

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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This study identified some of the ways that multiethnic women describe their ethnic identities, how they perceive ethnic-specific gender identities and what they think are appropriate norms for, and effective outcomes of, communicative behavior. Twelve multiethnic women described their ethnic identity names or labels, and ethnic-specific gender identities; they also recalled a recent situation in which inappropriate ethnic-relevant conversational behaviors occurred. These multiethnic women were found to share an average of nearly six situations in which ethnic identity is most important; the most frequently reported situation being *constantly*. They significantly differed in respect to the names or labels, and descriptors they used to define and describe their multiethnic identities. The 12 respondents unanimously stated that there are different expectations for women and men within the ethnicities that they identified as components of their multiethnicity. The most frequently cited situation in which it is most important for them to intensify their gender identity is during *celebratory occasions* and *at home or with family*. 10 of the total 12 respondents perceive that their gender identity is shared by a large number of other people. Recently recalled conversations indicate that *work* and *employment-related individuals* specifically discussing *ethnicity*, most frequently used inappropriate communicative behaviors. The most frequently reported situation in which they intensify their multiethnic identities is while being *with other ethnic ingroup members*, though 75% of them indicated that their particular definition of their ethnic identity was shared by only a *small* number of other people. Nearly 70% responded that they *very often*--on a daily or weekly basis--experience others' violation of rules for competent communication. The most frequently cited

recommendations they made for others to be more competent communicators were: 1) *get informed/take some ethnicity classes, and don't be so harsh*; 2) *give individuals credit for being unique and diverse*; 3) *be polite/respectful*; 4) *recognize and refrain from stereotyping*; 5) *don't be prejudiced and change feelings/perceptions about ethnicized individuals & groups*; 6) *don't assume, approach individuals directly and don't discriminate*.

KEY CONCEPTS

Multiethnic, women, ethnic identity, ethnic-specific gender identity, communication competence.

MULTIETHNIC WOMEN'S IDENTITY AND
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by

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MULTIETHNIC WOMEN'S IDENTITY AND PERCEPTIONS OF COMPETENT COMMUNICATION

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will explain why I undertook this study, I will describe the theoretical background of previous research and define the concepts and terms that are pertinent. This introduction will describe my topic, give a rationale for studying it and explain my research perspective. The next section will provide the conceptual and theoretical framework in which I found a context for development of the research areas. An outline of relevant concepts, across the social science disciplines of speech communication, women studies and anthropology, will be presented along with appropriate theoretical literature which will include definitions of important terms. The last part of chapter one will present the research questions that guided this project.

Topic

This thesis reflects my interest in how women negotiate different ethnic and gender identities. The topic is multiethnic women's identity, as it is revealed through their own interpretive evaluations of competent communication, that is, communication which is *appropriate and effective*. Multiethnic identity refers to one's identity as a member of two or more ethnic groups. It is my perception, from personal experience and observation, that multiethnic individuals can be particularly sensitive to the communication styles of other speakers in interpersonal communication situations. This may be due, in part, to early-age and regular exposure to different ethnic systems and communication styles, possibly demonstrated by mom, and/or dad, or extended family and social networks.

I am interested in identifying the aspects of competent communication that relate to ethnic and gender identities. For example, Hecht, Collier & Ribeau recently (1993) researched African American ethnic identity and communication styles and they point out that,

"identity is multifaceted with gender and ethnicity frequently emerging as hierarchically superordinate. Further, the interplay of factors such as gender and ethnicity may create a double jeopardy for female African Americans...African American women are called upon to negotiate these contradictions, and hence, for African American women another particular dialectic of identity emerges" (p.78).

Further, they remind us that,

"[w]e have just begun to appreciate the differences between male and female African American ethnic identities. Collier (1991) found that there were similarities and differences in the way that African American males and females managed conflict. Future research is necessary to begin to understand how women and men come to know who they are as African American men and women, and what they think are appropriate norms and positive outcomes in their contact with one another" (p.79).

This study attempts to understand some of the ways that multiethnic women describe their ethnic identities, what they think are appropriate norms for communicative behavior and how they evaluate positive outcomes. The specific research question areas that I was curious about addressed the issues of whether women with multiethnic identities have similar or different evaluations of their multiethnicity and to what degree the strength (intensity), salience (importance) and scope (breadth of applicability) of their identities related to their perceptions of others' communication competence.

Rationale

I chose to study the topic of multiethnic women's identity and their perceptions of competent communication styles because I understand myself to be a multiethnic woman (though I identify, or name, myself as a Black woman) and I am interested in learning from other multiethnic women their experiences of naming, or identifying themselves; and, I wanted to document their perceptions of what it takes to be a competent interethnic and intercultural communicator. At the onset of this research I had to contend with a number of perception-issues. The issues are ontological and epistemological in nature and are concerned with the social construction of reality, specifically the perpetuation of institutionalized race categorizations and the general history and current practices of social science pedagogy.

The ontological problems of this research, for me, as the researcher, involved making a decision about using the word *ethnic* (i.e. multiethnic) or *race* (i.e. inter-racial, bi-racial, or multi-racial) as the primary referent. I chose the word *ethnic*, prefixed by "multi-," to describe the identity construction of the individuals I wanted to study, multiethnic women. Race categorization has historically excluded and effectively channeled people away from considering their ethnic and multiethnic origins. Race, as a biological identity construct, is an invalid and mythological concept (Downs, 1971) and as a social identity construct is overgeneral and misleading; skin color, language, geography, nationality, culture, class, sex and gender--just to name a few examples--are often more meaningful, and perhaps more accurate, descriptions of group and individual social identity. In addition, the focus here is on women's avowal of ethnic identities, their identity-negotiation processes and their perceptions of communicative conduct which is competent in the context of ethnic identity enactment.

This research was important to pursue from a communication perspective because these multiethnic women offered insights about competently managing interethnic communication situations. U.S. American populations are becoming more ethnically diverse and interethnic interaction in U.S. society is becoming increasingly prevalent; multiethnic women's evaluations of competent communication are helpful for understanding ways to negotiate these differences. A *multiethnic* person, for purposes of this project, refers to an individual who acknowledges a combination of two or more ethnic backgrounds as part of her self-identity. For example, a woman who has a Latina mother and an African American father would fit the definition of a multiethnic. *Multiethnic identity* refers to one's communicated identity as a member of two or more ethnic groups. Specifically, in this research, I explore the interdependent properties of salience, strength and scope of each ethnic identity.

Some ethnically identified individuals (specifically in U.S. history) have been able to utilize communication as a vehicle to advance their socio-psychological well being or social status (Devos, 1982; Edwards, 1985) to make themselves more acceptable, or at least more tolerable, within the dominant Euro-American cultural structure. Ethnic-ascribed physiology, for example, skin color or hair texture or eye shape, is problematic in U.S. society (because of the continuing social trauma that ethnic group members experience through negative prejudicial and discriminatory behaviors). Though one's physiology is virtually unchangeable and unadaptable (excluding, of course, surgery or other extreme measures to reconstruct one's physiology) communication can be a tool that ethnic group members can use to make

their presence more tenable in U.S. mainstream culture. Communication is a way to adjust to, or away from, a society that historically has been and continues to be largely, racist and sexist. Communication can be utilized as a means to amalgamate into a society, as well as a measure of maintaining ethnic distinctiveness (Edwards, 1985). Sustaining ethno-linguistic boundaries with other ingroup members is a way to maintain ethnic distinctiveness and linguistic vitality (Giles, Mulac, Bradac & Johnson, 1987; Giles & Johnson, 1991). Though language changes inter-generationally and is different in varying U.S. geographical regions, the maintenance of differentiated communication styles between ethnic groups is an ongoing social phenomenon in U.S. American culture.

Different communication styles can be perceived of as problematic, but for some ethnics and multiethnics this difference can be a solution--a functional response to the pressures of living in a hegemonic society (Edwards, 1985) as well as a tool for validation of group identity. Communication codes (Hecht, Collier & Ribeau, 1993) can be a practical means of maintaining group and individual self-esteem within mainstream culture (DeVos, 1982). Linguistic differentiation can also be an emblem of an ethnic group's or ethnic group member's resistance to the culture-specific oppression experienced within U.S. institutional structures, as well as a response to instantiations of prejudice and discrimination from specific individuals (Edwards, 1985). For ethnic and multiethnic-identified people, communication can be a vehicle for achieving social mobility, or maintaining ethnic identity--or some combination of the two--in addition to being potentially problematic in interethnic and intercultural interactions.

This research is relevant to the disciplines of speech communication, women studies and anthropology because it acknowledges the existence of multiethnic women, their unique identity constructs and their perceptions of appropriate and preferred styles of communication. Language styles can be conceptualized as linguistic enactments of cultural, ethnic and gender identities; therefore, multiethnic women use diverse language styles and are in the best positions to describe the communication styles they prefer, in this way, multiethnic women expand social science perspectives on ethnic identity and elaborate on appropriate gender-specific communication styles. They contribute information about appropriate and effective interethnic/cultural language and they share some of the methods they have discovered to be effective in bridging dual or plural ethnicities. Contemporary social research must to begin to address the paradigms of multiethnic and ethnic-specific gender identities. The communication discipline needs to incorporate the experiences of multiethnic women, from their perspectives. Intercultural and gender communication,

specifically, can benefit from multiethnic women's interpretations and perceptions of communication competence.

This research is significant because it contributes knowledge about the communication styles of multiethnic women and reveals new information about communication competence. Multiethnic women's evaluations of competent communication styles, based on current intercultural communication and identity theories (e.g. Collier & Thomas, 1988; Hecht, Collier & Ribeau, 1993) extend the parameters of existing knowledge to include dimensions of multiethnic women's communication. This project applies and further tests these different ethnic identity and communication theories and unfolds several multiethnic women's perceptions of verbal and nonverbal validation, and invalidation, of their plural-ethnic identity constructs. I propose that communication competence is an issue that multiethnic women are sensitive to, and that awareness of the communication skills they identify can be applied to facilitate more appropriate and effective intercultural communication. Information from this research contributes to existing knowledge about affecting intercultural and interpersonal communication outcomes which are mutually satisfying. Multiethnic women's interpretations make information available to self-professed mono-ethnic individuals who would like to become more skilled at competent communication styles--within our ever-increasingly multiethnic and intercultural U.S. American society.

Communication is a tool that offers viable possibilities for negotiating problematic interethnic and intercultural interactions (Hecht, Collier, Ribeau, 1993). Awareness of interethnic/cultural communication competency skills allows one to understand the options available for negotiating satisfactory communication outcomes. For multiethnic individuals, like myself, managing appropriate (rule-following) and effective (positive-outcome-producing) communication within the context of a distinctly multiethnic and multicultural identity is a means of intrapersonal validation and psycho-social survival. This study provides insights on multiethnic differences and negotiation of interethnic communication competence.

Research Perspective

The major ontological premise that I have about ethnic identity, is that people interact from a fundamental perception of themselves as being ethnic, or--as I pursued in this research--multiethnic. A multiethnic woman is, to varying degrees, interethnic--depending on the degree of difference between her various ethnic backgrounds. Her

parents, extended family members (e.g. grandparents, aunts, uncles, other relatives), social networks, and the dominant culture, help/force her to come to know her ethnic and cultural backgrounds, but it is left up to each individual to integrate the mix of this information in coming to understand herself and her identity. Analysis of multiethnic women's evaluations and descriptions of appropriate and effective communication and positive outcomes provides unique and useful recommendations for designing approaches towards affecting more satisfying communication. Conversely, information about inappropriate and ineffective communication help clarify, exactly, what to avoid in order to maintain satisfying communication (Hecht, 1978;1984).

For this project I chose to focus on communication of identity, symbols, meanings and norms--as interpreted by the respondents. The epistemological assumptions that I have, relate to my perception of how the researcher develops knowledge about the topic being studied. My assumptions are that the participants knowledge is valid, and that their evaluations provide the basis for my learning; their interpretations shaped the development and outcome of this research. Through analysis of the respondents assessments of communication, specific suggestions emerged that informed my knowledge and understanding of appropriate and effective communication. Their knowledge was also an integral part of understanding the matrices of their multiethnic identity and what that means in the context of communication. This information can be triangulated across various social science disciplines in conceptualizing models of ethnic identity and women's ethnic-specific gender prescriptions. Ethnic identity and perceptions of competent communication, as expressed by multiethnic women, can also be explored in more detail in future exploratory research.

My assumptions about knowledge led me to choose a qualitative research approach. I think this most accurately reflects my understanding about how communication works, that is, inter-subjectively (i.e. mutual negotiation of meaning, between people). Geertz (1973) argues that social scientists should provide "thick descriptions" of the phenomena they research and not generalize across cases. In order to do that, I believe that a qualitative perspective is appropriate. Burrell and Morgan (1991; pp. 259-275) explain a qualitative, or subjective, (rather than objective) approach in the following way, *ontology*, there is no real world external to the individual and names, concepts, and labels are artificial and used to construct reality; *epistemology*, communication can only be understood from the perspective of the individual communicators and *methodology*, to understand communication, 'firsthand knowledge' must be obtained and analyzed. I utilized a qualitative approach in developing

awareness of the names and labels that multiethnic women use to construct their identities, with the knowledge that their interpretations of communication competence can only be understood from their unique multiethnic perspectives. This "firsthand knowledge" was analyzed for contemporary conceptualizations of multiethnic identity and recommendations for enacting competent communication.

CONCEPTUAL & THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Ethnicity or Race?

Downs (1971) explains in "Race the Deadly Myth," chapter one of *Cultures in Crisis*, that assumptions about race are fundamental to the way U.S. Americans think about the world and that "the idea of race as an important characteristic of humankind has been so deeply ingrained in the European mind" (p.4) as to be almost unchallenged and unchecked for validity. Race, in the minds of most U.S. Americans, refers to a set of specific characteristics shared by a group of people. The absence or presence of larger or smaller amounts of melanin in one's skin or other physiological characteristics are biological, genetically-quantifiable phenomena but, they are also specific and individuated manifestations, not generalizable to groups. Downs writes, "I cannot help but think that the insistence on using the term *race* to describe something entirely different from the original and most commonly accepted meaning is a case of what can be called academic smart-aleckism" (p.6). I have no desire to perpetuate academic smart-aleckism.

Sociologists readily and consistently apply the term *race* to sociological understandings of groups of people functioning in our social world. Omi and Winant (1986) bring a sociological perspective to the notion of *race* in the U.S. They present a theory of racial formation that acknowledges that, "Despite efforts ranging from Dr. Samuel Morton's studies of cranial capacity to contemporary attempts to base racial classifications on shared gene pools, the concept of race has defied biological definitions...[nonetheless] The social sciences have come to reject biologicistic notions of race in favor of an approach which regards race as a social concept." (p. 58, 60). This would be a valid argument if U.S. American's had been socialized to think of race merely as social groups, but this is not the case. We have been socialized to think of race as biological groups, and membership to each specific group has distinctly different social implications and consequences. DeVos

(1982) addresses U.S. American notions of "racial uniqueness" (p.10) and states that, "[r]eal or supposed genetic differences when socially recognized as a constituent of stratification, are usually used by dominant groups to maintain a castelike exclusion regardless of the presence or absence of other ethnic distinctions, such as language or religion" (p. 10). Race is a broader category label than ethnicity; not all Blacks or Whites share the same ethnicity, let alone the same language or traditions.

The assumption has been that particular physiological features are universally common within a group, with arbitrary differentiation (based on the ranking of valued and less-valued characteristics) between groups and ensuing social categorizations (made by privileged people with power). Biological validity of this notion is now a moot point. Nonetheless, many social scientists continue to use the language (with its connotations and implications for social ranking) of the disproven biological presumption; this perpetuates the myth of *race*. James Anderson (1992) clarifies the confusion created by the assumptions of shared biological characteristics within a social group and the co-assumptions of sociological categorization. He reminds us that,

"Race clearly arises out of the collective effort by which a racial hegemony is set in place. One need only look at the manner by which we operationally define race. Consider that although we sanitize our interest in race by calling it a socio-cultural variable, we don't classify respondents on the basis of ethnic enculturation. We don't ask the question: 'What has been the nature of your engagement of ethnic socio-cultural practices?' Our racial classifications are routine classifications by 'color' or 'blood,' thereby reinforcing the use of such measure to explain social outcome. By offering color [or other physiological features] as the explanation, however, we suppress a responsible examination of the efforts of the dominant to exert hegemony over the less. Our culpability is that we omit in writing or excise in editing the arguments which call the question. I would certainly presume that **researchers who use race as a demographic do not intend to be racist, but in using the biological *difference* of skin color as if it were a biological *determinant* of social behavior, they participate in the practical accomplishments of racism** [bold, mine]" (p. 355).

I do not intend to participate in the accomplishments of racism. I choose not to provide resources for racist ideologies nor promote what Derrick Bell (1992) refers to as *racial nepotism* (p.47-64).

"As one economist [Goldberg, M.S. (1982). Discrimination, Nepotism, and Long-Run Wage Differentials, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 97, 307] has argued, 'racial nepotism' rather than 'racial animus' is the major motivation

for much of the discrimination blacks experience...whites tend to treat one another like family, at least when there's a choice between them and us. So that terms like 'merit' and 'best qualified' are infinitely manipulable if and when whites must explain why they reject blacks to hire 'relatives'--even when the only relationship is that of race. So, unless there's some pressing reason for hiring, renting to, or otherwise dealing with a black, many whites will prefer to hire, rent to, sell to, or otherwise deal with a white--including one less qualified by objective measures and certainly one who is by any measure better qualified" (p. 56).

One's skin color and the cultural environment(s) of one's upbringing don't necessarily have that much to do with each other, but they each have a tremendous effect on one's perception of her/his ethnic identity. For example, my father is African American and my siblings, two sisters, and I all have different shades of brown skin (and yes, shade is a very important factor in African American life) but all of us daughters were raised in an almost-exclusively Euro-American environment and our communication styles reflect that culture. Our brown skin color did not hinder our thorough absorption of middle (to upper-middle) class Euro-American value systems, beliefs and norms for appropriate and preferred social behavior, including verbal and nonverbal communication.

Ethnicity

"An ethnic group is a self-perceived group of people who hold a common set of traditions not shared by the others with whom they are in contact. Such traditions typically include 'folk' religious beliefs and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity, and common ancestry or place of origin; members of an ethnic group cling to a sense of having been an independent People" (Devos, 1982:p.9). I subscribe to these basic notions of *ethnic*, or *ethnicity*, specifically as a self-perceived group, differentiated from others on the basis' of heritage, ancestry, culture, language and/or religion (Edwards, 1985). A *multiethnic* person, for purposes of this project, refers to an individual who acknowledges a combination of two or more ethnic backgrounds as part of her identity. For example, a woman who has a Latina mother and an African American father would fit the definition of a multiethnic.

