itself everywhere in the sociological texts on race.¹ As the appellation would suggest, this orientation seeks to raise students’ ‘consciousness’ of the multifold ways race and racism are experienced by racism’s victims.² The Smorgasbord approach also emphasizes the multiple forms of cultural, linguistic, economic and sundry systems of oppression in addition to racism that contribute to the reproduction of inequality. Texts will then follow a standard approach, a canon of sorts. A short introduction shows that race and other categories that divide humans are socially constructed, a product of social choices as opposed to inevitable phenomena. A brief historical section might accompany this showing how ideas about race and racial superiority have contributed to inequality in America and the world generally since the advent of early European Colonialism. This will typically link hierarchy and numerous distinct systems of oppression, with a chapter or two featuring how multifarious types of privilege are created and sustained in everyday social interaction. Several sections then clarify how race is experienced along with ethnic forms of discrimination that develop the concept of *identity* and *difference*. Sections follow that treat how diverse groups within specific race and ethnic categories experience multiple forms of oppression (e.g. gender, sexuality, disability, poverty, etc.).³ A concluding section will

tie together the different oppressions and make a moralistic clarion call for educating oneself and others about their role in reproducing racism and all the 'isms' that contribute to oppression.

Smorgasbordism's Limits

Although Smorgasbordism expands the terrain that is explored when teaching race, with its stress on recognizing the manifold experiences of racism, it also leads to confusion as to their sources. The reason is fairly straightforward; in order to understand the roots of racism in American society and globally, it's necessary to place a greater emphasis on the oppression of particular groups at the expense of others. The smorgasbord approach provides no theoretical roadmap for which experiences with racism were more critical in demarcating the boundaries of racism historically⁴.

Furthermore, this approach, even in its seemingly radical versions, takes for granted the focal role of individual social attitudes in explaining racism's starting point and its resolutions⁵. The emphasis on recognizing one's role in benefiting from racism is a leitmotif in textbooks. However, especially since there is a rejection of hierarchies of any sort, it is impossible to establish hierarchies of responsibility.

Furthermore, this approach, even in its seemingly radical versions, takes for granted the focal role of individual social attitudes in explaining racism's starting point and its resolutions⁵. The emphasis on recognizing one's role in benefiting from racism is a leitmotif in textbooks. However, especially since there is a rejection of hierarchies of any sort, it is impossible to establish hierarchies of responsibility. The result is a kind of finger pointing that cannot discern between a working class white college student at a public university who enjoys this or that element of white privilege and a Bill Gates. The latter's white privilege, of course, encompasses the power to influence politicians who make decisions on budget policies that affect directly the capacity of millions of inner city minorities (and poor whites) to escape poverty.

For all the critiques of unequal power relations that a smorgasbordist makes, many quite eloquently, they too often lack a carefully thought out explanation for how those differences in responsibilities arose historically or how they might affect strategies for organizing to make the kinds of social structural change needed to end racial inequality under capitalism.

A Historical Social Activist Strategy Approach to Teaching Racial Inequality

What follows is an alternative approach to teaching racial inequality that emphasizes the connection between history and contemporary social movement strategies. The connection is made by making the vantage of civil rights movement organizers the *key lens* through which debates on race are understood. This we try to accomplish in two ways: 1) by taking seriously the question of the relationship between how racial inequality is historically linked to economic inequality in a capitalist society and 2) how racial inequality is challenged or reinforced by different strategies that

social movements pursue. We will highlight how texts such as Albert Memmi's (1999)⁶ *Racism*, Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1965)⁷ and Michael Goldfield's (1997) *The Color of Politics*⁸ can be engaged to promote a historical approach as an alternative to smorgasbordism. We conclude by looking at how case-based discussions of contemporary social movement *strategy* have been used in our classes to elucidate the relevance of historical theories developed in the creation of the Civil Rights and anti-Colonial Movement battles.

