

THIRD
EDITION



RACE, CLASS
AND GENDER

A N A N T H O L O G Y

MARGARET L. ANDERSEN PATRICIA HILL COLLINS

RACE, CLASS, and GENDER

An Anthology
Third Edition



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Preface

Race, Class, and Gender is an anthology that introduces students to how race, class, and gender shape the experiences of diverse groups in the United States. We want the book to help students see how the lives of different groups develop in the context of their race, class, and gender position in society. Central to the book is the idea that race, class, and gender are interrelated—and as a result, that experience depends on the particular configuration of these factors in a given group's experience. We are aware that people often interpret this to mean that groups are only victimized by race, class, and gender. Students and faculty often understandably resist that characterization, wanting instead to affirm group identity, especially for those who have been silenced, made invisible, and defined as "other." We are sympathetic to the resistance to a victimization perspective, and we do not want to make people appear to have no agency or choice in the formation of their lives; however, we also know that the structure of race, class, and gender in society has significant consequences for different groups, and we do not think this should be ignored. Thus, although our book is not just about victimization and while we want to affirm the value of diversity, our primary goal is for students to understand the structural arrangements in society and how they result in different systems of privilege and disadvantage. At the same time, we want students to learn how they can make a difference in their own lives and how they can help society at large.

Our introductory essay develops these ideas further and situates this book in the new race, class, gender studies of which we are a part. The introductory essay distinguishes models of race, class, and gender studies that are strictly additive from those that see race, class, and gender as interlocking systems of societal relationships. We want readers to conceptualize race, class, and gender as interactive systems, not merely as variables in sociological equations or separate cultural experiences. We want readers to see race, class, and gender in an analytical, not merely a descriptive way, although we recognize that description of group experience (both historical and current) is an important part of this process.

About the Third Edition

We have been pleased by the success of *Race, Class, and Gender* because it represents the commitment of many people to become more inclusive in their teaching and thinking. We appreciate the reactions people have shared with us, particularly those who have reviewed the book for Wadsworth.

One of the challenges of creating an anthology in a field so rich with new research and new writing is to include articles that will provide a full portrait of the complexity of race, class, and gender. We cannot cover every topic that might be included in such a book. We know that one book cannot do everything people want, but we hope that the third edition builds on the strengths of the first two editions and furthers people's thinking in race, class, gender studies. We want the book to influence students and help teachers with the hard work of building a more inclusive curriculum. We have expanded our original editorial introduction to develop the model of inclusive thinking that we hope we have established.

In the third edition, we have added articles reflecting some of the changes that have taken place in society, even in the short period of time since the second edition. For example, affirmative action, immigration, and welfare reform have emerged as major issues. Although the public discussion of these topics is typically uninformed by an understanding of race, class, and gender, we think race, class, and gender are central to addressing these issues meaningfully; thus, we have included selections in the third edition that we hope will provide a context for understanding these subjects more completely. We have included new articles to reflect current social changes and have asked authors, in some cases, to update their earlier contributions. Although globalization is not the focus of our book, we know that the structure of race, class, and gender in the United States must be understood in the broader

international context. Our introductory essays reflect this context more, and we have elaborated points that needed fuller discussion.

We have made changes throughout the book, but most significantly in the sections on families, sexuality, and political activism. The sexuality section now includes pieces that strengthen the examination of how sexuality and studies of race, class, and gender are linked. As in the earlier editions, we do not want readers to conclude that heterosexual privilege is only significant when thinking about sexuality per se; as a result, we have included articles about gay and lesbian experience throughout the book.

We have also significantly revised our final section on political activism. Contemporary students often conclude that, even if they begin to understand the complexities of race, class, and gender relations, there is little they can do to change current realities. Our students often seem overwhelmed by the problems they see in society, and they feel powerless to do much about it. Books like ours, however well-intended, often present examples of activism that actually contribute to students' impressions that they can only be a significant agent of change by dedicating their entire life to change. We want students to think about social change differently, recognizing that people work for change in multiple ways—including in the context of their everyday lives. We also want students to understand that the responsibility for change does not fall exclusively on exceptionally committed individuals. Rather, all people share collective responsibility for change, including institutional change. One of the problems we see currently is the government's abandonment of social support for those in need, even while the state increases its support for wealthy individuals and corporate entities. We would like students to learn that creating social change is not just a matter of putting themselves on the line, but of insisting on a new model of social responsibility for society as a whole.