Culture

Culture is "the communication and bond that links people together, the system of symbols, meanings, norms and codes; each individual has many cultural identities or potential identities" (Collier, 1993: spring lecture, Speech Communication course, Intercultural Communication Theory and Research"). Collier (1993, lecture) describes symbols as "verbal and nonverbal cues, whose patterned use distinguishes one group of individuals from another;" meanings as "interpretations;" norms as "impressions and judgements of appropriate behavior;" and codes as "situated language systems." The communication discipline's approach to culture is to study the symbolic interpretation and creation of symbols and more specifically, intercultural communication is defined as "the communication patterns of interaction between two or more different cultural systems (Collier, 1993:lecture). Szalay (1981) contends that in intercultural communication there is a need for people to adapt their communication content to the frame of reference of their audience, especially the audience's cultural meanings. The focus of theory in intercultural communication, therefore, should be on the cultural-specific adaptations people make to encourage effective communication.

Hecht, Collier, and Ribeau (1993) explain that ethnic culture is a group identity, enacted by a community that has knowledge of a code. Multiethnic women must, therefore, have knowledge of several codes, one from each ethnicity, gender culture codes which may be ethnic-specific and possibly a working knowledge of the dominant society's ethnic and ethnic-gender culture codes. Ethnicity is primarily composed of cultural components (for example, symbols, norms and history) but it also allows for the inclusion of skin color, as a part of one's identity; most ethnic groups share some such biological similarities; cultures and skin color affect one's ways of knowing self and others' responses to oneself. These responses can be communicated in nonverbal and verbal behaviors. Collier (1986) clarifies the connection between culture, ethnicity and communication, by explaining that cultural and ethnic background teach us what to expect from others and what is appropriate. Cultural background also teaches us how to interpret the behavior of others. Collier (1986) explains,

"Identifying rules within [and across] cultures [including gender, as a component of culture] is important because behavior that conforms to mutually shared rules of appropriate behavior is more predictable (Shimanoff, 1980), more affirming of the self-concept and perhaps, more effective and satisfying. In contrast, when rules of appropriate behavior are not shared, are not known, or are simply violated, meaning is less likely to

be shared and the interaction more likely to be dissatisfying in terms of goal attainment, and less likely to be perceived as affirming of the self-concept" (pp. 578-579).

Collier (1988) studied intra- and intercultural communication competencies in four U.S. American ethnic groups and found that rules identified in the intercultural conditions revealed more differences than similarities. Politeness and cultural prescriptions (i.e. ethnic identity markers) were highly salient for all four--Black American, Asian American, Mexican American and White American--of the U.S. culture groups studied. Prescriptions of effective communication (positive outcome creating) included cross-cultural similarities, such as self-validation and cultural validation, but in varying degrees. Multiethnic women's negotiation of rules for appropriate behavior are, therefore, quite complex, particularly when including consideration of ethnic-specific gender culture prescriptions. This research, therefore, adds new dimensions to existing knowledge about ethnic-gender identity and culture which are applicable across the social sciences, particularly for triangulation within the disciplines of anthropological socio-linguistics, interethnic and intercultural communication and women studies.

Gender

Gender, or socialized sex role behavior, varies from culture to culture and is communicated in different ways within different cultures. Several researchers have studied the differences between masculine and feminine behavior in White U.S. culture (Hall & Sandler, 1982; Gilligan, 1982; Pearson, 1985) but other U.S. ethnic groups have not been well researched for differences in gender behavior. Specifically, there is an absence, across the social science disciplines, of research that addresses the perspectives of U.S. American multiethnic women. Gender prescriptions continue to change, dramatically, for U.S. American women; expectations for appropriate gender behavior seem to be rapidly becoming more flexible and less rigid. These changes have allowed for more variation in personal interpretations of appropriate gender behavior and socially desirable and effective (e.g. in the workforce and other public spheres) gender-influenced interactions.

Audre Lorde (1992) illustrates culture differences between women from Black and White ethnic backgrounds. She explains some of the ramifications of color and culture

difference between women of these ethnic groups in U.S. America. Her statements allude to historical sources of problematic interethnic and intercultural communication.

"Some problems we share as women, some we do not. You fear your children will grow up to join the patriarchy and testify against you, we fear our children will be dragged from a car and shot down in the street, and you will turn your backs upon the reasons they are dying. Thus, in a patriarchal power system where whiteness privilege is a major prop, the entrapments used to neutralize Black women and white women are not the same. For example, it is easy for Black women to be used by the power structure against Black men, not because they are men, but because they are Black. Therefore, for Black women, it is necessary at all times to separate the needs of the oppressor from our own legitimate conflicts within our communities. This same problem does not exist for white women. Black women and men have shared racist oppression and still share it, although in different ways. Out of that shared oppression we have developed joint defenses and joint vulnerabilities to each other that are not duplicated in the white community[ies], with the exception of the relationship between Jewish women and Jewish men. On the other hand, white women face the pitfall of being seduced into joining the oppressor under the pretense of sharing power. This possibility does not exist in the same way for women of Color. The tokenism that is sometimes extended to us is not an invitation to join power; our racial 'otherness' is a visible reality that makes that quite clear. For white women there is a wider range of pretended choices and rewards for identifying with patriarchal power and its tools" (pp. 498-499).

Lorde's examples provide a Black feminist's perspective. Clearly, there are a vast number of non-feminist and differently-feminist women within each U.S. American ethnic group and this is meaningful in understanding the enormous range of options women have for expressing their particular, individually-determined as well as ethnic/multiethnic-specific and hegemonic-culture-specific gender orientations.

Collier (1986) gives insights on the connection between gender and culture. "Gender prescriptions are certainly affected by culture. Considering ethnic groups in this country, the degree of acculturation and desire to acculturate may influence expectations and rules...some females may experience a **bicultural identity in which there are competing rules and expectations** [bold, mine]" (p.577). Some communication researchers are beginning to grasp the complexities and interlocking nature (Collins, 1991) of ethnicity, gender and communication.

Houston (1994) has researched communication between Black and White women (Houston & Roach, 1987; Houston, 1992) and the effects of ethnicity and culture on satisfying communication between the women of these two ethnic groups. She explains

that, "Although not every contemporary conversation between black and white women is stressful, uncomfortable, or unpleasant, much talk between black and white women takes place against a backdrop of long-standing suspicion and distrust" (p. 134). The long-standing suspicion and distrust are deeply rooted in historical events which have provided fertile ground for the mutual, negative stereotypes that Houston found Black and White women frequently have of each other. These types of inter-ethnic and intercultural communication perceptions warrant further examination. Multiethnic women are certainly not a new biological or social group and U.S. population indicators imply that interethnic diversity is increasing.

Bowen (1994) describes how female culture and Jewish culture influence communication styles. She provides examples of male college students comments to her, in her role as a university professor. In these situations she is very clear about her perceptions of communication within that role, "When I recall my feelings and level of awareness in these interactions, I was more conscious of being a woman than of being Jewish, even though the young male students were not Jewish" (p. 64). Between women, though they share the same sex (biological), their ethnic heritages and different cultural backgrounds can promote very different gender (sociological) orientations which can be the basis for extremely problematic communication situations.

Rayna Green (1992) provides an example of the complexity of interethnic and intra-ethnic gender and culture norms, specifically between women from different ethnic groups and between women and men within an ethnic group. In the following brief excerpt, she describes what happened at a National Women's Studies Association Conference (1988) in Minneapolis, where a young U.S. American Indian woman was invited to perform a ceremonial dance of her ethnic culture.

"The planning group invited a young Indian girl to dance for the opening event. Typically, and profoundly, she came with her uncle and a group of young men who drummed for her. In Indian culture, an uncle is like your father. An uncle raises you. An aunt raises you. Your own father and mother are perhaps even less significant in some ways. Her uncle came with her because her father had just died. And her uncle, to honor her, and to honor the women who had come to see her, spoke for her. In our world, people speak for you when you're honored. It's a gift to speak for someone. And when that man, who was honoring everyone there by his presence, rose to speak for her, he was booed. Because in an environment where we've gotten our signals crossed, we don't know the faces of other people, we don't know how they live, and we cannot speak to them directly. He gave them even a further gift, he explained to them why she was not wearing her jingle dress. (A jingle dress is a wonderful buckskin or cloth dress filled with little tin coins that

make a marvelous noise when a young lady dances.) She was in her menstrual period, and a girl does not wear a jingle dress when she's menstruating, because the noise of those coins, you see, is a prayer, and it's a prayer for power. Music goes up, music calls down the spirits to look at you, and asks for power. Because a menstruating woman is already so powerful, to wear the jingle dress is to really risk a problem; to call down uncontrolled power, perhaps. He gave them the gift of telling them this. He was explaining something rather arcane, something people don't just discuss in public. It was a women's event. He wanted to reach out. And they booed him for that, because they thought he was talking about pollution. I'm not here, as I said, to accuse. This is not accusatory. That is not what Indian women and Indian men are about. This is about knowing our own names and knowing our faces. A gift was refused because no one knew it was a gift. We have got to come forward and know the gifts that different people give us. And that's why a meeting like this is essential--to look in the face of different gifts and to learn to honor each other, by accepting the terms on which those gifts are given" (p. 512).

This passage illustrates the effects that culture and different ethnic-specific gender orientations can have on people's expectations for appropriate communication and satisfying, or dissatisfying communication outcomes.

Ethnic Identity

DeVos (1982) discusses social groups based on ethnic identity and describes kinship networks as a major form of grouping; family is linked with ancestry and heritage is transmitted via one's ethnicity. DeVos then discusses historical examples of "intrasocial tensions arising from ethnic diversity" and goes on to explain how ethnicity is a component of one's self-identity. DeVos describes the effects that ethnicity can have on one's psycho-cultural interactions, especially for social minority group members who must do a kind of ethnic-juggling-act, or balancing, in order to function in an other-ethnically dominant (mainstream) culture. All of these factors affect the development of ethnic identity, but noticeably he does not mention the even more complex matrices of multiethnic identity.

DeVos (1982) defines an ethnic group as a *self-perceived group of people who share traditions which are exclusive to their group*, that is, not shared by others outside of their group. The author discusses dilemmas that ethnic individuals experience from a psycho-cultural perspective, within the contexts of group uniqueness, economic bases, cultural patterns and language. DeVos describes issues of ethnicity and social mobility as ethnic individuals contend with accommodating, to lesser and greater degrees, their ethnicity to the societies they live in. DeVos does a fine job of outlining the many issues of ethnic

identity, nonetheless, this exemplary work begs-the-questions of how (do) people negotiate 1) multiethnicity and self-identity and 2) sex (a biological factor) and 3) gender (a sociological factor) as these components work together in an expanded matrix of ethnic identity. These three areas have commonly been overlooked, only briefly footnoted, or entirely left out of research across various social science disciplines. The social sciences must begin to research these topics, across and within a diverse range of cultural and ethnic communities.

DeVos and Romanucci-Ross (1982) suggest that, "ethnic identity is experienced as a moral commitment" (p. 368) and describe Malcolm X as an example of a ethnically-identified individual who had such a commitment. He was multiethnic (Euro-American and African American by parentage) but, he was socially forced to identify exclusively with his African American ethnic identity; he was not allowed a choice in the matter, which resulted in identification with the one ethnicity he was socially validated in claiming. They state that Malcolm,

"was all the more motivated toward black identity by the previous excruciating ambivalence he experienced when he once attempted to identify strongly with the majority whites. The reaffirmation of his black identity was a positive resolution of a deep psychological stress--internal tensions were transmuted into a strong need to affirm the black man's [or woman's] right to dignity" (p.372).

DeVos and Romanucci-Ross give other examples of ethnically-mixed men and draw conclusions about their unique ethnic orientations. "Ethnic identity movements are usually led by individuals who manifest, in their own personalities, some resolution of previously disturbing internal states."

This observation of internal resolution actually is the opposite of what I find to be true for myself (i.e. fluxuating, but incessant internal strife) as an multiethnic **woman**. DeVos & Romanucci-Ross used men as *the standard* for analysis. I suggest, and concur with Collier (1986), that women often have entirely different ways of expressing their ethnic-identities and therefore, different linguistic manifestations of negotiating "disturbing internal states." This study of multiethnic women specifically looks at how women define and enact their ethnic identity. Certainly, biological sex and ethnicity create a unique identity-affecting combination in which they must manage and perhaps resolve, at different times and to varying degrees, ever-lurking identity dissonance.

Edwards (1985) explains the pluralistic components of multiethnicity. He states that,

"At a very simple level, ethnicity can be thought of as a 'sense of group identity deriving from real or perceived common bonds such as language, race, or religion' (Edwards, 1977)...*all* people are members of some ethnic group or other; in fact *ethnos* is a Greek word for nation, where this signifies a common descent group." (p. 6).

Edwards (1985) outlines four components of group ethnicity. These are, 1) there is no need to associate ethnic [group] with minority, that is, ethnicity is not necessarily a minority phenomenon; 2) there are boundaries between ethnic groups, the cultural content within the group boundary changes with time (e.g. language shift), "But the continuation of boundaries themselves is more longstanding [specifically]...the continuation of perceived group boundaries, across generations which are likely to show significant changes in the cultural 'stuff' of their lives" (p.7); 3) ethnic identity can be perceived as immutable (e.g. ancestry, geography, language) and mutable group markers (e.g. people who perceive themselves to be of a kind, united by emotional bonds and their belief in common descent and heritage, a presumed common identity); 4) ethnicity is symbolic and perhaps mythological, Edwards explains, "the myth of ethnicity resides in the attempt to artificially sustain it beyond limits of usefulness and meaningfulness" (p.9). For instance, economic and social-class approaches to understanding groups may be more explanatory of group behavior than ethnic-group membership.

Nonetheless, the power of symbolic ethnicity can be substantial and should not be overlooked nor underestimated. Edwards condenses the four components into the following definition,

"Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group--large or small, socially dominant or subordinate--with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation over generations, of the same socialisation [sic] or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of 'groupness,' or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past." (p. 10).

These four factors--the understanding that *ethnic* does not necessarily mean minority, *ethnic boundaries* exist and within these boundaries there is cultural content, *ethnic identity* is often perceived as having mutable (e.g. beliefs) and immutable (e.g. color) group markers, and

ethnicity is symbolic--and the preceding definition describe my perceptual model of ethnic identity and the concomitant complexity of multiethnic identity.

Klineberg (1982) addresses the consequences of contact between ethnic groups which has indirect implications for multiethnics. Klineberg, rekindles the issues that DeVos and Romanucci-Ross presented about the dissonance-creating effects of being multiethnic. Klineberg cites Allport (1954), stating "that casual, superficial contacts may often do more harm than good, but that contact accompanied by true acquaintance usually does lessen prejudice" (p. 281). Klineberg concludes that the favorable effect of contact is greatly enhanced if there is "equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals" (p. 53). Shifting these notions from a group to an individual dimension sheds light on the good or harm that multiethnics often internalize and the ranges of accompanying effects that ethnic conflict, or dissonance, can have on self-esteem and self-concept. The multiethnic individual is the physical and psycho-social manifestation (the consequence) of interethnic (the parents' interaction) contact (procreation). The circumstances of conception, the nature of the parents' relationship and the cultural environment the individual is raised in (e.g. the social networks and extended family interactions) will consistently remind the multiethnic individual of the consequences (good or bad, some combination of both, or neither) of being the physical manifestation of inter- or multiethnic contact.

Giles, Mulac, Bradac & Johnson (1987) discuss language behavior and ethnic identity and describe the theoretical approaches that Giles and Johnson (1981) originally provided for language and ethnic identity:

- ° Groups in interethnic contact want to see themselves as distinct and positively valued entities (Tajfel, 1981)
- ° There is perceived ethnolinguistic vitality
- ° There is ethnic or cultural distinctiveness and group boundaries
- ° Ethnic group membership is not the only salient category in people's lives, **consideration of *multiple*-group membership is important.**

Giles and Johnson propose that people generally define encounters with outgroup members in ethnic terms and will try to maintain ethnic-linguistic distinctiveness when they,

"a) identify strongly with an ethnic group which has language as an important group dimension; b) are aware of alternatives to their own group status; c) consider their group to have high vitality; d) see their group's boundaries as hard and closed; and e) identify strongly with few other social categories." (p. 254).

What if, from an individual's perspective, the outgroup is also an ingroup or vice versa? Let's consider a hypothetical situation involving a person who has an Latina mother and an African American father and who aligns herself most strongly with her Latina background. If she speaks with a person who strongly avows an African American background, she may accommodate (Speech Accommodation Theory; Giles, 1973) to the speaker and dialectically avow her own African American identity, converging (Hewstone & Giles, 1986) towards the speaker's conversational style or, perhaps, she will more strongly avow her Latina identity, diverging (Giles, 1973) from the speaker. Depending on the way the other speaker validates or invalidates her ethnic identities--along with issues of sex/gender, power, the topic and the relational context of the situation--she could avow either, or none, or some of each of her ethnicities. In addition, her perception of the other speaker's attentiveness, flexibility and ability or inability to accommodate to her multiethnic background, will affect her evaluation of that other's communication competence.

Collier and Thomas' (1988) research on cultural identity states that, "[e]thnic identity is a particularly important cultural identity because of the diversity in scope, salience, and the intensity with which it is communicated; ethnic identity is identification with and perceived acceptance into a group with shared heritage and culture (Collier, 1986)" (p.115). Hecht, Collier and Ribeau (1993) define interethnic communication as "interaction in which differing ethnic identities are enacted by participants" (p.59) and intercultural competence occurs when there is a "match between ascribed and avowed ethnic identity" (p.59). Ethnic identity increases and decreases in salience depending on the situation and it recedes and emerges in importance as people seek to define and redefine group memberships (Hecht, Collier & Ribeau, 1993). For members of non-mainstream groups, the processes of ethnic identity often involve consideration of mainstream culture (DeVos, 1982; Edwards, 1985) and individuals frequently adjust their identities and enactments to reflect this consideration.

The questions that remain unanswered are, how do women mesh multiethnic and gender constructs and describe communication strategies that enact interethnic/cultural competence? At various levels of interaction (for example, self-identity, family and social

networks and dominant culture) how do multiethnic women identify communication competence from the position of their own plural-ethnic identity?