Teaching the history of colonialism, capitalism, and racism

Discussions about race cannot be complete without a socio-historical perspective of race relations under capitalism. The smorgasbord approach has overlooked the importance of historical linkages in the temporal study of racism. The greatest contribution of Albert Memmi's (1999)⁹ *Racism* in this regard, has been his careful emphasis on broader link between the theories of scientific racism and how the debates on race are understood. He traces back from the *colonial era* to the *post-colonial era* (Imperialism), highlighting the impact of global inequality on what he calls "*raciology*" (all forms of domination based on real or imaginary somatic, cultural, or religious differences between groups).

Memmi poignantly questions the historical legitimacy of the term "race." He instead reminds students that historically the term was used to refer to animal breeding. Moreover, students also need to understand that human life is far from static; human groups have undergone continual modification--even within family lines. Memmi insists that the idea of "*purity is either a metaphor, a prayer or a fantasy.*" The dispossession that occurs in the process of developing raciologies is invariably social and occurs at the collective level to be systematized. When students comprehend the historic conditions that give rise to this process, they gain clarity and understanding about racism that moves us beyond individual prejudice to engage the broader questions of collective behavior and social responses that have shaped social movements against racial inequality under capitalism. This approach is quite different from smorgasbordism. Such systemic levels of analysis are what are most often missing in the smorgasbordist framework.

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Attention to social movements of the 'subaltern' was stressed by Franz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*.¹⁰ Fanon's work devoted much attention to articulating the struggle against economic inequality, using the (FLN) in Algeria, the *Maumau* movement in Kenya, the *Negritude* philosophy and other movements for independence in Ghana and other parts of Africa as models.¹¹ This he developed in tandem with his Manichean theory (*good v. evil*) to portray the waves of repression and endless antagonism that arise between the new 'revolutionary' bourgeoisie and the colonized masses.

Fanon's attention to the dynamics of capitalist development and the new forms of imperial domination in the 'American century' is often overlooked. His attention to identity appears far more popular in race syllabi. However, Fanon seeks, as do we, to develop an awareness of these historical moments and how they parallel what continues in the present moment of global capitalism and neo-liberalism mania. This is fundamental to grasping why 'nationalist' regimes in the 'post-colonial' period rubber stamp racial inequality and economic disfranchisement, their militant fervor notwithstanding. Here students will grasp the ways in which the new ruling class continues to mimic the colonial masters as the worlds' largest fortunes come to be based on new forms of poverty and dislocation, which are engendered by the expansion of sweatshops and labor intensive industries, plantations, and diamond mines as 'free trade' reaches farther than ever imaginable.¹²

Our awareness of the historical has freed us from looking at history as a static moment, in order to move students to appreciate the historical processes and nuances of racial and ethnic relationships in their country. Post-colonial theory suggests that we are hardly in a *postcolonial* moment yet. Fanon lucidly warned us that the official apparatus of postcolonial moment might have been removed, but the political, economic, and cultural links established by colonial domination still remain under different guises. Students need to know that recent events, e.g., genocide in Rwanda, massacre in Darfur, crisis in Ivory Coast, and the collapse of democracy in the so called "third world" suggest that the blood hate in these geo-spaces form an organized link to validate an ethno-racial concept whose hallmark is corruption, "tribal" war, and social injustices carried out by exclusionist and xenophobic governments.¹³ . Without a clear understanding of the dynamics of capitalist

development nationally and globally, students are left unable to explain the contradictory consequences of decolonization and their implications for the preservation of racial inequality in this age of 'globalization'¹⁴. Put slightly differently, the static or singular emphasis on improving relations between 'diverse' groups might be the new ideology of 'globalization.'

Throwing into relief race strategies and consequences for the American working poor

Bringing our analysis down a notch to the national experience, we have found that the smorgasbord approach obscures the banal reality that racial inequality invariably requires class based solutions. These, in turn, call for greater emphasis on the impact racism has on those least in possession of economic and political power. It is impossible then to account for racial inequality without doing the same for capitalist inequality. Smorgasbordism does not enable students to gain clarity on the reasons why the American civil rights movement, as a social movement, rejected a non-class based approach to organization. In other words, students need to understand why the successes of the Civil Rights movement were based on strategies that did not view all experiences with racial oppression as always equally significant categories as the smorgasbord approach holds.