In revising the third edition, we hope we have maintained the strengths of the first and second editions—a strong sociological foundation, historical perspective provided by many authors, a conceptual grounding supplied in our introductions, inclusive attention to the interlocking dynamics of race, class, and gender, and a balance of different group experiences. Although not every group can be covered on every subject, we hope that our inclusion of different selections convey a sense of the multiple but related ways that race, class, and gender shape U.S. society and culture. We have maintained the second edition's theme of linking personal narratives with the analytical study of race, class, and gender. We are pleased when we hear that students enjoy the readings and find that they illuminate perspectives they had not thought about before in quite the same way.

This edition includes an *Instructor's Manual* with suggestions for class exercises, discussion and examination questions, and course assignments. We

thank Pam Porter and Martha Thompson for their inspired work in developing it. We also thank the different faculty members who contributed materials for the *Instructor's Manual*.

This edition also premieres with online support via the Wadsworth Sociology Resource Center, representing how electronic technology is transforming the teaching profession. We encourage people to browse the Race, Class, & Gender page at the Wadsworth Web Site for related resources. The address is <http://sociology.wadsworth.com>.

A Note on Language

The reconstruction of existing ways of thinking to make them more inclusive requires many transformations. One transformation needed involves the language we use to describe and define different groups. This language reflects many assumptions about race, class, and gender; and for that reason, language changes and evolves as knowledge changes. The term *minority*, for example, marginalizes groups, making them seem somehow outside the mainstream or majority culture. Even worse, the phrase *non-White*, routinely used by social scientists, defines groups in terms of what they are not and assumes that Whites have the universal experiences against which the experiences of all other groups are measured. We have consciously avoided using both of these terms throughout this book.

We have capitalized *Black* in our writing because of the specific historical experience, varied as it is, of African Americans in the United States. We also capitalize *White* when referring to a particular group experience; however, we recognize that *White American* is no more a uniform experience than is *African American*. We realize that these are arguable points, but we want to make our decision apparent and explicit. For the benefit of purists who like to follow the rules, we note that the fourteenth edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* recognizes that these grammatical questions are also political ones; this edition suggests that writers might want to capitalize *Black* and *White* to reflect the fact that they are referring to proper names of groups. We use “Hispanic” and “Latino” interchangeably, though we recognize that is not how groups necessarily define themselves. When citing data from other sources (typically government documents), we use “Hispanic,” since that is how such data are reported.

Language becomes especially problematic when we want to talk about features of experience that different groups share. Using shortcut terms like *Hispanic*, *Latino*, *Native American*, and *women of color* homogenizes distinct historical experiences. Even the term *White* falsely unifies experiences across

such factors as ethnicity, region, class, and gender, to name a few. At times, though, we want to talk of common experiences across different groups, so we have used labels like *Latino* and *women of color* to do so. Unfortunately, describing groups in this way reinforces basic categories of oppression. We do not know how to resolve this problem, but want readers to be aware of the limitations and significance of language as they try to think more inclusively about diverse group experiences.

Acknowledgments

An anthology rests on the efforts of more people than the editors alone. This book has been inspired by our work with scholars and teachers from around the country who are working to make their teaching and writing more inclusive and sensitive to the experiences of all groups. Over the years of our own collaboration, we have each been enriched by the work of those trying to make higher education a more equitable and fair institution. This book has grown from several of those projects, most notably the Memphis State Center for Research on Women Curriculum Workshops and the American Sociological Association Minority Opportunity Summer Training Program, now the Minority Opportunity Through School Transformation Program. These two programs provided the context for many of our early discussions about this book. Over the years, the networks that have emerged from these associations continue to sustain us. We thank Maxine Baca Zinn, Chuck Bonjean, Marion Coleman, Patrice Dickerson, Bonnie Thornton Dill, Valerie Hans, Elizabeth Higginbotham, Clarence Lo, Lionel Maldonado, Carole Marks, Cora Marrett, Howard Taylor, and Lynn Weber for inspiring our work and, in many cases, suggesting new ideas and articles to consider here. We also thank them for the companionship, encouragement, and vision that inspires our work. Several reviewers at Wadsworth suggested revisions that we found very helpful for the third edition. We would like to thank the following reviewers for their suggestions: Dennis Kalob, New England College; Donna Lee King, University of North Carolina/Wilmington; Patricia Turner, University of California at Davis; and Shirley Yee, University of Washington. Angela Block, Sacramento City College, Nicky Gonzalez-Yuen, De Anza College, Wendy Ng, San Jose State University, and C. Matthew Snipp, Stanford University, also participated in a focus group that sharpened our thinking about the third edition; we value the contributions they have made.