"The notion of ethnic identity has important implications for intercultural communication. Interethnic communication may be defined as contact between people who identify themselves [or are identified by others] as ethnically distinct from one another (Collier & Thomas, 1988) or interaction in which different ethnic identities are enacted by participants" (p. 59). This enactment can be conceptualized as a social interaction in which ethnic identity is salient to one or both interactants who perceive or enact their identities differently. Interethnic communication competence is therefore, the match between ascribed and avowed ethnic identity (Collier & Thomas, 1988). Competent communication occurs when the behavior of one communicator confirms the enacted ethnic identity of the other communicator (Hecht, Collier, Ribeau, 1993).

Multiethnic identity is an individual's identity within the context of multiple ethnic heritages. Ethnic identity emerges and recedes in importance as persons seek to define and redefine their group memberships and "[p]eople not only adjust their own identities and identity performances, but [also] adjust their perceptions of the identities of others" (Hecht, Collier, Ribeau, 1993: p.60). An ethnic group has been defined as a self-perceived group, differentiated from others on the basis of heritage, ancestry, culture, language and/or religion (Edwards, 1985). Collier and Thomas (1988) explain that identity is a communication process which can be understood as an interaction in which messages are exchanged. This process of message exchange can be transacted between individuals within a group, between groups and between individuals of different groups. The latter situation describes an intergroup exchange; in this research the intergroup units will be ethnic groups. The dimensions of individual ethnic identity that will be addressed here are salience, or how important ethnic identity is (relative to other identities) to the individual; strength, how intense or weak ethnic identity is; and scope, which refers to a range of applicability, how many or how few people the individual perceives the identification is ascribed to or avowed by others (Collier & Thomas, 1988).

Padilla (1985) adds process to Edward's (1985) somewhat static concepts of ethnicity and ethnic identity. Padilla theorizes that ethnic identity is a group identity that changes and evolves through the institutional influences of the dominant or mainstream culture. Padilla (1985) provides four dimensions of ethnic identity evolution: ethnic identity is *symbolic*, (examples of this are language, rituals and shared worldviews); it has an *historical consciousness* (sequences of events and struggles over time, that reflect

continuity); it has *social consciousness* (a desire for group's acceptance within dominant culture); and it can be *strategy* (a means of an ethnic group's gaining of political clout).

Tanno (1994) shifts the focus from ethnic groups to ethnic/multiethnic individuals and explains that individuals, like groups, go through processes of change and evolution in understanding and negotiating their ethnic/multiethnic identity. Tanno states, "The individual process may be understood by examining the different terms or names persons use to identify themselves over the course of their lives. Each 'name' is a rhetorical device insofar as it communicates a particular story" (p. 30). She shares her names of ethnic identity--Spanish, Mexican American, Latina and Chicana--and explains the story behind each of them. Tanno illustrates the processes of ethnic identity outlined by Padilla (1985)--symbolism, history, social dimensions, strategy--and reminds us that a hegemonic culture invariably names ethnic groups and ethnic groups also look for names around which to proclaim and politicize their identity. Tanno (1994) questions,

"What, then, am I? The truth is that I am all of these. Each name reveals a different facet of identity that allows symbolic, historical, cultural, and political connectedness. These names are no different than other multiple labels we take on. For example, to be mother, wife, sister, and daughter is to admit to the complexity of being female. Each name implies a narrative of experiences gained in responding to circumstance, time, and place and is motivated by a need to belong. As such, they possess great rhetorical force. So it is with the names Spanish, Mexican American, Latina, and Chicana. They reveal facets of a complex cultural being" (p. 32).

Tanno's many names reveal the complexity of multiethnic identity through naming oneself, by naming one's multi-/ethnic heritages. Since identity can be conceived of as a communication process, understanding components and functions of communication can allow each of us to make choices about our multi-/ethnic identities.

Communication Competence

Competent communication is communication which is appropriate (rule-abiding) and effective (positive-outcome producing) and research on understanding the rules and outcomes that multiethnic women experience add new knowledge about ways to effectively negotiate multiethnic and interethnic/cultural communication competence. Rules for appropriate discourse are grounded on ideas of how others should act and speak, "rules are

post hoc perceptions of behavior. Measurement is based on perceptions of *others'* [italics, mine] behavior" (Collier, 1986, p.579).

Competent communication is judged by two criteria, appropriateness and effectiveness. Hecht, Collier and Ribeau (1993) describe communication competence as,

"appropriate *and* effective (Collier, 1988; Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984). The **appropriateness** criterion means that the competent communicator is capable of adjusting to the environment and requires knowledge of *what* is going on and *how* to deal with it (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984). This 'adjustment' may consist of a range of behaviors including changing the environment, exiting from the interaction, or applying communication strategies to deal with problematic issues (Duran, 1983). But these behaviors will be selected based on culturally informed criteria or norms for appropriateness. **Effectiveness** emphasizes communication behavior that accomplishes some desirable outcome (Hecht, 1978; Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984; Spitzberg & Hecht, 1984). Considering the potentials and consequences along with performance broadens the notion of competence and promotes more holistic approaches to communication. Knowledge of ethnic culture is necessary to any consideration of appropriateness and effectiveness" (p.115).

Hecht, Collier & Ribeau (1993) cite Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) to explain that the critical prerequisites to competent communication are knowledge, motivation and skill. Competent communication cannot be enacted without *knowledge* and understanding of various ethnic or cultural expectations and rules for behavior; the *motivation* to gain ethnic and cultural knowledge and adjust communication styles to reflect this learning; and the *skill* to negotiate satisfying communication outcomes. Multiethnic women's perceptions of competent communication are therefore, needed for developing knowledge and identifying skills for increasing satisfaction in inter-ethnic and intercultural communication outcomes.

Competent communication must, by definition, be appropriate and effective (Collier, 1988). The appropriateness criterion means that a competent communicator can adjust to the environment and has knowledge of, 1) what's happening, in the interaction and 2) how to deal with it. This adjustment can be a range of options, any of which may be chosen with relevant cultural norms of appropriateness guiding one's choices (Hecht, Collier, Ribeau, 1993). Appropriateness is normative behavior, conduct which is preferred and perceived as resulting in positive outcomes. "Individuals may not be able to describe conversational norms. However, they are able to describe specific behaviors that are appropriate or inappropriate in specific situations" (Hecht, Collier & Ribeau, 1993:p.115). Effectiveness is communication behavior that achieves some desirable outcome (Hecht, 1978; Spitzberg &

Cupach, 1984). Communication satisfaction is the result of effectiveness; satisfaction is the positive affective response to expectation fulfillment (Hecht, 1978). A competent communicator realizes that there are many options for enacting satisfying communication, as well as consequences for dissatisfying communication outcomes.

"Knowledge of ethnic culture is **necessary** [bold, mine] to **any** [bold, mine] consideration of appropriateness and effectiveness" (Hecht, Collier & Ribeau, 1993:p.115). Hecht, et al. (1993), contend that "competence is a particularly salient topic in today's world [and]...In our increasingly intercultural world we find additional challenges" (p.114). Multiethnic women provide options for mono-ethnic-oriented individuals to approach these challenges and utilize their communication competence potential; their perceptions of "the rules" for appropriate and effective inter- and multiethnic communication suggest that there are, indeed, general and specific behavioral and verbal patterns that others can utilize to enact more satisfying communication exchanges.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

There are three topic areas covered in the research questions. These include, how a multiethnic woman describes her multiethnic identity and how this is reflected in her communication styles; how she describes her ethnic-gender communication styles; and how she evaluates communication competence.

The following set of questions address the topic areas of how multiethnic women describe multiethnic identity and how the salience, strength and scope of their definitions of ethnic identity are reflected in communication styles.

RQ1: How do women describe, or define, their multiethnic identity?

RQ2: What are the situations in which their ethnic identity ties are most important?

RQ3: What are the particular situations when it is most important to intensely promote or take on a/some component(s) of multiethnic identity?

RQ4: Do the women perceive that their definitions of ethnic identity are shared by a large or small number of other people?

The next set of questions address how multiethnic women describe their ethnic-gender identities and how the salience, strength and scope of their ethnic-gender identities are reflected in communication.

RQ5: Are there different gender expectations for communicative behavior for men and women within the ethnic groups which they identified as components of their multiethnicity?

RQ6: a) What are the situations in which women intensely promote a gender identity?
b) How does this intensified gender identity relate to ethnic identity?

RQ7: Do the women who are intensely promoting their gender identity perceive this gender identity to be shared by a large or small number of other women?

The final questions address how multiethnic women describe and evaluate communication competence, in terms of rule violations, intensity of rule violation and frequency (scope) of rule violation.

RQ8: Are there similarities in what women perceive as appropriate behaviors for their ethnic identities?

RQ9: How frequently do others violate the rules for competent communication?

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will provide a rationale and explanation of the methods that were used for this project. I chose two settings for gathering qualitative information about the respondents ethnic identities and preferred communication styles. First, I interviewed 12 multiethnic women and had them describe their ethnicity, ethnic-gender orientations and perceptions of communication competence. Second, each respondent participated in an informal discussion with three other women--actually, one of the groups had only three women in it--each person was a previously interviewed respondent (that is, two groups with four interviewed women and one with three). The two data sets, the interviews and the small group discussions, were combined for "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973) of multiethnicity, gender and communication.

Rationale

Multiethnic women's descriptions of their ethnic and gender identities and their perceptions and evaluations of competent communication will provide information about their ethnic and gender constructions and preferred communication styles. Hecht, Collier & Ribeau (1993) explain that an interpretive approach to communication, "view[s] communication as a socially constructed process that revolves around membership in ethnic cultures. These memberships are formed out of interaction and frame our interpretations" (p.31). A qualitative approach to identity and communication allows the respondents to conceptualize their ethnic and gender identities and intra- and interethnic interactions. Thus, "focusing on reports or descriptions of their own experiences, informs us about the creation and enactment of identity...[and] ethnicity and culture become the frames through which we view communication to understand their experience of social reality and articulate their perspective on appropriate and effective communication" (Hecht, Collier & Ribeau, 1993: p. 15).

The two different settings provided different environments for self-disclosure of personal issues like ethnicity, gender and inappropriate versus appropriate communication

behaviors. These combined sources developed the contexts, or the frames of reference (Hecht, 1978; Smith, Kendall & Hulin, 1969), these multiethnic women used for evaluating competent communication. Triangulating these two approaches allowed for detailed data collection and also served as a cross-reference to previously disclosed information. Hecht (1978) states that, "[s]atisfaction with communication is easily conceived of in expectation fulfillment terms, people have expectations for judging the appropriateness of communication...Within the expectation fulfillment position, communication satisfaction can be seen as tied to expectations for self, other, relationship, and context" (pp. 51-52). Their perceptions of satisfying and dissatisfying communication can be understood as approaching or not approaching their expectations for mutually negotiated, fulfilling communicative interaction.

A qualitative approach is appropriate because this research aims to get its basis of knowledge from the respondents' perspectives and their interpretations of meanings attached to different styles of communication. Burrell & Morgan (1979) locate the interpretive method within the context of a qualitative, or subjective, perspective. They state that,

"[t]heorists located within the context of the interpretive paradigm adopt an approach consonant with the tenets of what we have described as the subjectivist approach...The interpretive paradigm is informed by a concern to understand the world as it is, to understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience. It seeks explanation within the realm of individual consciousness and subjectivity, within the frame of reference of the participant as opposed to the observer of action" (p. 28).

The two settings I chose provided different means of gathering information to inform this researcher's understanding and reporting of the respondents' experiences. This knowledge is important because interethnic communication focuses on patterns of behavior and interpretations of these patterns, from which a code of identity is articulated and an agenda for effective communication is described (Hecht, Collier & Ribeau, 1993).

The questions asked, in the interviews and small group discussions, focused on relatively specific patterns of behavior and interpretations of these patterns in an attempt to elicit relevant information towards understanding effective interethnic communication from multiethnic women's perspectives. The purpose of the interviews and the respondents' participation in the small group discussions was to develop thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of their ethnic and gender identities and their interpretations of communication competence.

RESPONDENTS

Respondents were 12 multiethnic female volunteers. Most of the women had their undergraduate university degrees, several were attending graduate school and many were professionally employed on a full-time basis. Two different settings, and two separate meeting times were required for this project, therefore, the respondents were also chosen on the basis of their availability and willingness to participate in each method (Please see Appendix 1, the Informed Consent Document, p. 175). A pretest of the interview guide was done, and no perceivable problems with the understandability, nor the specificity, of the questions were ascertained. Three acquaintances of the researcher each recommended four multiethnic women as potential participants in this research. In place of those who could not, or choose not, to participate, alternate respondents were solicited from recommendations by participating respondents. The 12 women who were interviewed then formed three small groups consisting of previously interviewed individuals for the small group discussions. One group had only three members, due to one respondent's unforeseeable inability to participate beyond the initial interview stage.

PROCEDURES

The methods used included individual (i.e. one-on-one with the researcher) guided interviews and guided small group discussions; both of these were tape recorded. The researcher transcribed both of these data sets. Each method served the purpose of collecting qualitative information about ethnic and gender identities and communication competence. The respondents' perceptions were the focus of one-on-one tape recorded interviews with the researcher. At a latter time, after the interviews were completed, the respondents were randomly selected (as could be arranged, with their schedules in consideration) to participate in the small group discussions. The researcher transcribed the interviews and the discussions and combined the data for thick descriptions of multiethnic and gender identities and perceptions of communication competence.

Interviews

The purpose of these interviews was to get responses to the research questions (see p. 23) presented in lay terms in the interview guide (see p. 177) and to allow the women the opportunity to describe the dimensions of their ethnicities, characteristics of their ethnic-gender identities and rules for appropriate communication. The researcher interviewed each woman in an informal tape recorded session of approximately one hour each, or more or less, as was necessary for the respondent's comfort level and for adequate response time to the questions and issues raised.

Small Group Discussions

The purpose of the small group discussions was to create an informal dialogue within three small groups; two groups had four respondents, one had three respondents. The 11 women each participated in one of these small group discussions for approximately one hour. The talk was guided by the questions in the *Small Group Discussion Guide* (see Appendix 3, p. 178); these questions basically reflected the questions, previously asked, in the interview sessions. Each respondent was asked to elaborate on the same information she had disclosed with the researcher, but in a group environment. This was done to develop detailed information and to cross-reference and thereby triangulate the small group discussions with the interview answers--the results of both were used to answer the original research questions posed (see p. 23). Characteristics of multiethnic and ethnic-specific gender identity and competent communication were thereby gathered in different ways via these two types of settings.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Data Analysis

Answers to the research questions were obtained with interview and small group discussion questions. The findings are presented in the following tables and interpretations, and are substantiated by direct quotes (see Explications sections) from the respondents, which proceed each table (please note, that although no parentheses are used, these are actual quotes).

Within the tables and explications a few recurring notations are used: *I* represents a statement made during the one-on-one interview with the researcher and *IQ* refers to an interview question; *SGD* represents a comment made during a small group discussion and *SGDQ* refers to a small group discussion question; the () enclosing a number indicates the actual number of times the respondent made reference to that particular term in the interview or small group discussion, for example, (2) means that the term was mentioned twice); *R1-R12* is the corresponding code number for respondents 1-12.

Research question number one, **(RQ1) How do women describe, or define, their multiethnic identity?** The interview question that correlates with this research question asked **(IQ1) How would you describe, or define, your ethnicity? Could you please name, or label the combined parts of your multiethnic identity?** The small group discussion cue asked the respondents to **(SGDQ2) Describe and discuss the combinations of your ethnicities.** Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following tables and explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

R1:

T1.a

Respondent #1			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
Jewish	*		It encompasses so much
Western & Eastern European		*	religion
French & Welsh		*	rituals
Russian		*	heritage
Polish		*	family
French		*	family structure
Russian & Polish Jewish		*	It's really all my identity
			Where I've come from
			Where I will go
			Mom's family
			Dad
Total: 7	1	6	11

[R1]

I: Hm. Okay. um, I guess being Jewish, it's really interesting because it encompasses so much. People tend to think of it as just being a religion. Um, but it's not, it's everything. It's my heritage and my religion, um and it's my rituals and um, my, I don't know. I don't know how much I would say it's my belief system? That's kind of iffy for me. Um, because I don't know that it kind of governs my life that way. Um, but it's my family, um, and the family structure. It's really uh, it's really all of my identity as opposed to being just a religion, or just a practice or where I happen to worship. Um, so, I really kind of see it as my, um, like where I've come from. Where I will go, based on it.

SGD: I'm Western and Eastern European and, my mom's family is French and Welsh and then my dad is um Russian, Polish, also French--most, mostly Russian and Polish Jewish--so that's really what I identify with. And this question's so interesting for me because um, people can't peg me, for who I am, you know.

R2:

T1.b

Respondent #2			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
Hispanic American	*		Mother
Part Anglo	*		Father
Anglo	*	*	racial
Latino	*		ancestors
Basque	*	*	Spain
South American		*	South America
			Intermarried
			racially Latino
			Basque heritage
			my Mother's side
			my other side
Total:	6	5	3
			11

[R2]

I: Well, I find I explain this a lot, because when people ask my identity, I first identify as Hispanic American, but to me that means I'm part Anglo, my mother's Anglo, my father is racial Latino, but culturally he's Basque. So what happened is my ancestors came from Spain originally, to South America, intermarried, so they are racially Latino, but we still retain the Basque heritage.

SGD: I am partially Anglo, on my mother's side and on my other side I am both South American and Basque, and that's my ethnicity.

R3:

T1.c

Respondent #3			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
African American	*		Ancestry
European American	*		
Native American	*		
half White		*	
half African American		*	
Total:	5	3	2
			1

[R3]

I: I am, African American and also European American and I do have some Native Indian in my ancestry, um, however, probably very little.

SGD: My um, ethnic identity is also half White, half African American

R4:

T1.d

Respondent #4			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
Hispanic	*		my parents
White	*		born
Black	*(2)		raised
Mexican		*(2)	White town
Mexican American		*	married
			I'm all sorts of stuff
			daughter
			husband
Total:	5	3	2
			8

[R4]

I: Well, my, both my parents are Hispanic, but I, I was born and raised in a very White town. So, that's basically it. Oh, and I'm married to a Black man. So, I'm all sorts of stuff. (laughter). And I have a daughter with my husband, who's Black.

SGD: (T4) Um, I'm Mexican. Would I be Mexican American, because I was raised in California? I don't think so, I'm just Mexican.