Michael Goldfield's (1997) *The Color of Politics* has been especially useful in this regard. He explicitly rejects the idea that all groups must be 'equally represented' in the narratives of racism in American history. Instead, he consciously places the bulk of his attention on how failures and successes in interracial organizing of working people in the United States have shaped racial inequality—with a special emphasis on the consequences for African Americans. Goldfield notes that if the smorgasbord approach were followed, it would be impossible, say, to not give as much attention to the plight of Native Americans. After all, among groups categorized as 'non-white' in American history, only Native Americans have faced genocide. However, he argues for placing front and center the question of what group played the focal role in the Civil Rights struggle. When that is the question, inevitably one finds that African Americans played that role and, among *them*, rural and urban working class Blacks were most militant in resisting racism. The next and even vital question critical sociologists need to answer and help students think carefully about is *why* and how did the political economy of American capitalism shape the demands set forth by that national movement?

Further, *The Color of Politics* helps students unravel how the Civil Rights movement was based as much on a class based program as it was on moral mandates. Goldfield highlights five [failed] campaigns from Bacon's Rebellion through to the CIO's Operation Dixie to interracially organize working people as the basis of efforts to redistribute capitalist surpluses downward in American history. Along the way, he unravels how these campaigns required, given the economic disenfranchisement that racially exclusive markets fomented in the US, well thought out demands that challenged the logic of 'free markets' as the resolution to the economic inequality that racism has sustained historically.¹⁵

Students also need to understand why, despite the noticeable cultural changes in the US (i.e. diversity training, 'tolerance' programs, etc.), inequality between white and non-white has increased in the last two decades. The historical analysis found in *Color of Politics* enables students to grasp the limits of capitalism's capacity, especially in an age of intensified global competition among transnational producers, to address such inequalities—even while advances are made in the realm of interracial/cultural relations. Finally, Goldfield's historical approach also stresses the failure of morals based activism

to speak a relevant language capable of politically mobilizing the poorest victims of increasing economic inequality in the US, non-white and white alike.¹⁶

Bringing Social Movement Case Studies into Classes on Racial Inequality

What we've found especially effective as a supplement to the historical literature engaged in our courses is letting students discuss/debate actual instances of social movement activism that have involved the problem of racial inequality in the US¹⁷. Course discussions are developed to move students in the direction of applying the theoretical framework of our courses to social justice movement *strategies*.

What we've found especially effective as a supplement to the historical literature engaged in our courses is letting students discuss/debate actual instances of social movement activism that have involved the problem of racial inequality in the US¹⁷. Course discussions are developed to move students in the direction of applying the theoretical framework of our courses to social justice movement *strategies*. Two examples of student involvement in such activity suffice for elucidation within the scope of this chapter: 1) a student led faculty strike picket-line support action in Hawaii in 2001, and 2) [also in Honolulu] a 1997 picket of GUESS?® outlets for punishing immigrant union organizers in US urban sweatshops¹⁸

2001 Faculty Strike Line in Honolulu

If nothing else makes this action a great example to help focus discussion of issues of race and social movement action, it is the availability of a web site¹⁹ with photo-documentary materials from a march that was organized in 2001. Students learn about the unique way in which racial politics were deployed during the strike and how they informed the strategies that a coalition of students employed to make their message of support for striking Hawaii professors more effectively communicated to citizens of Hawaii. Upon viewing the slideshow of the protest, students are told that several potential obstacles faced the organizers of this protest: 1) the campus where the picket-support march took place was home to the most prominently white portion of Hawaii's public university system, 2) a concerted effort by the Hawaii TV and print media to portray 'local' students as victims of the 'haole'²⁰ professors, and 3) perceptions of graduate students at the central Manoa campus as overwhelmingly white and that the student protests that had little resonance with the interests of Hawaii's 1 million residents.