Many other people contributed to the development of this book. We especially thank Elana Messner and Wei Chen at the University of Delaware and Tina Beyene at the University of Cincinnati for their expert research as-

sistance. In the earlier editions, Tina Dunhour and Rachel Levy Schiller, now graduates of the University of Delaware, advised us from students' perspectives about the articles we selected. We appreciate the support provided by our two institutions, with special thanks to Mel Schiavelli, Provost, University of Delaware; Joseph Caruso, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences; Tony Perzigian, former Head of the Department of African American Studies; John Brackett, Head of the Department of African American Studies, and Robin Sheers, Head of the Center for Women's Studies, University of Cincinnati, for their support. We also thank Susan Phipps, Diana Kubasek, Anna Marie Brown, and Sadie Wright Oliver for their invaluable secretarial support. We hope they know how much we value them.

Eve Howard joined this project with great enthusiasm and commitment to the book, and we appreciate her guidance and support in helping us complete the third edition. She, Jenny Burke, and Barbara Yien all provided ideas and work that helped us complete the new edition. We sincerely appreciate their hard work and vision for the book and look forward to continued collaboration with them.

Developing this book has been an experience based on friendship, hard work, travel, and fun. We especially thank Valerie, Patrice, Roger, and Richard for giving us the support, love, and time we needed to do this work well. This book has deepened our friendship, as we have grown more committed to transformed ways of thinking and being. We are lucky to be working on a project that draws us closer together.

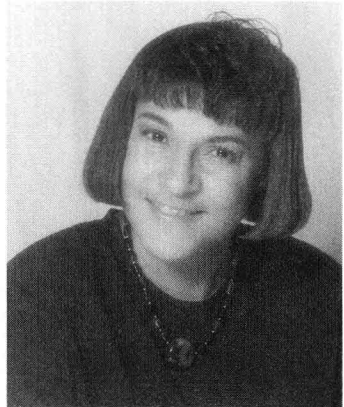
Margaret L. Andersen
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About the Editors



Margaret L. Andersen is Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies at the University of Delaware, where she is Interim Dean of the College of Arts & Science. She is the author of *Thinking About Women, Social Problems* (with Frank R. Scarpitti and Laura L. O'Toole), and a forthcoming book, *Sociology: Understanding a Diverse Society* (with Howard F. Taylor). She is President of the Eastern Sociological Society (1998–1999) and a former member of the Council of the American Sociological Association.

Patricia Hill Collins is Professor of African American Studies and Sociology at the University of Cincinnati. She is the author of *Fighting Words* (to be published in 1998) and *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, which won the C. Wright Mills Award of the Society for the Study of Social Problems. She is a former member of the Council of the American Sociological Association.



About the Contributors

Randy Albelda is an Associate Professor of Economics in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Massachusetts in Boston. Her research and teaching focus is on women's economic status, income inequality, family structure, labor markets, and state and local finance. Albelda has been involved with Boston and Massachusetts groups concerned with women's economic well-being, economics education efforts, and tax reform. She has written widely for academic and popular audiences. She is an editorial board member of *Dollars and Sense* magazine and the coauthor of *Glass Ceilings and Bottomless Pits: Women, Income and Poverty in Massachusetts*, and *The War on the Poor: A Defense Manual*.