R5:

T1.e

Respondent #5			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
half African American	*		my Dad's side
half European American	*		family
Creole	* (2)	* (2)	roots are pretty deep
French	*		spoke (French language)
Dutch	*	*	my Mom's side
German		*	my great great grandmother's name
American Indian	*		stories from my Dad
African American	*	*	stories from my Mother
European American	*	*	grandmother
German Dutch		*	origins
			Father
			family history
			came to America
Total:	10	8	13

[R5]

I: Okay, well um, I'm half African American and half European American. But really for me, that doesn't mean a lot. I really consider myself to be Creole, which is what my dad's side of the family is. They're from Louisiana. And um, most of his roots are pretty deep, and um like, he spoke French for the first six years of his life and so, they're Creole and um, my mom's side of the family, they're Dutch and German. And um, plus, they're also part American Indian. My great great grandmother's name was Red Path. And I believe this too. So, those are the names and labels that seem, I think each part is kind of interesting because I hear stories from my dad and I hear stories from my mother and each of 'em, it makes me feel pride because I feel like I can identify with a lot of different people. So, I think that's good. It's better than just being kind of a pool, in this huge you know, European American society and a pool, in the African American society. And how it seems kind of fun, you're a little more specific and feel a little more important, I guess.

SGD: Um, I am a combination of an African American and European American but um, I identify with being Creole uh, my dad is from Baton Rouge, Louisiana and his family that's where they live, and my mother is German and Dutch. So um, and, and, my mom, you identify with German Dutch but you don't really talk about it too much and I don't really talk about ethnicity with her. With my grandmother I use to and her origins but, my father always identified strongly with being Creole and his family history and how he came to America and so forth.

R6:

T1.f

Respondent #6			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
African American	* (2)		I would define myself
White	*		a biracial person
half White		*	
half African American		*	
Total: 4	2	2	2

[R6]

I: I would define myself as um, a biracial person, African American and White. I identify with African American. SGD: I am half White and half African American.

R7:

T1.g

Respondent #7			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
American	* (2)		born here (USA), from this land
Hispanic	*	*	tradition
Spanish	*	*	values
Chilean	*	*	descent of Spain
Castilian	*		Father
South American	*		Spain
Latina	*	*	my cultures informed of Spanish
Latin American	*		Chile
Chicana	*	*	Chilean traditions, food, language
			Latino
			the Mexican Movement
			differences
			languages
			Mexican language
			my Father's from Spain
			my Mother's from Chile
			I was born & raised in City, State, USA
Total: 9	9	5	17

[R7]

I: Okay. First off, um, I'm an American because I was born here in the United States and I know the American tradition and values, basically. Second of all, I am a Hispanic and defined from that is being descent of Spanish and my father's from Spain, that's why I know about my cultures as informed of the Spanish. Second of all, I'm Chilean because my mother's from Chile and I know the Chilean's tradition, and food and language, along with the Spanish I know Castilian and the Chilean is Latino--a South American language. Um, thirdly, I am a Latina, basically Latin American, I know their values and traditions and lastly I am a Chicana because um, I am from this land and I feel for the movement, of the Mexican movement and uh, as students and for all Whites um, to learn our own differences and languages. And I also know, you know, the Mexican language too. So, I have these multiethnic um, identities, for myself.

SGD: I'm um, part Spanish and I'm part Chilean. Um, my father's from Spain, my mother's from Chile and I was born and raised in Portland, Oregon (laughter) which I always have to tell, everytime I go somewhere (laughter). Um, which is um, well I'm Hispanic--according to the United States census--and I'm Latina also, and I'm also Chicana. I combine all three.

R8:

T1.h

Respondent #8			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
American Indian	* (2)	* (2)	tribe
Lakota	* (2)		Lots of different things
White	*		my Mom
Euro-American	*		culture
Lithuanian	*	*	raised in
English	*	*	within that culture
Irish	*	*	
German		*	
Total:	8	5	6

[R8]

I: Okay. Um. To me um, ethnicity is um, a better term to use than race. For many reasons. But um, my ethnicity, also, for my ethnicity I consider myself American Indian first and part of myself is American Indian, specifically Lakota, from the Lakota tribe and uh, I'm also am White or Euro-American. And, and those are lots of different things--mom use to say, Heinz 57--those are lots of different things. Like, Lithuanian, um, English, Irish, all those.

SGD: Well I'm, I'm American Indian and I'm Irish and English and Lithuanian and German and Heinz-57, as my mom use to say. And um, but I identify mostly with my American Indian culture, 'cause I was raised, in, within that culture, mainly.

R9:

T1.i

Respondent #9			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
Italian	*	*	tribe
American	*		Lots of different things
half Italian		* (2)	my Mom
not half Italian American		*	culture
Scandinavian	*	*	raised in
Greenwich	*	*	within that culture
Total: 6	4	5	6

[R9]

I: I would define myself as, mostly Italian and somewhat American.

SGD: Um, well, even though I hate numbers, I'll, I'll just say, technically, I'm half Italian, my father's an Italian citizen, so half Italian, not half Italian American. And um, my other uh, are Scandinavian and Greenwich.

R10:

T1.j

Respondent #10			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
Mexican American	*	*	heritage
Mexican	*		my parents
American	*		born in the States
Total: 3	3	1	3

[R10]

I: Okay, the way I would describe my ethnicity would be that of Mexican American, um, Mexican heritage through my parents and American because of my um, because I was born in the States.

SGD: Um, my ethnicity is that of Mexican American.

R11:

T1.k

Respondent #11			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
Native American	*	R11 did not show up for the small group discussion	All of the parts
Hispanic	*		All together
Caucasian	*		
Total:	3	-0-	2

[R11]

Okay um, I, I define myself as Native American but I am, uh, if I were to name all of the parts of my ethnicity, I'm Native American, Hispanic and Caucasian--all together.

SGD: (No show)

R12:

T1.l

Respondent #12			
Names/Labels	I	SGD	Descriptors
half and half	*	*	tribes
Indian	*	*	family affiliation
European	*		Southwestern coastal region of the State
English	*	*	Very UN (United Nations)
White		*	
Coos		*	
Up-River Coquille		*	
Comanche		*	
Cherokee		*	
Choctaw		*	
Total:	10	4	9

[R12]

I: Okay then, about half and half. Different Indian tribes and uh, European, mostly uh, English.

SGD: I am part Indian, 'bout half and half and um, White, mostly English. And my Indian tribes are, uh, my family affiliation is Coos, which is from Southwestern Oregon coast and uh, I'm also Up-River Coquille, Comanche, Cherokee, and Choctaw. (laughter) Very UN, I guess.

The following composite table of the different responses given by the 12 respondents indicates the sum of ethnicities the respondents reported as well as the number of descriptors (terms, phrases, definitions or explanations) they gave in describing their multiethnic identities.

T1

Composite of Numbers of Respondents' Names & Labels and Descriptors of Their Multiethnic Identities		
Respondents	Number of Names or Labels Reported	Number of Descriptors Reported
R1	7	11
R2	6	11
R3	5	1
R4	5	8
R5	10	13
R6	4	2
R7	9	17
R8	8	6
R9	6	6
R10	3	3
R11	3	2
R12	10	4
Total: 12	76	84
Mean:n/a	6.333	7

Interpretations

The table above substantiates the major premise, that these women are, indeed, multiethnic. The number of names and labels reported were between three and ten, with a mean of over six; the number of descriptors ranged from two to seventeen with a mean

of exactly seven descriptors. The combination of these two factors, names/labels and descriptors, suggest that:

- 1) These women know they are multiethnic.
- 2) These women can identify the major components of their multiethnicity.
- 3) Despite the fact that they live in a U.S. society that continually pressures them to identify with one ethnicity, they know, and retain, and acknowledge that they are multiethnic individuals--even in the midst of a dominant culture that regularly discounts and disconfirms this (e.g. institutionally required identification in applications and forms for school, work, hospitalization, etc.).

These women do, indeed, reveal facets of being "complex cultural being[s]" (Tanno, 1994: see page 20 of this thesis).

Since these women can name, on average, over six names or labels for their ethnicity, might other ethnics also be able to name more than one ethnicity, as components of their identities? If so, would this suggest that applications for institutional data might not be correct, when they specify a few boxes for "race" while excluding the option to identify multiethnicity as an ethnic, "racial" construct of one's identity? How many individuals would check "multiethnic" if given the opportunity? Why aren't they given the opportunity? Should this group be included in statistical composites of types of groups? After three decades of knowing what it feels like to be called a "mixed" person, I can testify that it is indeed a very disconfirming experience to never be given the opportunity to identify oneself with what one really is--multiethnic. I personally, would feel much more validated--no, elated--to be given the opportunity to identify my multiethnicity and I believe, that like many of these women, "multiethnic" is an acceptable term to use to do just that.

Research question number two, (RQ2) **What are the situations in which their ethnic identity ties are most important?** The interview question that correlates with this research question asked (IQ2) **What are the situations in which ethnic identity is most important?** The small group discussion question asked the respondents (SGDQ2a) **What were any situations in which your ethnic identities were most apparent?** Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following tables and explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

T2.a

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of Situations in Which Ethnic ¹ Identity is Most Important	
Respondents	Situations
R1	* Jewish holidays * When wearing a star of David * Youth Group, Sunday School * When leaving her "close circle" hometown environment, moving to a small town in Ohio
R2	* In the past few years it has become increasingly important * In working with students * In interactions with administrators * "Physically" Anglo identity is more apparent * Interacting with people, Hispanic American identity "comes out"
R3	* In relating to people of the African American ethnic identity * Throughout my whole childhood: most of my childhood, I was pretty much the only Black person around * Only Black in her class in high school
R4	* All the time * Everyday * Since being pregnant * I'm aware of one thing or another, and the comments that people make * Most of the day
R5	* Work, definitely work * College, college was my first experience of really knowing that it was very important for me to identify with the African American in me * When people start asking questions [about her ethnicity] * In the education atmosphere * Once I have children * My parents took great care and concern to make me feel assured and told [me] I come from the best of both worlds
R6	* I identify with African American because hard as I may try, I will always be African American * I will never be accepted as White in a White community, so I don't identify with that * When with "fellow" African Americans * At work * I'm not one to assimilate * Growing up in a predominantly White community * I didn't look like all the other kids
Total: 6	30

T2.b

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of Situations in Which Ethnic ² Identity is Most Important [continued]		
Respondents	Situations	
R7	* In classrooms * When I'm within my group * With my Latino friends * With Chicano friends * With family * I've done a lot of research on who I am because I've always been in that trap of who am I * With my Mexican American friends * In The [Chicana/Chicano] Movement * Through college * I speak of all three [Latina, Hispanic, Chicana] because other people from the same group as me, will be offended that I say Hispanic	
R8	* Mostly every day * In my everyday life * [My] ethnic identities, those affect me every day, in every situation--especially the American Indian identity, my Lakota identity * In growing up it was just expected that you participate in the American Indian Community were I was * In every situation * It was something that you just lived with; it's there all the time	
R9	* It's always important, and it's not that I make it important * It's always a factor that's influencing my self and behavior * I think about it * It's present in the food I cook at home * It's present in that language, Italian * When I talk over my computer * I feel more Italian when I'm speaking it * It's my attitudes towards education and the Humanities and culture and art * My formative years were spent in Italy so I think a lot of my deeply rooted ways of expressing myself are more specifically Italian	
R10	* With my family * Basically in my everyday life * School; going to high school	
R11	* When I am with other Native Americans * When I am at the Longhouse * At a Pow-Wow * When I hear Hispanics being slammed * Whenever I'm not in a Native American or a Hispanic situation I guess I behave as a Caucasian member of society	
R12	* When I go to the native American Student Union (office) * Indian-type stuff like Pow-Wows, the Seed Beads * My Dad is the cultural historian for our tribe, over spring break I got to do these archeological digs * Sometimes with him (Dad) * [When] we got federal recognition for our tribe in '84	
Total: 6	36	
SUM: 12	SITUATIONS: 66	MEAN: 5.5

Interpretations

Sixty-six situations were reported in response to this question which asked, in what situations ethnic identity was most important; the mean was 5.5 situations. The most frequently mentioned situation was *constantly* (15), *with family, friends, or other ethnic ingroup members* (13), *school* (11), *within a general dominant culture setting/environment* (9), *during childhood and speech, both* (5), *work* (4), and *physical looks and religion, both* (2).

It appears that these women perceive situational ethnicity to be, overwhelmingly, a constant feature in their lives. Ethnic identity is most salient nearly all of the time, in every interaction they have. This is reasonable considering the everyday types of situations they

described in which ethnic identity is most salient, that is, with family and friends, at school, in dominant society, during their childhoods, in everyday speech, work and so forth.

As one might anticipate the positive situations in which ethnic identity was most salient were almost exclusively with family, friends, ethnic ingroup members and in speech (e.g. Spanish and Italian). The exceptions to this were (R9) who's grandmother--a family member--routinely makes derogatory comments to her regarding her Italian-ness and also (R11) who's step-father (a non-Hispanic) regularly--throughout her childhood and young adulthood--and persistently makes racist remarks to her about Hispanics, which is part of her ethnicity. These two incidents highlight the fact that bigotry, bias and racism can and does happen, within some multiethnic families, which downgrades these women's ethnicities. Since this can be an on-going occurrence, from the adult figures in their lives, it would seem that it could have devastating effects on their self-esteem and self-confidence, especially if it occurs during their formative years.

It is very interesting that within general dominant culture environments, school and work would be highlighted as places in which ethnic identity is most important, with school being noted one and a half times as frequently as work. This would suggest that for these women, school is a very clear setting in which they feel they must acknowledge, defend and become very aware of their ethnic identities. Overall, the respondents described negative situations at school. Particularly they describe scenarios in which they felt compelled to correct misinformation, to acknowledge their ethnicities, or to try to educate other students, educators and administrators about ethnic and culture-specific issues in general. Why do these women have to shoulder this burden within a university setting? Not only do they have to cope with racism and bigotry--primarily because most U.S. college campuses are predominantly white--but they also feel they (students) have to educate others. It seems that a far more effective means of education would be mandatory anti-racism and anti-discrimination college courses, and regular anti-racism and anti-discrimination training for teachers, administrators and staff on college campuses. Also, the burden of education would be much more equitably dispersed if dominant group members would educate other dominant group members about ethnicity--at least what they have researched, or learned about from ethnic group members--and more importantly, to step-in, interject and speak up when they perceive racism, discrimination or misinformation occurring, as it is occurring. Peer-group pressure can be very effective and I believe this is the key to anti-ethnicism. This was precisely one woman's approach (R7) as she challenged and admonished another ethnic ingroup member--who is an instructor at her university and an older male, and who

in every respect has a greater amount of status-power within the context of the board member meeting--she spoke up and challenged him, even at potential risk to herself. She challenged him, directly, within the group, saying that Hispanic, Latina/o, and Chicana/o students should all be allowed to attend the National Chicano Conference. This is an example of ingroup member to ingroup member correction for inappropriate ethnic-relevant behavior. There were Hispanics and Latinos at the meeting (including herself, R7) who were offended by his blatant bigotry and she spoke out to him, from the perspective of her Chicana identity, and discussed his inappropriate remark and explained why it was inappropriate. Her narrative suggests that her approach was very effective, and after the small group discussion, she revealed that Hispanics, Latinas/os and Chicanas/os did attend the conference.

Four respondents spoke, extensively, in their narratives about work clearly being a situation for them in which ethnic identity was most important. All four of these are working in professional jobs and two of the four are almost finished with their graduate degrees. Perhaps one reason why work was not cited more is because the other respondents are not working in full-time professional jobs yet, but are full-time graduate or undergraduate students; two are household engineers and childcare providers.

During childhood ethnic identity was salient to nearly half of the women. They mentioned this as being a time when they noticed they were treated differently than their European American peers. One wonders, when exactly, each woman first came to be made aware of her skin color (light or dark) and its significance in terms of the power that would exert throughout her lifetime in her interactions with others. Women who were multilingual (e.g. English and Italian [R9] and English, Castilian, Chilean, Peruvian and Mexican Spanish [R7]) noted speech as being a salient situation in which ethnic identity was important. It was important because the language(s) they spoke constantly reminded them of their ethnicities and of their gender. For some women (e.g. R7, R9, and R10) their U.S. American citizenship was questioned by others because they spoke other languages (other than English, that is) so very well. The presumption seeming to be--both abroad and in the U.S., as their narratives suggest--that if they spoke other languages well, they must not be U.S. Americans. It would seem from this observation that the perspective of those abroad and amongst the general dominant U.S. American culture, is that U.S. Americans can and should only speak English (very well). What does this imply in terms of the potential for multicultural appreciation and exchanges within the U.S., in comparison to a hegemonic culture? To this researcher it suggests that we will continue to live in a very culturally-

segregated society and that a strong pressure, or desire, for a hegemonic culture will persist. This cannot be a very affirming environment, in general, for multiethnic women.

Physical looks, mostly skin color, is a notable point of oppression for the multiethnic women who acknowledge an African American identity component. Many of the women noted that their skin privilege gave them access to insider-ism in mainstream culture, while still knowing that they identify primarily with other (e.g. Latina, or Native American) cultural identities. This dimension of insider-ism via skin color, yet outsider-ism via ethnicity must be a very dissonance-creating dynamic which should be explored in future search. All of the women in this category acknowledged that their first reaction to bigoted and biased statements is anger. Yet, at the same time, they have each learned to hide (R9), not show (R4), or ignore (R8) their anger and attempt to educate the other. This must be very tiresome. For a multiethnic woman who lives in a racist society and has white skin privilege and still identifies with various ethnic groups this suggests a degree of perpetual stress. How do they cope? Do they cope? These are all very bright women and I understand they are attempting to educate others, but again, it seems they are carrying the bulk of responsibility, in their daily interactions, to re-educate others about anti-racism and anti-discrimination. The burden must begin to shift towards a majority sentiment to share this responsibility if the efforts of re-education are to be more equitable and efficient on a larger scale (i.e. beyond the scope of each ethnic/multiethnic individual's direct influence).

One respondent (R1) mentioned religion as a situation in which ethnic identity is most important. Her Jewish faith has a long history of international oppression and it is really rather sad to report that in 1994 this is still a salient issue for U.S. American Jewish persons. She reported that it was when she left her "close circle" of home that her Jewishness became very apparent to her in dealing with dominant culture members. She also has white skin privilege and she seems to be coping with refereeing that with her own pride-filled ethnic bonds. In the small group discussion, she specifically poses the question: Is it our responsibility to re-educate all of these relatively indifferent, yet dangerously ignorant people? She doesn't believe it is and I concur. The burden should also be shouldered by dominant culture members.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: Well, for me I'm talking about my, my Jewish identity and I was kind of thinking of um, the times when I'm finding that people are, you know, most ignorant about it or um, really just um, ignorant to that fact, sometimes that we even just exist. I think, that's really the interesting part of it. Um, I think about um, say when Jewish holidays come around. Um, something like that and you know, it's not like Christmas or something, that the whole world knows about it. Um, so it's really important to let people know that we do exist and um what the holidays are about. And um, um, why we celebrate them and what they mean. I'm trying to think about this. Um, yeah, I don't know that um, it's something that I really feel that I need to assert all the time. It's more of um, when I am finding that people have misconceptions or misinformation, that I really have to stand up and correct it and say something. Um...I don't know what else to say.