Students, upon seeing this slideshow and learning about the racial dynamics involved, devise strategies that could overcome these obstacles. They then explain how the strategies they have thought up in discussion groups are informed by the historical literature employed during the course. To aid students in such a discussion, they might be asked to consider how a 'smorgasbordist' would approach the strike issue. For example, a smorgasbordist might push for greater inclusiveness through lively critique of the white-local divisions in the strike. They might believe that, in the planning and

execution stages, it would be useful to make raising the consciousness of white professors and students on the campus about their white privilege—and their changed consciousness as a precondition of support for the strike. Efforts might have been made to encourage more ‘dialogue’ in order to spare local students the pain of delayed graduations on the grounds that all issues are valid including the students’ victimization during the strike.²¹

Students then consider how, say, the theories employed by Goldfield or Memmi and Fanon would differ from smorgasbordism when confronted with racially informed issues during the Hawaii strike. Students have come up with some pretty sharp observations in response to such challenges. One student suggested that plainly if the media had a race strategy of divide and conquer, the organizers obviously found a way to make sure that the large majority of the students in the march looked much like the local population with Asian roots. This, she argued, plainly dovetailed with Goldfield’s call for greater interracial organization based on shared [but not always the same] class interests as a means to strengthen the power of working class organizations. One student noted that Goldfield emphasized that mass based organization as the key to militant and successful class based movements have only been produced through interracial organizing strategies that recognized how perceived racial differences were manipulated by power-elites to weaken class based solidarity. The organizers, she suggested, had to find ways to communicate the issue of student support for the strike to the public in a way that spoke to shared self-interests instead of abstract moral ideals. Another student has suggested that Fanon and Memmi’s emphasis on shared memory of colonial heritage is something that organizers would need to take into consideration, especially in Hawaii. Could that be accomplished without appearing to be patronizing?

In this case, as professor and actual organizer of that protest, Phillion could share with students, presuming their curiosity had been piqued²², how what they saw in the slideshow were examples of an organizing approach that drew from the understanding of the need for emphasizing labor struggles in capitalism, even ones led by ‘privileged’ professors. He also stressed the need to recognize how issues of political economy were central to many shared issues of concern among faculty, students, and the local population. For example, in Hawaii, like much of the US at the time, ‘deficit trimming’ resulted in major spending cuts in public education, which gave rise to discontent about both the price and quality of Hawaii’s public university education. These cuts were being significantly pushed by global investors in Hawaii’s tourism economy, which was plainly under the same kinds of deficit reduction pressures that globalization has placed on economies worldwide. The vulnerability of a critical factor in the maintenance of Native Hawaiian and Local Asian identity, namely education and job placement opportunities in Hawaii, was heightened dramatically by the threat cuts posed to attracting and maintaining quality professors in Hawaii’s future. It was not an accident that a local graduate student of Asian ancestry is talking to the TV cameras about why students are out showing support for their professors.

Understanding these issues, then, helped in the development of slogans that addressed such issues, at once linking the demand for better wages by professors to students' future access to Hawaii based quality university education. The main faces in the march were students of Asian or "Hapa"²³ ethnicity. That composition and the 'economistic' slogans on signs and banners were critical in picking apart the racially informed strategy of divide and conquer pursued by the [Philipino-American] governor's anti-strike messages to the public. If one looks carefully at one of the slides, members of Hawaii's Teamster and Ironworkers locals are viewable. These class-based coalitional choices were strategically prioritized as one method to target a specific section of Hawaii's local population, its workers. The contrast with smorgasbordist approaches that argue against 'hierarchies' of class and group categories and the 'validity' of any kind of 'resistance' action is, as a result, made pretty lucid to students.