Paula Gunn Allen is Professor of English at UCLA. She was awarded the Native American Prize for Literature in 1990. That same year her anthology of short stories, *Spider Woman's Granddaughters*, was awarded the American Book Award, sponsored by the Before Columbus Foundation, and the Susan Koppelman Award. A major Native American poet, writer, and scholar, she has published eight volumes of poetry, a novel, a collection of essays, and three anthologies. Her prose and poetry appear widely in anthologies, journals, and scholarly publications. Her newest collection of essays will be published by Beacon Press in late 1998.

Teresa Amott is Associate Professor of Economics at Bucknell University. She is the author of *Race, Gender, and Work: A Multicultural Economic History*

of *Women in the United States* (with Julie Matthaei) and *Caught in the Crisis: Women in the U.S. Economy Today*, along with numerous articles. She is an Editorial Associate with *Dollars and Sense* magazine, and is committed to sharing economic analysis with unions, welfare rights organizations, women's organizations, and other progressive groups.

Elijah Anderson is the Charles and William L. Day Professor of the Social Sciences, Professor of Sociology, and Director of the Philadelphia Ethnography Project at the University of Pennsylvania. An expert on the sociology of Black America, he is the author of the highly regarded sociological work *A Place on the Corner: A Study of Black Street Corner Men*, numerous articles on the Black experience, and the forthcoming *The Code of the Streets*. For his recently published ethnographic study, *Streetwise: Race, Class and Change in an Urban Community*, he was honored with the Robert E. Park Award by the American Sociological Association. An Associate Editor of *Qualitative Sociology*, he is a member of the Board of Directors of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

John Anner is the founding editor and publisher of *Third Force*, a magazine that reports on and evaluates grass-roots labor and community organizing in communities of color. He is the editor of *Beyond Identity Politics: Emerging Social Justice Movements in Communities of Color*, and writes frequently about successful organizing.

Charon Asetoyer is the founder and Executive Director of the Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center, based on the Yankton Sioux Reservation in Lake Andes, South Dakota. She has been involved in community organizing and activism on women's health issues for the past twenty years.

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Alan Berkman is a political activist and physician who was imprisoned for anti-imperialist activities in the 1980s. While in prison, he wrote a number of articles reporting on his life as a prisoner. He was to be released in July 1992, but we have no further information about him.

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Marilyn Frye teaches Philosophy and Women's Studies at Michigan State University. She received her Ph.D. at Cornell University in 1969 and is author of two books of essays, *The Politics of Reality* and *Willful Virgin*. Her recent philosophical work questions how we categorize women. With her partner Carolyn Shafer, she created and manages Bare Bones Studios for Women's Art—space and facilities for art-making in a wide range of media. She also edits a local community newsletter, *The Dyke Heights Dispatch*.

Theresa Funicello is a political theorist, journalist, and activist. She is the author of the Pulitzer nominated *Tyranny of Kindness: Dismantling The Welfare*

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Amy Gluckman is a social studies teacher in an alternative high school in Lowell, Massachusetts. She is part of an editorial collective that publishes the progressive economics magazine, *Dollars and Sense* and, with Betsy Reed, is the editor of a book, *Homo Economics*, a collection of articles about capitalism, economics, and gay and lesbian life.

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Elizabeth Higginbotham grew up in a working-class family in New York City. She is a Professor at the Center for Research on Women and the Department of Sociology and Social Work at The University of Memphis and will be joining the University of Delaware faculty in 1998. Higginbotham has published widely on issues of race, class, and gender. She is coeditor of *Women and Work: Exploring Race, Ethnicity, and Class* and has articles in *American Behavioral Scientist*, *Gender & Society*, *Women's Studies Quarterly*, and many edited collections. She is currently completing a book on social class differences in the experiences of college educated Black women titled *Too Much to Ask: The Cost of Black Female Success*.

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George Lakey is a consultant and trainer, an activist and college teacher, and author of five books. He has conducted over 1000 workshops on five continents. He began leading men's conferences as early as the mid-1970s. He has initiated social change projects in civil rights, neighborhood development, economic conversion, and peace, and was a founder of the Movement for a New Society. An openly gay grandfather of four, he frequently lectures at major colleges and universities.