SGD: I, I walk around and I pretty much got my mother's coloring--I got the Western European more um, I'm a little bit darker than your (laughter) average White person but um, not very and I have lighter hair um, so I walk around in this skin and I, I will have to tell people, you know, my identity. Or if I'm wearing a star of David around my neck, or something like that. Um, then it becomes pretty obvious. So, and I also grew up um, in a school that was not majority Jewish but had a good enough Jewish, large enough, Jewish population um, and I was in Youth Group and I went to Talm...you know, Sunday school and all this stuff, to where, I wasn't really minority. And um, I knew that in a larger setting I was, but in my close circle I was majority. And so I think um, my identity becomes more apparent when I left those environments and I was minority. You know, when I moved to a small town in Ohio and people were like, oh, yeah, I met a Jew once. You know. And that kind of thing--and um, so somewhere I learned, wait a minute, things aren't the same everywhere, you know.

[R2]

I: In the past few years it has become increasingly more important. I use to feel like I was very generic, but I knew I was different. So most times I would just feel Anglo because

that's the way people react to me. But I find that in working with students, most of the time, particularly when they're not very exposed to people of color, that I, my ethnic heritage becomes more pronounced. And I feel like I need to let them know that because I think it's important for people to get out of their framework of what they think about people of color, or culture. And, when they see me and when I'm not exactly what they think I am, they're usually surprised, a little bit. Part of me sort of enjoys that. It's a way for me to teach them a little bit about culture and color and give them more information. If it's a student that I'm interacting with on a one-on-one basis and with administrators I've found, particularly of late, when we're discussing the issues of diversity, in quotes, and what that means and they will turn to me and say, well you know, those people of color, and I'm thinking well yeah, my cousins are of color and you know they're the same inside that I am, I just happen to have gotten the skin, you know. You need to try and find out who you're speaking to before they start making assumptions.

SGD: I think that physically, obviously, my Anglo identity is more apparent because that's what people see, on the outside. I think though that in my interactions with people, my Hispanic American identity comes out because of my communication style and the way I feel and relate to others. Although that's not off, that's not always perceived that way.

[R3]

I think, in relating to people, of the African American ethnic identity is um, when I feel that I want to strongly identify with African Americans. Um, I think that I have an advantage. Although I, um, also half European American, um, I try not to come across as um, too um, European when I'm relating to African Americans.

SGD: Mmmm, probably um, throughout my whole childhood. I was the only um, Black in my class, in high school. Um, so most of my childhood, I was pretty much the only uh, Black person, around.

[R4]

I: I think that just...I think that all the time, because um, people throughout the days, everyday, people make remarks. And I just always have to come back to just what you are and who you are. And how you feel about that. What other situations..I think, and so, it's, it's, lately, it seems that, ever since I became pregnant, I'm more aware of one thing or another, and the comments that people make. And so, I'm, I think, I think most of the day, I'm aware of, of just, I think it's important to know yourself. And just, yeah, just know yourself. So, I think about it all the time.

SGD: Obviously, I was um, raised in a White town too.

[R5]

Um. Well, I think work. Definitely work is. And I don't know um, if I'm just feeling that because this is my first professional job that I've had other than interning and stuff in college. Where I've noticed that it's become more important. And college, college was my first experience of really knowing that it was very important for me to identify, with, I guess, the African American in me. Um, in Juneau I was very, it was very secluded. And um, I never really had to confront any kind of issues because there was a large Alaska Native population there. And um, it just wasn't an issue. I mean it, it was really, it was very different. It was

very um, you know, nobody really--I'm sure they cared--but when you're growing up you don't really care until you go outside of that little pocket and nobody knows who you are, or where you come from or you know, and people start asking questions. So I think college was, ah, in the education atmosphere and in the workplace atmosphere, that's where my ethnicity becomes really important. I mean, personally for me, I think that my ethnicity will become more important once I have children. Because I think, right now, I'm at a point where um, it's a very self-thing for me. I mean, I know where I come from, I'm happy about where I came, or come from. But I really don't feel um, like um, I think it's important to feel self-confidence in myself, not necessarily from my ethnicity. I don't always dwell on that, I just dwell on my inner personal self. Um, I think though, once I have children, that it will be very important for me to, to um, that will be a very important situation for me to remember, specifically, where I come from what has made me up--like the German and the Dutch and the Creole and I think that's when ah, it'll become most important in my life. And that, goes too with the situations when I think it will be important too, to intensely take on or promote my ethnicity. I think that's true for other children of color too. Not necessarily being they're African American or European American, but I think it's really important to uh, 'cause I think that's where it all starts, where your self-confidence stems from. If you, if you're not comfortable with what you look like or where you come from, I think that causes a lot of problems for you in the future. And I know that my parents always, it was a very big thing with me, because I always use to tell them that I thought I was adopted because I didn't look White and I didn't look Black. And I couldn't figure out what was wrong with me.? And I know um, that they took great care and concern to make me feel assured of myself and told, you know, I have, I come from the best of both worlds. I have these features and these feature [hand gestures in different directions] and um, you know, I'm gonna be a unique person. So, I think definitely um, that's something that I, when I have children, again I think I'll intensely take on and promote both sides. Especially with my husband, I mean, he's European American but, he identifies with being Yugoslavian. And so, um, I think for both of us, it will become more important when there's children around.

SGD: I'd say um, first when I went to college and second when I started working at my job that I have currently, which is my first professional job out of college. And, I think of it, that is why, the reason why it took so long for me, for me to really realize who I was, and that I was unique was because I grew up in Juneau, Alaska which is very small, very secluded. It was never an issue. People were, you know, you just didn't really discuss different heritages, it was, it wasn't a problem and nobody really cared, I don't think.

[R6]

I: Uh, because I identify with African American. I don't think that um, being White is significant. Because, hard as I may try, I will always be African American. I will never be accepted as White in a White community so I don't identify with that. As far as the African American community--what do I think is most important? When I am with fellow African Americans. Um, when I'm at work, in a working situation, I'm, I fully have pride in my ethnicity and I'm not one to assimilate with the mainstream. And that's, that's how I think of it.

SGD: Uh, probably growing up in a predominantly White community. I didn't look like all the other kids. So that would be, my earliest recollection.

[R7]

I: Oh boy. That's a hard one, because all of 'em are really important to me. Um, but, the most important, which I usually will identify myself is a Spanish Chilean American. And that's my most important because of my parents and where I was born. Okay, the situations. Yes, um, for the fact that when I am ah, basically when I go and I am in a classroom, I basically identify myself as a Hispanic and with other Latinos and Chicanos in my class, and I just see myself as a Latina Chicana Hispanic. All three categories, because I belong to all three. And, when I'm within my group, with the Latinos and Chicanos um, I just stay with them and if they particularly pinpoint and ask me **EXACTLY** where I am from or what my background is, I will tell them a Spanish Chilean American because I was born and raised in Portland, Oregon, so...That's the way I think of (laughter) the situation.

SGD: Usually it's when I'm with my Latino or Chicano friends, or with my family and we're speaking Spanish (laughter)--and because, they catch us right then and there and they'll go, were are you from? (laughter)--and it's like well, um, I'm from Portland, Oregon. And it just happened yesterday, matter of fact. And then they go oh, you know, well, how do you know your Spanish? It's, so well, I mean, and where are you really from? You know, or where, where you born? I continue telling 'em I'm from Portland, Oregon. I was **born and raised** in Portland, Oregon (laughter) and um, and some, you know, a lot of people um, get confused and then they'll ask, always, what how do you identify yourself as? And I go well, I'm Hispanic, Latina, Chicana and they go, well why are you all these three? I mean, well, what's the difference? I'm a Hispanic because, according to, looking at the research I've done, I've done a lot of research on who I am because I've always been in that trap of who am I, where am I and I'm confused. And um, Hispanic is a direct descendent of Spain and I'm a direct descendent of Spain through my father. And I'm a Latina 'cause I'm directly, 'cause my mother, you know, is South America, Latin America, so I'm a Latina. And then I never really identified myself as a Chicana until I went to college. And the reason I started identifying myself as a Chicana, I always stood away from the name because I've been scared of it, because I thought, in my mind, it's a Mexican American. But with my Mexican American friends, I found out I was a Chicana because I'm of this land. I was born here, in the Northern American area, so I am a Chicana and basically anybody who believes in The Movement, you know, about our rights as people um, can be a Chicana. So, I'm, I work hard and all my friends are Mexican so, I consider myself a Chicana. And um, and I learned that through um, college. But that took me a long time to uh, identify myself as that. So, I speak of all three because other people from the same group as me, will be offended that I say Hispanic, or else they'll shy away from me, so I'll say Latino, or whatever. But, I'm also an American too (laughter) so, um, when I did, like I've said, I really felt, I always considered myself as a Hispanic Latino as I was growing up, you know.

[R8]

I: Well um, mostly every day. Um, in my everyday life 'cause they're with me all the time and they reflect, those ethnic identities um, give me certain values and morals and beliefs that I have. And so um, those affect me every day, in every situation--especially the American Indian identity. My Lakota identity.

SGD: Well, I guess in growing up, I mean, it was just, expected that you, you, you participate in the American Indian Community were I was, which was in _____[name of town]. And um, and so, I mean, it was in every situation. That I, that it was there, and I, it was something that you just lived with. It's (clap of the hands) there all the time.

[R9]

I: What are the situations in which um, different than what are the particular situations um, okay, so, my ethnicity I think is most important when...it's always important. It's, and it's not that I make it important. It's just that, it's just what, it's always a factor that's influencing my, self and behavior. I think that a lot of my attitudes are, are more geared toward my Italian heritage and um, and, and their tempered with, some of my American values that I've been brought up with here. But um, a lot of things that, that...like about things in the world, or things I could find in Europe, social customs and um, a lot of behavior that, that I can really I identify with--I've found in Europe, specifically in Italy. And so, I think about it, and, I don't necessarily think about it, but it's present, you know, it's present in the food I cook at home. It's present in um, when I'm very emotional and I feel very intense, I feel that, that language to emote in, is Italian. You know, I don't necessarily do it all the time because nobody would understand me, but, that's the way I feel, you know. That works for that.

SGD: Well um, back to the numbers--I think I'm more than 50% Italian, because I think I got more than 50% of my genes dominating on my father's side. So I look, I look more Italian than anything else. And I'm treated as Italian um, more because of my looks, or if I mention that I'm Italian, people will--start to treat me differently. They'll, they'll make assumptions about me, that um, some of which are true, some of which aren't. And uh, particularly of men. Um, men that can't see me, that I talk to over my computer, which is a big part of my thesis right now. Um, they just, they flip out. They make, just these big, they create Sophia Loren in their mind, and they (laugh) they go bananas. They start talking real Italian--like they know how to speak it. Um, I, I, I have to admit that I feel more Italian when I'm speaking it. Because, you know, that home language culture kind of thing, comes out. Um, also in my, in my attitudes towards education and um, the Humanities and culture and Art, I identify strongly with that part. You know, opera and um, kind of the classic education. I don't identify as much with the, the Scandinavian and the British side. I just don't know that many of my ancestors from that part. And, my formative years were spent in Italy, so I think a lot of my deeply rooted...um, my emotionality and ways of expressing myself, are more um, specifically, Italian.

[R10]

I: Well, my Mexican identity is most important in...okay the situations in which my ethnic identity are most important um, are with my family. Um, and basically in my everyday life. Um, because I relate to the Mexican culture and anything that has to do with that culture um, interests me.

SGD: Uh, would probably have been when, um, my family moved out from Los Angeles to Portland, and going into high school. Um, the...the makeup of the school was not, as diverse, or anywhere close to as diverse, as the one where I grew up.

[R11]

I: My Native American identity is most important to me, when I am with, other Native Americans. When I am at the Longhouse or at a Pow-Wow. I feel uh, it's not something that I consciously choose, but I, I feel myself taking on that identity more than I do in other situations. Um, I haven't had as much contact with my Hispanic identity, as I had, have had with the other two, so, um, I'm still learning about that one. So, I, I, it's hard for me to answer that one, because I don't know yet. Mostly, it's most important, when I hear...uh, when I hear Hispanics being slammed, basically, then it makes me mad. Because I realize

that they're slamming me too. So, that, that makes, that's when it's important to me. And Caucasian, um, I grew up in a, what could be defined as a Caucasian home, so I guess, whenever I'm not, in, a Native American or a Hispanic situation I guess I, I behave as a Caucasian member of society.

SGD: (No show)

[R12]

I: Well, usually I stick with the Indian side and I guess when it's most important is when I, either, I go to _____[name of university] and we have the Native American Student Union, then they have their office, in the basement (laughter) that you can hang-out. And uh, so I go, go down there and, you know, meet people, and then uh, when you go to Indian-type stuff like uh, Pow-Wows, or some chapter like The Seed Beads, (laughter) things like that (laughter). And uh, then sometimes too when uh, see my dad is the um, cultural historian for our tribe--the Confederated tribes of Coos, Umpqua and Siuslaw--and so over Spring Break I got to do this, see he offers these archeological digs and so, sometimes I'll go with him. And so, you know,...yeah, this is my territory and your in it. (laughter).

SGD: It's kind of a slow evolution 'cause we, we got federal recognition from ah, for our tribe, in ah '84, so you know, just for now, it's like oh, my goodness, you know, now I'm an official Indian (laughter) you know.

Research question number two (RQ2)--see page 36--was also approached via the interview question (IQ8) **Where were you? What was the topic? Who were you with?** The small group discussion question asked the respondents to (SGDQ4a) **Describe the situation. What was the topic?** Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following table and explications (direct quotes from the respondents) show their responses.

T3

Composite of Respondents' Recently Recalled Conversations In Which Another Person Behaved Inappropriately--with Them or Towards Them--Regarding Their Ethnic identities			
Respondents	Where They Were	Who They Were With	Topic
R1	University living hall	A woman friend	The woman friend's Jewish boyfriend
R2	Work	Supervisor	Job performance
R3	Large and expensive furniture store	One woman friend, their 2 small children & 3 sales people	Shopping for a bookcase
R4	Work	Manager	Respondent's husband's ethnicity
R5	Work	Supervisor	Respondent's ethnicity
R6	Home (on the phone)	Anonymous phone caller	Respondent's ethnicity
R7	University campus, in a formal Conference room at a Board Meeting	Board members	Attendance at a National Chicano Conference
R8	University department's lounge room	One female student speaking & one male student is present	American Indians being "upset"
R9	Hospital	Grandmother speaking & one nurse present	Norwegian-ness versus Italian-ness
R10	Work	Co-worker, and numerous other office workers are listening	Providing reading materials written in Spanish
R11	Home	Step-father	Mexicans
R12	Home (on the phone--to a radio call-in talk show	A male caller, on the talk show	American Indians being included in American history textbooks

Interpretations

In response to the prompt inquiring **where** they were when another person behaved inappropriately--with them or towards them--regarding their ethnic identities, the largest number reported *work* (4), *a university location* and *home*, both (3) *a public store* and *a public hospital*, both (1). In stating **who** approached them, the largest number of references was to *employment-related individuals*, for example a boss or co-worker (4), *phone caller* and *close relative*, both (2) and *salesperson* (1). The **topic** most reported was *ethnicity* (7), *textbooks or reading materials* (2), ethnics' "oversensitivity" and *shopping and work*, (1).

In the workplace, a university setting, home and a public store and hospital suggests that the most common places where inappropriate communication occur is where dominant culture environments are--with the exception of home, of course, and this raises an interesting issue. If multiethnic women are getting negative ethnicity-relevant messages in the home and outside of it, where do they get (if any) confirmation or validation of their plural-ethnic identities? Do they, ever? The consequences of on-going public and private invalidation of who they fundamentally are cannot bode well for one's self-esteem or self-confidence, unless, somehow they are finding positive confirmations of the complexity of who they are from particular sources. Who or what are these sources, within U.S. mainstream culture?

In terms of who approached them, the majority stated employment-related individuals, for example a boss or co-worker. Since all of these women had Bachelor's degrees, many of them had attended or were attending graduate school and working professional jobs, this problem appears to be most salient for these women in the context of working with well-educated, relatively privileged and mid-to-upper income others. Since the prevalent assumption is that education is the key to diminishing racism, bias, bigotry and discrimination, perhaps the quality of the education they are receiving needs attention. Phone caller and close relatives were the next most frequently mentioned--and then salesperson--others who approached these women with inappropriate comments. This is interesting considering the phone callers are total strangers, to the degree of imposed anonymity in a one-instance interaction; whereas, close relatives interact with these women on a frequent, or regular--if not daily--basis. Again, this brings up the issue of public and private dis-affirmations of ethnicity and self. Where do these women find affirmation, or the social cushion in which to validate their multiethnicity and build their multiethnic sense of self? These different sources (private and public) of invalidation suggest that this is a

continual battle and that these women must be very resourceful in finding some sanctuary from the dissonance of self-esteem and self-confidence disconfirming messages at home as well as in their public lives.

The topic most reported was ethnicity. This is surprising, considering that the most frequently reported instances occurred at work, with work-related individuals. In every instance at the workplace it was a European American addressing the woman. How is ethnicity a task-relevant topic in the workplace? What could ever compel these well-educated individuals to approach these women in such inappropriate ways? Clearly, the women were, at the least, upset and quite often offended or left feeling "attacked," why is this tolerated in the professional workplace? These types of episodes cannot make work a very comfortable place for ethnic and multiethnic women to be in, especially on a full-time, weekly basis. What kind of stress are these women operating under?

Their comments suggest that they are contending with a tremendous amount of work-related stress that focuses around others' responses or presumptions about them, because of their ethnicity. This cannot be good. Textbooks and reading materials continue to be noninclusive of multiethnic experiences in the U.S., to the degree that well-educated dominant culture members cannot be expected to have this knowledge--unless of course, they have made concerted efforts to expose themselves to extensive and relevant interethnic and intercultural communication training and inter-ethnic/cultural awareness, in general. This exposure optimally should occur, and be a general requirement, in the university and the workplace arenas and should be considered as important, if not more so, than say, for example, competent computer skills.