Finally, students are directed to a video segment from a Honolulu TV news report on the march, in which the student mentioned above talks to a reporter about why she, an Asian American student from Hawaii, blames the governor and not the professors for her possible denial of a diploma in less than 2 weeks if the strike is not settled. Here we could address how the theories of colonialism in Fanon and the colonized mind so eloquently presented in Memmi's writings were at play in this protest. For Memmi, the colonized mind is not merely a moral issue that can be dealt with by abstract appeals to individual white guilt; it is resolved through the active agency of those whose racial and class identities are directly shaped by the legacy of colonialism. Students found out that it was not an accident that the organizers chose the specific area where interviews were to be given to the media. Not only would the media have to speak to a spokesperson²⁴ of local Asian ethnicity, but they would broadcast with the Native Hawaiian Studies Center in the background as students walked on a picket line comprised of Native Hawaiian studies professors. The idea stressed here was one that was deeply informed by Memmi, Fanon, and Goldfield: active alliances are needed with working class persons of color as they engage in self-organized acts of resistance to inequality under capitalism. Students are left with a contrast again that suggests how moralistic appeals that are often abstract and classless²⁵ fail to produce as dynamic an outcome in moments of social protests that involve issues of race.

Pickets at GUESS? Outlets in Honolulu

In 1997, a national picket against the fashion retail company *GUESS?* Inc. was conducted by UNITE in support of immigrant workers in US sweatshops who faced harassment from *GUESS?* Inc. for trying to organize a union. This picket makes an excellent example of the intersection of labor movement and race based issues. It also is one that students can use to think out where race fits into strategies to make such a picket successful. The picket in Hawaii²⁶ was selected for discussion because it provided students with a classic instance where moralistic slogans based on a narrow vision of multiculturalism fail to provide a guidepost for realizing the goal of a social movement activity—namely convincing customers at *GUESS?* outlets to shop elsewhere on the day of the picket. Students are presented with the dilemma faced by the protestors: those who work in the outlets were largely local Asian youth.²⁷ An

approach that emphasized only the racism of *GUESS?* in its treatment of immigrant workers would risk alienating those outlet workers. After all, they might think they were being targeted for complicity in the policies of the corporation. This was especially a problem that could be exacerbated by the presence of university students in the pickets outside the outlets, half or more of whom were white. Even more important, the majority of those entering the outlet were young Japanese women and girls on vacation.

Students in their discussion groups have recognized rather quickly that a singularly moralistic approach that focused on complicity of any of the actors picketers encountered that day would not be effective. The net effect would be an inability to win much sympathy from either customers or outlet workers. They suggested, instead, that obviously the picketers had to make sure they were not all white and that the more 'Asian looking' picketers and leaflet distributors the better. This, a student suggested, would effectively minimize the capacity of management to play a 'race card' and outlet retail workers against the picket. Finally, students have also picked up on the recognition by the picket organizers that they needed to use leaflets that the customers who are Japanese can understand, i.e. in their own language, to enhance their communicative capacities.

In contrast with the moralistic approach that is often associated with what we've labeled 'smorgasbordism', this discussion students engaged in moved in the direction of considering the goals of the picket in terms of a movement that has a particular history and set of goals that are not limited to vague moral appeals or demands. In the moment of that picket, trying to change the moral positions of the customers was not terribly realistic; instead customers were simply told about the immigrant workers in sweatshops wanting to organize and were encouraged to shop at another outlet that day [which no differently produced sweatshop produced garments!]. The request, then, required little in the way of larger commitment. It demanded nothing from the retail clerks inside the outlet, emphasizing that they were not the target of the protest. The goal of the protest was mainly to contribute to a nationwide day of pickets that was to send a message to corporate headquarters that their sales could be threatened at a moment's notice if they continued to harass immigrant union activists in their factories.

The issues that arose in this sort of discussion are likewise easily fitted to the texts, in that their historical foci emphasize the need to take seriously real conditions in which movements such as the Civil Rights and Labor Movements have developed. While moral satisfaction might be a motivator for such protest movements, it does not singularly and might not even centrally shape strategies that are often long-term in range. This particular *GUESS* action was contextualized for students by noting the limited goals of the pickets as part of a broader movement that will take much time and will encounter considerable defeats along the way—something that requires a realistic assessment of goals that activism around issues of race and class demand. Historical based texts that draw on the long-term vantage of resistance movements under capitalism nurture such an understanding and, in the process, prevent burnout that

arises when short term moralistic hopes ['stopping complicity' or 'social justice'] are not met in the short term by praxis.²⁸

Conclusion

Again, we would argue, in lieu of a smorgasbord pedagogy, a more rigorously historical approach to studying issues of race from the vantage of how capitalism has historically generated inequality globally and regionally for the preceding 3 or 4 centuries provides a more solid foundation for an activism that can actually create the conditions for superseding the phenomenon of racial inequality in capitalist societies. We cannot deny that the demands placed on students by this approach tend to be greater than ordinarily expected in first time classes on race. However, when links are made between historical processes and actual on the ground strategies of social movement activists, the level of discussion, learning, and hopefully activism around issues that involve racial inequality are pushed higher as a result.

ENDNOTES

¹ We have both found that the use of textbooks tends to encourage the ahistorical character of the subject matter, since the texts seem to be more concerned with making sure every experience is mentioned and 'validated' than with clarifying broader historical processes that shape social movements under capitalism.

² A few examples in the literature promoting such a pedagogical direction include Robin D. Moremen, "A Multicultural Framework: Transforming Curriculum, Transforming Students." *Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 25, No. 2. (Apr., 1997), pp. 107-119; Susanne Bohmer and Joyce L. Briggs "Teaching Privileged Students about Gender, Race, and Class Oppression" *Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 19, No. 2. (Apr., 1991), pp. 154-163; Martha E. Thompson, "Building Groups on Students' Knowledge and Experience". *Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 21, No. 1. (Jan., 1993), pp. 95-99; Dan J. Pence and J. Arthur Fields, "Teaching about Race and Ethnicity: Trying to Uncover White Privilege for a White Audience." *Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 27, No. 2. (Apr., 1999), pp. 150-158.

³ This critique should not to be confused for a suggestion that diversity is not a struggle worth fighting for. It is, rather, to suggest that decontextualizing that struggle from past and present class based battles for economic justice is not wise. Even student activists who organize around race issues on campus are often at a loss to explain why racial inequality has increased in the last two decades of increased attention to tolerance, respecting difference, cultural sensitivity, 'critical pedagogy,' and the like. In the process, the kind of attention that classical theorists of the civil rights movement gave to the political economy of capitalism in order to guide movement strategy is both forgotten and lost.

⁴ In one class, taught by Phillion., a student who was active in race oriented dialogues and considered herself very activist oriented declared that emphasizing the experience of Blacks in America was wrong because it set up a 'hierarchy of oppressions'. This declaration was not merely ahistorical, but remarkable in that it indicated a similar stance as many Whites who believe that one should not emphasize the experience of Blacks over what their white ancestors experienced fresh off the boat as immigrants! A critique of the 'dialogues' approach to race relations that is commonly embraced by social justice programs today is found in Stephen Phillion, "Unsustainable Dialogues," *Monthly Review Webzine*, <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/phillion171205.html>

⁵ The careless embrace of almost any form of multi-culturalist discourse is one potential consequence. An Asian American student in one of our classes who presumed herself to be a more than average socially and race conscious student expressed shock upon hearing a professor mention George Bush and Bill Clinton as undoers of the Civil Rights agenda, declaring, "Oh I liked Clinton". This assessment plainly came from the internalization of earlier professors' stress on diversity themes in the realm of discourse with little weight given to actual political-economic outcomes of concrete implemented policies during the Clinton administration. For a helpful dissection of those policies, dressed in the language of 1990's multiculturalism, and how they reinforced racial inequality, see Philip A. Klinker, "Bill Clinton and the Politics of the New Liberalism," in Adolph Reed Jr., ed. 1999. *Without Justice for All: The New Liberalism and Our Retreat from Racial Equality*. (Westview Press: Boulder, CO), pp. 11-28.

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⁶ Memmi, Albert. 1999. *Racism*. University of Minnesota Press.

⁷ Fanon, Frantz. 1965. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press.

⁸ Goldfield, Michael. 1997. *The Color of Politics: Race and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. New Press.