Since home with close relatives can be a source of ethnic contention it should not be presumed that the home is necessarily a multiethnic confirming atmosphere. More interethnic inclusive training and exposure in the university and workforce would therefore, also be beneficial to multiethnic women who experience multiethnic disaffirmation at home, among family.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each

provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: I don't know that I have really, regarding my ethnicity. I don't know that I've gotten into it with anybody, since I've been in Oregon. Um, I guess particularly because of being in Women Studies and doing the sort of visible work that I have, that I've had to deal with so many issues regarding women and stereotypes and what other, what other horrible things. But, uh I don't know that I can uh, I can think of situations from when I was back in Colorado, but that's been several months ago. I don't know if that's...Uhhm, I think really the only thing I can think of is a actually conversation I had with a friend, a woman who lives in my hall um, who's boyfriend is Jewish. This is really, funny because he's Jewish, he's in dental school, you know, he's in Ohio, it's like uh. It's just this weird thing--he's just going, oh, my dad's a dentist and it's really funky. But, yeah, so we were like having this conversation. She was dealing with him, they were having some problems, and um, it was this weird thing because she was real upset that um, she was afraid that he was interested in this woman. This other dental student, who lives in his house. And um, she was more worried that the woman dental student was interested in him. But um, the woman dental student is Jewish, also, and my friend is not. Um, so she was like petrified, that, you know, maybe his you know, dad was gonna get in on this and try to get these two together. And her parents were gonna--he went to go like have dinner with her at her parents or something--and her parents were gonna get in on this because we've got like these two Jewish people and the folks are gonna wanna get em together. You know um, she's engaged to somebody else, but I guess that didn't matter. (laughter) So she was just, she was just having a fit, and was really, pretty upset, that, that...you know that there's this um, there's this desire among Jews to make sure that they, you know, are not intermarrying and staying in the faith, and all this. And so we, really uh, we had to really, uh, kinda talk about that. And uh, she also was um, I don't know, she was also worried because um, her boyfriend's mother, who has since past away, but I guess she felt like they were raised by this Jewish mother, who um, now he's this guy who's just stuck on this mother figure and needs that sort of person in his life. And so he's now gonna want this little Jewish woman to uh, sorta fill that role for him, or something. I don't know. It was really odd, but. And it was a difficult conversation for me because I kind of um, felt like, well, there's this, this certain kernel of truth going on here. There's that certain core, um, just because of, I think the way Jewish families have um, basically been forced into interacting in a lot of ways, because they had to, they've been somewhat isolated and they've had to protect themselves, and all of that. So, there was, there was just a little bit of truth going on there, that I kind of had to acknowledge, but then I also kinda had to talk to her. And try to get rid of some of these stereotypes and, yeah, it was kind of difficult. Um, you know, we were in the bathroom. (laughter). And we were having a conversation! (laughter) While we were brushing our teeth, or whatever and um. Yeah...

SGD: I had described one situation to Cynthea, now I'm thinking that maybe another one has arisen that maybe I could talk about. Um, it was, part, well um, I was talking to a man the other night and he was talking about different um, religions and their views on homosexuality, and what they, all the sanctions they put on homosexuality and he mentioned um, I don't know what groups he lumped in like, he said um, he said Muslims and oh, I don't remember what it was, one other group and Jews all preached the hell-fire thing to um, about homosexuals and stuff. And I was just so hit by this and it was um, it was so upsetting um, because it was at least from a Reformed Jewish perspective.

[R2]

I: Okay. It was work-related. I came into my office one morning and my supervisor, he called me in, to discuss something that was obviously very important because he is one of those people who doesn't know how to handle conflict. And you know when there's a conflict. You can just tell by the look on his face that it's gonna be bad, cause he would rather just blow it off completely. So, we went into his office and we sat down, he looked at me very seriously and he said, well, basically, _____[respondent's name]--a woman in the office and another person, just don't like the way you're operating. That direct. And, I just went, uhhhh. You know, that, that's not the way I'm use to operating, at all. That was the beginning of the conversation.

SGD: Um, my recent conversation was, with my supervisor. He called me into my, to his office and, it, said um, the two students that I advise, he said, so-and-so-and-so have a problem with the way, you're, working. They don't like your style. Or don't like the way you're working, with them, they think you're doing a bad job. It was that blunt! And I can't remember the exact wording. And I, I, I, couldn't react, 'cause I was just so stunned. Because it was so blunt--just dropped it out of nowhere. And I was really surprised. Um, so the topic was, my job performance. And, what he did that I felt was inappropriate, **for me**, was that it was too blunt. It was too much at one time. He didn't warm me up, you know, he should have asked how was I doing, how was I feeling, what did I have for lunch (laugh) you know. 'Cause that's the way--that's the way I would feel more comfortable handling conflict, because that's what I'm use to--with my family.

[R3]

I: You know Cynthea, I have the perfect example for that. Just two days ago, I was shopping for a bookcase. And, I went to several furniture stores and the general atmosphere, was friendly, people were very courteous, however, two days ago I went to a store, here in Portland and um, a very large store, very upscale furniture--everything was natural wood--and um, um, I was with my girlfriend who was Hispanic and we both had our daughters with us, that were both under the age of one. And we went into the store, in the middle of the day, um, there was no one in the store. It was a very large store, two levels and I'd say, maybe, there might have been one or two other couples in the store, but they weren't even on the main floor, they were kind of off in different areas upstairs. So, we go in, my girlfriend I and, there are three salespeople standing behind the counter not one person looked up and acknowledged our presence, not one person said hello, they didn't greet us. And, um, I just initially thought well, perhaps they are doing something and in a minute somebody's gonna come up and say hi, is there anything I can help you with today? That didn't happen. We were in the store, we walked around the whole bottom level of the store, walked all the way around them in a circle, not one person said hello, not one person said what can I help you with. Um, so, I finally located the bookshelves I was interested in.

I had seen them all at this point, and I was narrowing it down to two bookcases. And I, I had a question. And I went up to the counter to talk to a salesperson. And when I came up, there was one woman and two men and I went to the first person I came to who was a man, actually, I take that back, when I think about it, I went to the woman and just as I got to the counter...she looked at me and acknowledged me, but she just kind of put her finger up, like I see you there, but I'm gonna answer this phone. So she answered the phone and I think well, I won't even wait, I'll go ahead to the next person, who was standing, maybe looking at papers, I'm not sure. And I said hi can I ask you a question about a bookcase, and he just looked at me; he never said a word. And I said, um, I would like to find out the difference between two bookcases, that are over here against the wall. And he said, (sarcastic tone) well what do you want to know. And I said, well, they're both the same price and I mean, they're about the same size, so I'm trying to figure out...um, I said, one was smaller but they were both the same price, so I said, can you explain to me why? And he um, he said (sarcastically) well which bookcase are you talking about? And again, I pointed toward the direction of where the bookcases were and I said well the one right against the wall, next to the white desk. And he said (sarcastic tone) well, I don't know exactly what you're talking about, let's just go over there and look. And I said okay that's fine. So we went over. And uh, he said, well the difference is, one's heavier, the wood's thicker. That's all he said. And I looked at him and I said, oh, okay. And he walked away. So then I, I talked to my friend some more and we were acknowledging how rude he was and I said um, well I think I will go ahead and get the taller bookcase and so I said I'm gonna go and put it on hold. And I went over to the counter, again. And um, this time I went up to the other man who seemed to be looking in my direction and he said, I'm with someone, you'll have to wait. And then, I went back to the man that I originally went to, who helped me the little bit that he did. And he said, so you want the taller one. And I said yes. And he put some information up on the computer. And I said can I put it on hold until this evening, my husband and I will come back and get it. And he said that's fine. Then he asked for my name, my address, my phone number. And I said well, and he handed me a slip of paper, and I said, well thanks very much and he didn't say a word. So then, we got into the car. My girlfriend and I, proceeded to discuss, for the rest of the way home, how rude he was and how terrible um, the service was and how I was almost going to decide not to get that bookcase, simply for that reason. And so, um, anyway, um, that was my situation.

SGD: I was shopping for a bookcase, some furniture and I took a friend of mine. And a, who was also a minority, and uh, she's Hispanic and um, we had our babies with us. We both had small children, under the age of one. And um, so we went into the store and it's a really nice store, we're talkin' really nice furniture. And um, we walked in, and there were three salespeople behind the counter and not one person said hello, can I help you, is there anything I can do for you...So we just kind of wandered around a little bit and looked at all the bookcases and still there was no one in the store, no other customers--I mean maybe one other couple and they were like, way off in a corner. Still, not one person came up and said, is there anything I can do for you? So then, I got kind of, kind of ticked-off 'cause I had some questions about some of the bookcases. So finally, I went over and I asked one of them, you know, can I get some help, you know, and I have a question, and they just looked at me like I was totally interrupting whatever they were doing, which was nothing, from what I could tell. And they were like...What?! Like what question do you have. And I said, well I just wanted to know about the differences in prices, why one was more expensive than another because they looked almost identical. And he said, well, which one are you talking about. And I said, well the one over there against the wall and I'm trying to tell him where it was and uh, he's like (sigh of exasperation or annoyance) you'll just have to show me, I don't know which one you're talking about--totally disgusted. And I'm, I was

being extra nice and friendly, thinking maybe the guy's just havin' a bad day, you know, and I'm trying to cheer him up and I'll be real nice. Anyway, to make a long story short, um, no one in that, the store, ever said hello, no one even said, you know, anything about buying the bookcase basically, not one person said thank you, have a nice day, thanks for coming in, nothing! And I was just thinking, boy, these people really don't want any business, I mean, goll. So um, anyway that was the situation.

[R4]

I: I was, um visiting my friend, my old manager, who I use to work with. And I went inside the chocolate shop, that's were I use to work and then we were just talking, over the counter. And the topic was my husband, _____(husband's name). And I was with, like I said, just my manager _____(name of person) and _____(name), my daughter.

SGD: I'm married to a Black man and um, when I was a, when I was pregnant and I was working, still, I worked with, my manager's White and everybody pretty much is, who's there. And anyway um, she had met my husband _____(husband's name) once before, and in just talking about him, I don't know exactly what we were saying um, I said, I said something about _____(husband's name) being Black, and he's very obviously Black. And she said, oh, _____'s (husband's name) Black? And it was, I mean, at, at first I didn't understand really, what she was trying to do, or say, but it was really stupid. She just, I said, what do you mean? I said yeah he's Black. And she said, oh, I couldn't tell, or he didn't act, or whatever, you know.

[R5]

I: Okay. Um, well this situation happened to me at work. And I was in the computer room, and we were all trying to learn our new computer system. And there's fifteen or sixteen people in my class um, the majority of them are male. So, um, I, the topic--I mean, there was no topic!--we were independently, learning on our own, how to use the computer. Um, we weren't suppose to be really conversing with anybody. It was just, you know, we were doing independent studies, I guess you could say. And I was with my other peers, my classmates and there were about five or six supervisors that were there, just kind of wandering around, if we needed help, or whatever.

SGD: I had just started my job and I was in the computer room and we were learning a new system. And, there was about five or six supervisors just milling around to see if we needed help, and this one guy uh, one of the supervisors, came over to do some small talk, or whatever, just to chit-chat...But, he comes back about 20 minutes later and I'd kinda forgotten about the conversation and moved on and he goes, I hope I didn't offend you. And I said, why? And he had this look on his face like, I know you're Alaska Native but, I don't wanna say anything because I can't figure-out what you are yet. I said I'm not Alaska Native. I said I'm half African American, half European American. And he just looked at me, and his mouth, and it was like a shock, of horror.

[R6]

I: Um. That's a tough one. I don't...I'm sure there have been times when people have said things, when people have given me nonverbal cues about that. But I don't, within the last month, but I really don't notice it. I mean, I've been asked that question before in different arenas and I truly cannot think of a situation that I gave it that much attention to, or that it

directly involved me. Um, I mean I, in my work, I talk a lot about um, diversity, managing diversity, affirmative action and uh, the issues were um, people of color in predominantly White society. But, that's just conversation. I, it's never really been commented to me directly, targeted towards me, it's just kind of a round-table discussion. So, I really can't think of it and I don't, um...

SGD: Oh, but I remember a recent anonymous phone call, that was just a one night...my parents were getting prank phone calls, but I didn't know about it, somebody called me on a Sunday afternoon and they said, you know, are you _____(respondent's name)?, you know, and I said yeah. I didn't know who it was, you know, I thought it was someone I knew, playing a joke, 'cause they kept going on and on, and she said well, is it true that your half Black and half White. And I said as a matter of fact it is, who is this, how can I help you? And she said, well you know, that disgusts me, that really disgusts me. And her voice was raised and jittery, you know, how you get nervous, and she, I could tell that she was anxious. And she said, you know, I see you every day in the _____(name of the building where respondent works) and that just disgusts me. And I thought god, that's really, this is really sick. 'Cause she, I, my first thought was, people don't usually say the _____(name of building where respondent works), they say, oh, you work for the city. Because the building is where I work. And so I thought, well she definitely has seen me in the _____(name of building again), she used that terminology. And the other thing is that she, she called me at home, versus calling me at work. So, if she works there she could have looked it up in the directory at work, and called me at work. So, I'm assuming that...I thought she was a Black person. I thought she was a Black woman. I mean, I have a pretty good ear for you know, the tone of being, there's a lot of times difference between Black and White speaking. I thought she was Black. She's an educated Black woman but, she's Black. So, I thought, oh that's interesting, that somehow, maybe it could have been that she, I mean I got a promotion that somehow she didn't get, and I think she was truly disgusted that I was mixed and that somehow our paths have crossed, and somehow, I think it might have been the fact that I was promoted and maybe she just recently found out. You know, she's not Black like me and she got promoted. But there's a lot of that, like see, there's a lot of resentment. But I definitely think she's Black and I think that's she's educated. She just said, you just disgust me...and I said is there anything else? And she hung up. She just hung up the phone. So, it was the only thing I could do, 'cause she was on the phone.

[R7]

I: Okay. Ah, yes. I was in the _____(location on the university campus, in a public building, in a formal conference-type room), uh, the topic was the National Chicano Conference and I was with the Board Members.

SGD: I'm currently the coordinator for the Hispanic _____[name of organization] and at the board meeting we had one person in the board, and uh, the situation is that I was trying to go to a National Chicano Conference and uh, supposedly this person was offended because I was helping all Hispanics, Latinos, all that wanted to go, to this Chicano Conference. I felt that most of them are from here, I think it's good for everybody to learn about it, everybody should have a chance to go. And he said no, that's impossible, how--even Hispanics can go? And you know, things like, you know, Hispanics and Latinos go? You know, this is for Chicanos!

[R8]

I: Okay. Well first of all I want to, I wanna...well you know because your sitting here, but the tape doesn't know, that my skin color is really rather light. So, it's difficult for people to tell, my ethnic identity...when they see me. So they naturally assume that I am European, European American, completely. And they, they feel more at ease in talking about things--like those damn Indians, or those Black people, or those ah Japanese people, with me. And um, and um, until I inform them. That I am, I am one of those people. (laughter) And, and then they kind of ah, (pause) get rather ah, quiet. And, and back away. And I wanna, the situation that I have chosen, when another person behaved inappropriately, was like one of those situations. Where another woman in one of my classes um, we were taking classes about American Indians. Um, we were in um, the Anthropology lounge and the topic was American Indians, uh, people, 'cause the class was about American people. Native American cultures. And uh...

SGD: The situation was before class um, with another woman and another man in the same lounge area and the topic was um, American Indians and um, why are they so upset about The Braves, and all this about all this stuff, and all that...Well the person automatically assumed that both the other, the other male that was sitting in the lounge area and myself, which she was talking to, were White. Or Euro-American.

[R9]

I: I was in...you want like a city, or like, even more specific than that? I was at Good Samaritan Hospital in Corvallis, Oregon, USA, the planet. Um, I was speaking with my grandmother--she was speaking *at* me. And she was laying there after just having had a stroke from high blood pressure and telling me that she's a stoic because she's Norwegian and the nurse came in, who was Swedish and they started talking about the Olympics and Scandinavia, and what a wonderful place and how wonderful it is to, to go to Norway because it's clean and people are really classy and this and that. You know, and, and she said, I keep trying to get my Italian granddaughter here, to, to understand you know, our ways, and stuff like that, because she's too emotional. Um, and I just, my reaction to it was just to say nothing at this particular time because, because of her blood pressure, I didn't feel it was, it was the appropriate place, or time. But I, I really felt things about it.

SGD: Um, well recently my grandmother had a stroke and she was in the emergency room at the hospital...she called me emotional and she tied that in with being Italian and saying that I should be more Norwegian. And, an she said that uh, Norwegians are stoics and that, you know, things just don't bother her as well. And I said, yeah, great...you had a stroke...I don't have strokes...Um, she just, she felt really free with saying that, you know, oh you emotional Italians and then she continued, and then the nurse came in. And the nurse was Scandinavian also, so she just, she was just, you know, um, kind of playing up her Norwegian-ness and playing down my, or, or, um--disparaging my Italian-ness.

[R10]

I: Okay. Um, I guess I have to give a little background. Okay. Um, I was, I'm, I'm at work. Um, I work in a jail setting, and um, I work in an office that's very closed. You know, confinement um, I have seven people in one area--so it's very close quarters. And um, basically you can hear everybody's conversations. And, and that uh, we, in the jail, we have a very diverse population. It's pretty much every ethnic background is represented (laughter). Um, and there is a good number of, of, Mexican, or um, Brown, or Hispanic,

ethnic groups represented in the jail. And one of my co-workers is the person who um, has to bring in materials for the, the inmates. And one of the things that I have worked really hard for, is to bring in um, materials, in Spanish, so that, they are not excluded, that they can be aware of what's going on in the world, etcetera. And um, I hear a lot of comments from this one particular co-worker, saying that it's a waste. That um, he doesn't understand why there's such a large number of materials that come in when, you know, he makes comments such as um, what are they gonna do, you know, are they gonna sleep with the newspapers or, you know, he makes very derogatory comments. And so, I try to (laughter) educate him. I say well, you know, that these are newspapers, you know, we can give one newspaper to five individuals. Or would you care to give one, one newspaper to every individual? And he doesn't seem to understand that.