⁹ See note 6.

¹⁰ Fanon was perhaps one of the greatest thinkers of the 20th century in the issue of decolonization and the psychopathology of colonization. His work has had an enduring and inspiring impact on anti colonial and liberation struggles throughout the world, in particular, to the revolutionary leaders such as *Ali shariati* in Iran, *Steve Biko* in South Africa, and *Ernesto Che Guevara* in Cuba.

¹¹ The idea of Negritude [which was first coined by Senghor in Senegal], was a manifestation that the philosophy itself was bigger than the continent itself. i.e. as part of an international moment which held the promise of universal emancipation that our destiny coincided with the universal freedom of workers and colonized people world wide—this was much more holistic as opposed to the ideals previously available through kinship, ethnicity and race.

¹² See Sassen-Koob (1982) "Recomposition and peripheralization at the core." *Contemporary Marxism* 5(summer); 88-100. To take but one example, San Juan in particular has emerged as regional command control center for US capital and global finance within the Caribbean Basin.

¹³ For Fanon, revolutionary nationalism is distinguished from cultural nationalism, and national liberation from national occupation. Similarly Aime Cesaire, Cabral, Mugabane and Memmi relate the internalized self –degradations and genocidal extremes of racism to the structural limits of capital accumulation under the American dominated method of 'free trade' based post-War developmental regime. The link between political economy of globalization and the Rwandan genocide is thrown into relief in Stephen Shalom's (1996) "The Rwanda Genocide" [<http://zena.secureforum.com/znet/zmag/articles/april96shalom.htm>]

¹⁴ See Aijaz Ahmad. 1994. *In Theory: Classes, Nations, and Literature* . Verso Press.

¹⁵ This is especially helpful in figuring out why the Civil Rights Movement rejected the Republican Party as its political base *despite* that party's historic role in ending slavery and promoting [for a period] the populist reforms of Reconstruction. Likewise, Goldfield's book helps clarify why the turn to the Democratic Party by Civil Rights leaders *despite* its then deep ties to Jim Crow.

¹⁶ See Phillion, Stephen. 1998. "Bridging the Gap Between New Social Movements and the Language of Class". *Rethinking Marxism*, 10(4), 79-104. See also Sout, Linda. 1997. *Bridging the Class Divide : And Other Lessons for Grassroots Organizing*. Boston, Beacon Press.

¹⁷ We focus on student involvement in such movements, though those are not the only ones that can be discussed.

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¹⁸ International examples are also possible to bring in if either professors or guest speakers are able to bring to classes their experiences in such protests that involved issues of race. Indeed, such opportunities present themselves quite readily in most university settings given the wide breadth of experiences that is typically found there.

¹⁹ <http://www2.hawaii.edu/%7Ecchou/rally/slideshow/>

²⁰ Haole is a Native Hawaiian word that means 'foreigner', but is generally meant to refer to Whites.

²¹ All of these were actually proposed by the Graduate Student Organization at Hawaii, which was run by students who made exactly such demands, which thankfully the faculty union, on the very eve of the strike, chose to reject.

²² To date, it has been (knock on wood).

²³ Hapa refers to persons of mixed ethnic/race origins.

²⁴ The very notion might horrify more extreme smorgasbordists who would consider the deployment of spokespersons as a form of 'silencing' other voices.

²⁵ In fact we could say even anti-working class insofar as they deny the importance of labor struggles and the *greater* level of oppression that racism creates for working class people of color by equating their condition with *any* other struggles of identity that ostensibly 'confront' 'power.'

²⁶ Phillion was the main organizer of this picket as a graduate student.

²⁷ Just to be clear, the sweatshops where immigrant workers were trying to organize unions were located primarily in Los Angeles. The Honolulu outlet was the site of the pickets in an effort to embarrass and pressure the company to negotiate fairly with the LA based immigrant sweatshop workers.

²⁸ Indeed, we would both argue that the moralistic approach that fuels the smorgasbord orientation actually increases the potential for activist burnout.