SGD: Um, I guess I'll go through the, um, in my situation, usually when I have um, conversations relating to ethnicity, it's, it's at work...I, I work in a setting where, it's a jail. And we have, a number of different populations that are represented, and the Hispanic population is one which there are very few services for. And, one of the things there, that I have been able to get into um, the jail is, a, a lot of materials in Spanish. So, that they're, they are aware of what's going on around us. And he, this particular co-worker is responsible for, delivering these. And he, each time that he gets, an amount that's in, he makes remarks as to, why do these people need this? Um, it's, you know, way too many, they're, they don't need to know what's going on, these are outdated. Um, he makes a lot of um, sarcastic remarks.

[R11]

I: Okay--just tell you about it? Um, I was at home. Um, I was with my, my father, who is my stepfather actually, but, I grew up with him. And um, the topic was, we were watching an old movie and it had um, Mexican, I don't know, bandits--whatever it was--attacking, some pioneers, or something. And, that's how the whole conversation started.

SGD: (No show)

[R12]

I: (gentle laughter) That's hard, 'cause I don't remember anything...particularly dramatic, er, you know, nothing bad in the last month. I mean, usually I get with somebody you know, in conversations with sympathetic folks about, you know, politics and stuff goin' on in Indian country. And um, usually it's just the occasional comment that's kind of off the wall, weird, you know, like a, the last one I remember, I think was, probably more like two or three months ago. Um, this Dakota Indian guy was, came, was like in the office and guess he was like the husband of the co-director from last year and I'm not around him much any more. Um, he asked me if I was from Alaska and I said, no I was from Coos, and he, he made this comment about, oh you blonde Indians--cause a lot of our people are mixed, a lot of them are real White looking--it was like mrrrrr(laughter). I didn't say anything, I just kind of hid in the corner and ignored him. I was thinkin' I don't think I like this guy very much (laughter). Yeah, recent...oh boy. Oh, it is hard 'cause uh, you know, I don't know that many people there, or talk to that many people outside of the _____[name of academic discipline] department. And a lot of them where I work, work with Indian people, so they don't usually say something stupid. You know, I'll hear stories of where, you know, of people who have situations outside of the _____[name of discipline] department, and there are the nasty people that I've been read a lot about, because we've got these different student

newspapers on campus and, it's been a real hot issue over PC. And you know, and a, one of the conservative newspapers down there has really been bludgeoning all the minorities over their heads for complaining about anything. So, yeah, I read all this stuff and I get mad, but I never talk to any of these people. Thought about it (laughter), then you sit there and you say, you know, you (laughter) I want to have a talk with you (laughter). So a lot, you know, has been...you know, rather... and I'll hear stuff on the radio. You know, turn on the radio, every so often and they'll say something weird. But yeah, I haven't really been in, in any conversations, recently. Funny, memories come back though. I remember when I was at school here, I use to live in _____[name of housing complex] hall, and um, the second floor was like all male. And they were like, most of them were kinda like weird. I don't know what it is, these goofy men all living on this one floor (laughter). Somehow, all living together (laughter). But they had a TV with cable, the TV-watchers, and not all the floors have 'em, and so I was down there with 'em. But this was in a time, when uh, a case with two guys who I think worked for some Counsel for the Bureau--one was Indian, I think the other one wasn't--but they got fired, because they went to a Native American church meeting. A peyote church. And, so they got fired for that. And uh, Dave Frohnmeier wanted to prosecute them, I mean it was his job. I don't know how much he agreed with it, you know, but anyway, he was Attorney General for the State, you know, so he had to, you know, oversee that. But, I remember getting into this argument with one of those White guys down there, you know, about the church. 'Cause it's just like there's so much ignorance, they don't understand. Right? Where, anything about how Indians look at the world spiritually, it's just blank, I mean it's just swooosh [gesture of hand flying over the head]. We're all suppose to be Baptists by now (laughter). But it was like oh, he's sitting there oh, so I guess I could start like the church of marijuana, I mean is that like...and all those guys. And I was like oooowwww, come here so I can kill you! It just get's so muddy, 'cause you just cannot explain to some people. And then they're, you know, they think they know something about, it's just like you're trying to tell them no, look. It's really not like that way, it's this way. And they just, you know, stick to their guns, with great stubbornness, you know but, I really remember that clearly once, like oh, I quit! (laughter). Um, but, but, yeah I don't usually, I don't know, it's not real obvious that I'm Indian anyway, usually. Not just because of what I look like but, a lot of people just have certain expectations of what Indians look like, you know. I mean, dress a certain way (laughter)...about the only way anybody will every pick up if you're Indian or not, is if like, you're a guy and you've got black hair, two braids, maybe some, something around your head, leather thongs and a hat with like a feather. And then they'll figure out--hey, I bet that guy is an Indian. Otherwise, you know (laughter), they just (laughter)...So they won't necessarily have a chance to say somethin' stupid, unless they know you are. But, so I don't know.

SGD: And um, actually one thing I did recently, which is kind of embarrassing but, but I did this, you know, I live in _____[name of town] now and I was listening to _____[name of radio station], which is the local uh, talk news, radio station. And uh, they often have these call-in, these local call-in shows and there's something going on in the afternoon and this one guy called in and he just started going on and on...But he was harassing about all those darn Indians! Damn it, now I'm mad! (laughter) I went home and I kinda didn't know what to do, and so I called him up. So then I got him on the radio and I, I said that well uh, you know, Indian history has existed on this continent for thousands of years and, you know, a lot of stuff happened and uh the stuff even since Columbus' days, the past 500 years, is just like the tip of the iceberg. And he says, well, I'm not much of a believer in, in ah, trying to make up for past loses, blahblahblah.

Research question number three (RQ3) **What are the particular situations when it is most important to intensely promote or take on a/some component(s) of multiethnic identity?** This question was approached with the interview question (IQ3) **What are the particular situations when you feel it is important to intensely take on, or promote your ethnicities?** The small group discussion cue asked the respondents to (SGDQ2b) **When did you most intensely take on a particular ethnic identity?** Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following tables and explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

T4.a

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of Situations When it is Most Important ¹ to Intensely Promote or Take On a/some Component(s) of Their Multiethnic Identity	
Respondents	Situations
R1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Situations where I'm dealing with people who literally have never met a Jew before in their lives * In a working environment * Particularly when I was a freshman in a little town in Ohio where there were very few Jews, for miles * I've run into people who truly believe that there's this distinction you can make, she's Jewish but, she's not like those, she's not like them * When it's threatened * When I have to defend it * When they [people] don't think that you're one of the people that they're going to offend; they don't realize I'm one of them * Situations where there weren't a lot of other Jewish people around me * [When it's important to] let people know that this is who I am
R2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Because of the way I look, I am treated differently and that's significant; even though I am getting privilege because of it, I try to realize when it's happening and make my identity known * My Anglo ethnic identity, I do it without thinking about it; I shift into automatic pilot * [With] administrators * Where I work, I'll take that on, intensely [Hispanic and Latina heritage] * In my relationships with students, I use it as a teaching tool with them
R3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Mostly when people might say things that are derogatory * When White European Americans are being racist, I like to call them on it * When I would want to separate myself from just being who I am and to actually put on my African American hat...cause that happens a lot * When we would go to California where my father's family is from * Where there's primarily Black people
R4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * When other people are being hurt or mistreated in any way * When I see a Hispanic man on the street * Every time I see Hispanics, since they're so rare here * When I was at home * [When I] speak Spanish
R5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * When I started taking African American Studies classes * In the workplace because I know I'm a minority * When I moved to Oregon * When I want them [European Americans] to know that I'm sensitive to what they're saying * When conversations come up, if I feel like I need to make a presence * Once I have children * When I started working
R6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * When I'm in a leadership role * In meetings at work * When doing focus group meetings * Dealing with issues that relate to people of color or protected-class citizens, I normally make it a point to clarify that I am African American * I've always identified [strongly] with being African American, versus White
Total: 6	36

T4.b

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of Situations When it is Most Important ² to Intensely Promote or Take On a/some Component(s) of Their Multiethnic Identity [continued]			
Respondents	Situations		
R7	* On campus * In the classrooms * When anything comes up in my classes and they throw us all in the same boat. I particularly stand up and say, that's not right and it's wrong and we all have our different values, languages, accents and dialogue * Hispanic night * Within the campus, to educate that there's difference * I continually promote and take on the intensity * When I really got intensively into the Chicano ethnicity: my third year in college		
R8	* I really haven't had any situations where I've had to feel like I've had to promote my Euro-American identity * I've had many situations when I've had to promote my American Indian identity * When people have incorrect information * I wouldn't say promote necessarily but, be proud of and say no, look your wrong * During specific events and activities, for instance Pow-Wow * [When] you dress down in your regalia * Drumming night * In certain [Indian] groups		
R9	* In social situations * When I'm in the group that's opposite the one I'm defending * With dating, friends and social parties * Several situations come up recently * When I'm in Italy * With my non-Italian grandmother, my Norwegian grandmother who's half Danish * When that part of my ethnicity is not aligned with the people that I'm around		
R10	* When my ethnicity is being attacked by some derogatory comments I feel very strongly about saying something * I feel a great need to help my people * If there are needs to be met, I think that they need to be addressed and not taken lightly * Since I was very little because my family always instilled in me a pride in my culture		
R11	* At formal situations like Pow-Wows * At formal meetings in the Longhouse * Where I would be expected to act in a certain way, with other Native Americans, elders, showing a great deal of respect * When you're most immersed in what you're suppose to be * When I feel as though I'm being slighted just because of my last name or something * In my mind, Caucasian is kind of like a neutral ethnicity, that you have when you don't have something else		
R12	* When I'm at something that's kind of spiritual * I open some Indian gatherings * Saying a prayer for a Native Indian * When talking to a class or groups * With local Indian * Especially these last couple years with the Columbus quinquenary and the Oregon Trail * At weird times when Indians come more under the media spotlight * When you go hang-out with other Indians * At the ethnic student unions * When going to Indian event, Indian focused, like Pow-Wows		
Total: 6	42		
SUM: 12	SITUATIONS:	78	MEAN: 6.5

Interpretations

The most frequently reported situation in which it is most important for these respondents to intensely promote, or take on, some component(s) of their multiethnic identity are *with other ethnic ingroup members* (25), *in general dominant culture environments* (23), *when defending some component of their ethnicity* (10), *in a university setting* (9), *at work* (7), *physical looks* (2) and *speech* and simply *continually*, both (1).

Intensification of multiethnic identity is high in situations such as with other ethnic ingroup members and in general dominant culture environments. Frequently, the response

that is evoked is defending of ethnicities. In a university setting and at work are specific places where one's ethnicity (for example, defending it) is an issue that these women must contend with. Since in every recalled conversation it was when someone else approached them, with inappropriate commentary, it might be wisest for dominant culture members, or others, who have not provided themselves with a wide range of ethnic exposure or interethnic/cultural training to not attempt to casually approach multiethnic women on the topic of ethnicity. It might be wisest for the under-ethnic-educated to leave this topic to ethnicized individuals to bring up, if they should choose to do so.

The respondent's talk about interethnic training and multicultural education, as mandatory and on-going components of basic university education and work training; they apparently perceive that this could reduce the tactlessness, even aggression, they report experiencing in the context of work and university environments. Therefore, again, it seems safe to suggest that dominant culture members, and others, in general, simply do not presume that they can or should **initiate** conversations with multiethnic women (and this could be extended to other ethnic individuals) about ethnicity. Unfailingly these women felt obligated to educate the other who approached them (using inappropriate behaviors); but, whose responsibility is it to point out problems? I would suggest that these women should not have to carry the entire burden of educating, as they seem to be doing, and perhaps the responsibility could be extended to other listeners, onlookers, or bystanders (as the respondents often attested to their presence) to take some initiative in correcting other ingroup members who are using inappropriate behaviors.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview

question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: I don't know if I can say...I've run into a number of situations where I'm dealing with people who literally have never met a Jew before in their lives. Um, I've run into that a number of times, it was really pretty interesting. And um, at the same time, although they've never met one of us, it's...they have grown up with stereotypes, which are completely without foundation because they don't even know who their talking about. But, they've still grown up with the little epithets, of you know, "Jew down" and all these kinds of things. So they have concepts of what they think a Jew is, in their head, and it's you know, everything from swindlers, to people with horns and pointy tails. So, um, so, yeah um, in those situations I've had to deal with that in a working environment. Um, and I've had to deal with that with, uh, college friends. Um, particularly when I was a freshman in a little town in Ohio, where there were very few Jews, for miles. Um, but yeah, those are the times when I really have to clear up stereotypes that I find...complete misinformation. And it's kind of strange because I would think that um, maybe they would get to know me and then those stereotypes would be broken. But um, they don't seem to be, actually. They just kind of, are able to separate, well they go, ok here's this person and then here I am, and I'm one way, but then the stereotype still exists over here and maybe it just applies to other people, you know, but it's still, you know, I don't seem to, at least that's what I seem to encounter, but I don't really seem to undermine that stereotype. It just kind of it just makes 'em say, well, you know, maybe some Jews are...and there you are...I don't know. Like I've heard the, um, I've run into people who truly believe that um, there's this distinction you can make, like there are Black people and then there are niggers. And they truly can separate, and say that that's legitimate. That's just, it's just two different kinds of people. You know I think I probably run into the same thing maybe, there are yeah, she's Jewish, but she's not like those, she's not like them. You know. So, yeah, I've dealt with that quite a bit. Quite a bit, yeah.

SGD: Um, so I really kind of, I think I take on my identity, and maybe, I don't know, maybe that's kind of sad, but, I think I probably take it on most intensely when um, it's threatened, or when I have to defend it. Um, and it's kinda good that I don't really, well there are stereotypes about what Jewish people look like, and so I don't really fit them and that's kind of really neat because it's amazing what people will say when they don't think that you're one of the people that their going to offend. You know, it amazes me what they'll say about Jewish people, because they don't realize that I am one of them. And um, my name's really Jewish (laughter) but most people don't tend to catch-on to that, I guess. Um, so yeah, I've really kind of worn that identity on my sleeve because it's always been really important to me but, it's only when I got into situations where there weren't a lot of other Jewish people around me that, I really had to assert it, you know, and, and let people know that this is who I am. And yeah, I think I combined those too, but...(laughter)

[R2]

I: It is important, but not always in a positive sense, because you touched on privilege in that I do receive that a lot but, in that if I don't let people know and maybe if I do, just because of the way I look, I am treated differently, and that's significant. I don't know that I'd call it important. But, I try not to take advantage of that even though I am getting

privilege because of it. I try to realize when it's happening and make my identity known or make sure that the treatment that I'm getting is because of who I am, internally, not externally. I think, my Anglo ethnic identity I do it without thinking about it. That's sometimes when I shift into automatic pilot because it's very easy to do that, because the rest of the world lets me do that. I think in my, um--when I talked about the administrator--that's when I think I purposely, intensely take on my Hispanic and Latina heritage. As a way of, moving them in directions that they may not go. Because there are very few people of color where I work. And not as, you know, the only person of color. But, I think that sometimes they, the programs that they're developing or the services that they offer, even the way that they deal with students, obviously comes from their own heritage and background, and they move through that knowledge. And so, I'll consciously take that on, intensely.

SGD: Well, I don't, I don't know that I ever purposefully take on, my Anglo identity. I think that's something that, I, I take on without thinking. Basically, because that's the people, the way people relate to me. My Hispanic American identity I take on, purposefully in my relationships with students. I'm an advisor to students. And, that's because I want them to be aware of cultures other than their own. And I use it as a teaching tool, with them. And often times, it's a good way of pointing out cultural differences, in a way that they're not use to, because it's not something that they're expecting by looking at me.

[R3]

I: Um. Mostly when people, um, might say, things that are derogatory. Or put down the African American culture. And I step in and defend um, that part of my ethnicity because um, a lot of times I honestly think that when primarily White European Americans um, don't realize that they're being racist, or, or just referring to people in a negative way. And I like to call them on it. And that is when I would want to voice my opinion on behalf of the other, African American ethnicity. Um, let me think if I have any other situations that I would do that. Um, um, that would be the most common, yeah, that one really stands out. That's really when I would want to separate myself from just being who I am, and to actually put on my African American hat, so to speak, um... 'cause that happens a lot. So, I guess that would stand out the most. So, I think that would stand out the most.

SGD: Um, probably uh, when we would go um, to California, where my father's family is from. Where there's primarily Black people, I would identify strongly with the African Americans and that's why I really began to learn about African Americans.

[R4]

I: I think when other people are being hurt. Um, or mistreated in any way. Um, like, for example, recently, when there were um, Hispanic men that lived downtown that were homeless that were selling drugs, and they were just treating them, just very badly. And, and that was, that was, it hurts me sometimes. Um, it even hurt though they weren't being like obviously hurt, but like when I see um, a man, a Hispanic man on the street. Because there's not many Hispanics here. And when I see one and I just look at him and just know he's probably a hard worker and I just feel for him, or her if she has children. And I just, I don't know, it just seems as if every time I see a Hispanics, since they're so rare here, that I just really, I can see where there from and I think to myself, I bet you he's such a good man and you know a hard worker, you know, when I see them.

SGD: When I was at home, because um, my parents always spoke Spanish to me and I always had a lot of relatives that lived nearby, that always came over. So, you know, none of them always spoke English, so I always had to speak Spanish.

[R5]

I: Um, um, in college when I started taking um, African American Studies classes. That's when I found it, to more intensify, and really identify with my ethnicity. And also I was a sociology major and so, when we would talk about classes and um, urban society I think it became even more important then too. To identify with my ethnicity. Um, in the workplace because I know I'm a minority. It's the first time I ever really felt--when I moved to Oregon--I really felt like a minority. And I know that I'm really unique, because most of the people around me, even though I know they're not just plain European Americans, still, they're all very, White. And I'm, I stand out, so um, I think that's probably where--I don't know if I promote it, as much, but I, I want them to know that I'm, I'm sensitive to what they're saying. So, I guess, when conversations come up, if I, I feel, like I need to make a presence, at least ask questions. Especially in work. If um, right now I'm in a training class, so I feel it's important for me to always, make them aware that I am there. And that I am different from them. So...I think I answered your question. I mean, personally for me, I think that my ethnicity will become more important once I have children. Because I think, right now, I'm at a point where um, it's a very self-thing for me. I mean, I know where I come from, I'm happy about where I came, or come from. But I really don't feel um, like um, I think it's important to feel self-confidence in myself, not necessarily from my ethnicity. I don't always dwell on that, I just dwell on my inner personal self. Um, I think though, once I have children, that it will be very important for me to, to um, that will be a very important situation for me to remember, specifically, where I come from what has made me up--like the German and the Dutch and the Creole and I think that's when ah, it'll become most important in my life. And that, goes too with the situations when I think it will be important too, to intensely take on or promote my ethnicity. I think that's true for other children of color too. Not necessarily being they're African American or European American, but I think it's really important to uh, 'cause I think that's where it all starts, where your self-confidence stems from. If you, if you're not comfortable with what you look like or where you come from, I think that causes a lot of problems for you in the future. And I know that my parents always, it was a very big thing with me, because I always use to tell them that I thought I was adopted because I didn't look White and I didn't look Black. And I couldn't figure out what was wrong with me.? And I know um, that they took great care and concern to make me feel assured of myself and told, you know, I have, I come from the best of both worlds. I have these features and these feature [hand gestures in different directions] and um, you know, I'm gonna be a unique persons. So, I think definitely um, that's something that I, when I have children, again I think I'll intensely take on and promote both sides. Especially with my husband, I mean, he's European American but, he identifies with being Yugoslavian. And so, um, I think for both of us, it will become more important when there's children around.

SGD: It was, probably when I started working. Um, I found that being a minority and looking different um, made me have, I, I had to realize that I was different than most everybody else in the workplace. Without a doubt. It's a very conservative company, um, very uh, European American--so, I, I stood out.

[R6]

I: Again, I would say African American identity and I would say when I'm in a leadership role. Um, whether it's in meetings at work, or out doing focus group meetings, which is part of my work responsibilities. Um, if we are dealing with issues that are relevant to people of color, or protected-class citizens, I normally make it a point to clarify that I am African American.

SGD: From a small age, I, I've always identified with being African American, versus White.

[R7]

I: Okay um, the particular situations I feel most important to take on or promote is um, a lot has to do, here on campus, in the classrooms. And, I particularly state um, Latina and Chicana, Hispanic, those three, because um, people um, within my own people we know the differences, but a lot of people don't know the differences. But usually I say I'm a Hispanic. Um, Hispanic and then if not, then I go back to Latina, Chicana--all three--because I been slapped on the hand by saying Hispanic. But I am a Hispanic because I'm descendent from Spain. So, the particular situations is when, anything comes up in my classrooms and they throw us all in the same boat. And, saying all Hispanics are the same, or all Mexicans, or anything like that. I particularly stand up and I say, that's not right, and it's wrong, and we all have our different values, we have different languages, because we have different accents and dialogue and um, and I really promote and take on, within the campus, on educating like, Hispanic night, to educate that there's difference. We're from different countries, we're 22 countries, including the United States, because the United States is considered an Hispanic country--most people don't know that--because um, we um, are a third, we have about a third of the population from all the Latin American countries, about the amount of Latinos here, so we're very strong here in the United States. But um, I continually um, promote and take on the intensity within, mostly in the classroom situations.

SGD: And when I really, like I said, when I really got intensively into the Chicano ethnicity, I was in college and I think it was like, my third year in college. Not too long but, it took me a while, that's because I've had to learn about the other groups before I could identify myself with that group.

[R8]

I: I really haven't had any um, situations where I've had to feel like I've had to promote my Euro-American identity. I've had many situations when I've had to promote my American Indian identity. And those situations where often in times when people have incorrect information. Or they uh, that's also having to do with racism. Incorrect information and oppressive ways of being. And those are the times when I feel like I have to promote the American Indian in me, or I wouldn't say promote necessarily, but be proud of and say, no look you're wrong and yeah, yeah, you know. That's, that's kind of how I feel.

SGD: Um, I guess during specific events and activities, where I'm involved, uh, for instance, like Pow-Wow or something. Um, if you dress down in your regalia, and you do specific things, and, and like give-aways, you make things and certain times like, there's drumming tonight, so you know, certain groups and things like that. Um, but it's part of me all the time. So, it's really, it's never really intense unless you're in a certain situation.

[R9]

I: I promote and defend both of them in social situations. And, I'm more likely to um, to do that when I'm in, I'm in the group that's opposite the one I'm defending. So, if I'm an American group, I will be very proud and defensive of the Italian and if I'm in the Italian group, then I, you know, I get, a lot of the American stuff comes out. And especially with dating you know, friends and social parties and people talk about, oh you know about Americans and you know about Italians--whatever. And I've several situations come up recently. Um, like with my research on the internet, you know, people what to know these things. They want to know your sex, they want to know your age, they want to know your locale, your heritage. And I'd say Italian and the men just go bananas. They just conjure up Sophia Loren as soon as I say, as I say that. And they, they think of me as this hot Italian babe. And that I'm, you know, voluptuous and sensuous and all these different things. And, and they have just this stereotype of me. Just this hot Italian, just you know, and um, rather than just a woman with a mind, I become this Italian, you know, sex symbol. Which is funny because I'm not that in my visual life but in this like, ethereal plane, that's what I am. And then another situation, it's just the opposite. When I'm in Italy, once they are aware of my being American, I have to be very defensive because American women have a reputation, you know in many parts of the world, particularly Italy, of having--highly promiscuous um, lifestyles. In fact, you know, be careful of that and not, I have to be very careful not to um, support that prejudice. Or give 'em any evidence to support that prejudice. And um, so those are two very important situations and then, and that deals very much with not just being Italian, but being an Italian woman. Or not just being an American, but being an American woman in those situations they're very closely tied. Um, another one is with my non-Italian grandmother, my Norwegian grandmother, who's half Danish, but she doesn't recognize that. She's always talking about, well if you could take on more of your Norwegian side, you'd be more balanced, you'd have a better life and blahblahblah, because you know, Italians are so emotional and so she discounts a lot of, she invalidates often, a lot of what I'm feeling and a lot of my emotions as being Italian instead of as being mine. And I don't know if the two can be related, but if they even, you know, even if they are, they're still mine, so...those are the three most obvious things that come up.

SGD: I think um, the times when I, when I do, either, or, is when I'm, when, when that part of my ethnicity is not...is not, um, aligned with the people that I'm around. In other words, if I'm around mostly Italians, I might be more intense about, or, or more intensely take on my more Anglo, American side, and if I'm around um, mostly Anglo Americans, I think I might become more intensely Italian. Just as a way of, kind of marking my own personal space and, and identity. And um, defending that part of myself.

[R10]

I: Um, situations that I think where it's important to promote my ethnicity is um, when my ethnicity is being attacked by some derogatory, comments. I feel very strongly about saying something, in that regard, so that people will be educated and not say, make comments, that's, that are ignorant of that culture. Also, um, I feel a great need to help, my people. Um, if um, if there are needs to be met, I don't want people to feel that they can just brush 'em off. I think that they need to be addressed, and not taken lightly.

SGD: Um, I took up, um, my ethnic identity most intensely since I was very little, because, my family always instilled in me a pride, in my culture.

[R11]

I: Uh, for Native American um, the times at which I most intensely take on that identity, are things like um, uh, formal situations like Pow-Wows, or formal meetings in the Longhouse, or anything, anything that's, anything beyond a normal everyday activity with other Native Americans, where I would be expected to act in a certain way. Um, when I'm with elders, or something with, you know, that show the, a great deal of respect. Uh, probably those kind of situations, because that's at the time when you're most immersed in what you're suppose to be. For Hispanic I, once again, when, when I feel as though I'm being slighted just because of my last name, or something (laughter) you know. Um, and Caucasian...I don't, it's hard for me to say, when I actually promote that. Because if, in my mind Caucasian is kind of like the, a neutral (laughter) ethnicity, that, um, that you have when you don't have something else. So, I guess, whenever I'm not, whenever I'm just hanging out, I guess (laughter).

SGD: (No show)

[R12]

I: Oh, most important...I guess when, I'm at something that's kind of spiritual, you know, 'cause there's, I open some Indian gatherings that were uh, kind of spiritual uh, when you say a prayer, for a Native Indian. Also sometimes I've had, I've been ah, sent off to, you know, talk to a class, or something like, groups that are like, local Indians or something. And it's like yep, the whole representative--we're still here! (laughter). So, I guess that's kind of the, when you're like intensely promoting. Especially these last couple years, I don't know, we're had like the bad like, 'cause 1992 was the Columbus quincentenary. You know, so, oh, there's this big media hop-la and then the year after that it's Oregon Trail (laughter). And we're like, on the wrong side of history. Everybody, oh, it's like, oh wagons, let's get souvenirs. It's happy-happy, joy-joy and a lot of Indians were like, oh God (sigh). You know. So often through that year, you know, you have to...talk to people about Indian history, try to educate 'em. And I think it's at weird times like that, when Indians come more under, you know, the media spotlight or something, it, you kinda get more intense, goofy-in-the-brain, I don't know (laughter).

SGD: I guess it get's, get's most, you know, intense when you go hang-out with other Indians like, you know, like _____ [name] county and hang-out with the Indians, you know, also the ethnic student unions, you know. And then if you go to Indian events, Indian focused, like ah, Pow-Wows.

Research question number four (RQ4) **Do the women perceive that their definitions of ethnic identity are shared by a large or small number of other people?** This question was approached with the interview question (IQ4) **Do you think that your particular definition of your ethnic identity is shared by a large or a small number of other people?** There was no small group discussion question that correlated with this research question. Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following tables and explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

T5

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of Whether Their Particular Definition of Their Ethnic Identity is Shared by a Large or a Small Number of Other People			
(See Comments for Explication)			
Respondents	Large	Small	Conditional
R1	*	*	*
R2		*	*
R3	*		
R4		*	
R5		*	
R6	*		*
R7		*	
R8			*
R9		*	
R10	*	*	*
R11		*	
R12	*	*	*
Total: 12	5	9	6

Interpretations

This table reflects the respondents' answers to the question of whether their particular definition of their ethnic identity is shared by a large or small number of other

people. The greatest proportion of them indicated *small* (9), some gave *conditional responses* of small and large, or one or the other (6), and some reported *large* (5). One quarter of the respondents reported *large and small and gave conditional* or qualifying explanations (3).

In reviewing the responses indicated by this table and the explications given by the participants, the largest proportion of them stated that they perceive that their ethnic identity is shared by a small number of other people. In cross-correlating this with the table that presents the responses to RQ7 (see p.87--which shows that 10 of the 12 respondents stated a large number of other women share their gender identity promotion) the conclusion could be drawn that between women, ethnicity may be less of an issue--and that sex/gender issues are actually more salient factors, from these multiethnic women's perspectives. So, for the women within dominant culture, or any ethnic groups, this knowledge implies that sex/gender is an area around which they can pursue to establish some commonalities between themselves; and perhaps, working from this relational context, they could progress to sharing and learning about their mutual ethnic and cultural differences. This cross-correlation also implies that men, within any of the ethnic groups these women identified, cannot assume that ethnicity is necessarily a primary relational-bridge that they can presume to utilize in establishing, or maintaining, satisfying interactions with these women. This observation seems to be substantiated by the fact that three of the respondents are married to persons outside of the ethnic identities that are parts of their ethnicity and four of the women are in intimate/dating relationships with people outside of their ethnic identity constructs.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview

question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: Hm. My first impulse would be to say that it's shared by a large group because I, maybe I'm taking on part of my father here, or something. But um...then probably, then it wouldn't be. They would, I think it is just seen as being a religion and they don't realize all that it encompasses. And that it's really everything that I am. Um, they just think it's maybe just the prayers I say, or who happens to lead our services, or whatever, but it's um, it's much more than that. It really is an identity, it's, it's um...

[R2]

I: Depends on what I'm talking about. With my, my Basque relatives, in that community, they define themselves as Basque. Not Latino, it's not Hispanic, it's not American, it's Basque. And that's what it is. But most people when I tell them that, they have no idea what that means, they don't have the context to understand that. And, as a way of including my Spanish heritage, which is Basque and my Latina heritage I use the term Hispanic because it is a more generic term. Even my father, if he hears me use that term, he wants to flip out, you know, no you're not, you're not anything. And I say, you know, that's what it means Dad, but he can't get beyond that. Um, in the Hispanic community, I don't know that they would consider that the right descriptor for me either. I think they would use Latino or Basque-ness to delineate the difference from being from Mexico or from Argentina or Anglo, and.. the Anglo community, I don't think they have any idea what to call me. Either way. You know. I think most Anglos can look at me and say, oh she's Anglo. You know. So I don't know if I really fit into any of their definitions. I sort of have my own definition of myself and my identity. And I feel pretty good with that.

[R3]

I: Oh, I think a large number of other people. In fact, you know, um, in this culture, country today there's so many people of mixed identities that um...um, I think a lot of people, um, tend to do what I do and that is when part of your um, ethnicity is being criticized or put down, that um, you stand up for it. And um, and that, just personally in my life, I surround myself with mostly people of different ethnicities. And um, so um, in a lot of conversations that I have with my friends, yes, I'd say that the main topic is usually, a lot of racial things, because this country is so racist and there's just so much prejudice right now. But um, I mean I'd say almost, almost every time I meet with my friends we talk about um, you know, we're comparing comments that have been made about different races and um, it comes up almost daily. So, I'd say a large number of people.

[R4]

I: I think small. Because like I said earlier. It's, it's mostly that I even just recently, just kind of attached myself to. And I just um, get...In this country it's either Black or White and it's like Hispanics are almost nonexistent. They're not even important enough to talk about, you know...Or they're not even important enough to hate, or you know, whatever. So, I think, um...Small, I think I'm definitely a minority. Definitely a small number.

[R5]

I: I think it's shared by a small number of other people. I think if I generalize it, um, I've talked to a couple of my girlfriends, who are Hida and um, another one is Klinket, but you know, with them, we can generalize ethnicity, but for me, being half Black and half White, being Creole and German and Dutch um, there's not very many people that have that combination. Um, in, in general I can identify with other people, but most of the time I feel like I'm a pretty unique, situation. And I can't usually talk about Louisiana or, talk about Germany and how my grandfather grew up there, with people.

[R6]

I: I would say that, um, let's see here, I identify as African American and there are quite a few others who identify as African American--whether they're biracial or full-fledged African Americans. (laughter)

[R7]

I: Um, my particular definition is actually shared by a very, very small number of people because, as I look at it, the only other really, people that are like myself are my younger brothers. Because we're the only ones that are both from, directly from Spanish and Chilean descent and we're both, we're all raised here. Born and raised here, in Portland, Oregon and it's just, I feel like we are the only ones that really understand each other. We can't really share it that much with our cousins because our cousins are you know, Chilean and American or Spanish and American, or Chilean and Chilean or Chilean and Peruvian so, we are basically, um, alone, in our small group. And the way I identify myself in, in my own particular definition, is very um, different, because I share all three of the so-called labels that we have. And most other Latinos or Chicanos that, will stick to only one label and that's the only one they go by. And I, am open to all three, because of what I have and where I am identifying myself with.

[R8]

I: Um, I'm not too sure. I think maybe medium, like, like before um, because um, many American Indians have um, mixed heritage. Um, American Indian and Euro-American and Black and African American...you name it, Japanese too! In fact, Warm Springs was named by an American Indian and Japanese American couple. Uh but um, I think I've lost the question. (laughter) Shared by a large or small number of other people? Um, medium because of the, of the time when uh, because of so many people sharing the ethnic identity, being American Indian and White, or Euro-American. Um, they, they may choose to--their definitions may vary. In that um, to be American Indian there's the whole blood quantum issue and I don't know if you want me to get into that (laughter) oh, um, but anyway, do you want me to get into that or not? A medium number of people, pretty much, depending on the blood quantum issue, but I won't say that, because some people feel that their definition of their ethnic identity is more valid in using the blood quantum method. And I feel particularly that your definition of ethnic identity is valid in that you participate in and belong to either ethnic group and in the activities and, in a sense, promote an ethnic identity. Or, acknowledge it um, live it.

[R9]

I: I think small. I think, I think that the unifying term is, Italian American and, and I think that they share different histories, of being in this country than I do. And you know, even their geographic regions, before they came to the United States historically, are different from mine, in Italy. And so, I think that there's a, I wasn't raised in an Italian American culture. I was an Italian being raised as an American. And so, I don't have a lot of the same cultural background that Italian Americans have, and that's why I think if your, if your to look at the size of my group, I don't think there are that many of us, here, there's a similar group name-wise, but that's it.

[R10]

I: Oh, I think that varies. Um, even within my culture, in my Mexican culture, I think it's very divided. Um, with right now, the young and the older generation. Um, I, I notice that the younger generation, a lot of times, and I don't want to stereotype but, I notice that, it's not as important as an issue for them. I feel that, they don't take pride in it, because they haven't been raised with, that pride. Um, I was raised with both my parents being, from Mexico, and they instilled in me a lot of pride, about my culture. Um, where I came from, different values that came along with that. Um, so I think that, in some instances it's shared by a large amount, but in some instances a very small amount.

[R11]

I: Um, probably...I would have to say small. Um, because I, I know there are, speaking as a Native American, there are many Native Americans who did not grow up on reservations, immersed in their culture. And like, I grew up in a home that was Caucasian, and so I don't, the reason why I'm not **always** Native American, was because I wasn't raised that way. I don't, I don't know how--basically, how, to be, always be a Native American. So um, I, I would say a small number, just 'cause Native Americans are a small group, but also within that group there are, probably more, real, registered, Native Americans on reservations, then there are out of them. I'm sure there are a lot of people who identify themselves as Native but, that aren't...I don't know how you say it, recognized, or whatever. By the blood quantum, or however they decide that.

[R12]

I: Well, it's, it's both! 'Cause uh, there's not, you know, by a statistician's percentages, all that many Indians in the U.S. There's 2 million by some counts, 5 million by other people's counts. At that, a lot, of Indians, you know, are, mixed, you know, a lot of 'em are, have White and, you know, African American too. And uh, a lot of Indians I know that are mixed, it's usually, you know, they base their identity on how they were raised, cultural affiliation. And then too, it could even be stretched to, like ah, Chicanos, 'cause most Mexicans and a lot of other people from Latin countries are, you know, mestizos, they got a lot of, you know, Indian in 'em. You know, so, depending on how you define it, there can actually be quite a few running around with this identity (laughter).

Research question number five (RQ5) **Are there different gender expectations for communicative behavior for men and women within the ethnic groups which they identified as components of their multiethnicity?** This question was approached with the interview question (IQ5) **Do you think there are different expectations for men and women in your ethnicities?** The small group discussion question asked, (SGDQ) **Are there different gender expectations for women and men within the ethnic groups which you identify with?** Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following table and explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

T6

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of Whether There are Different Gender Expectations for Communicative Behavior for Men and Women Within the Ethnic Groups Which They Identified as Components of Their Multiethnicity			
(See Comments for Explication)			
Respondents	Yes	No	Conditional
R1	*		
R2	*		
R3	*		
R4	*		
R5	*		
R6	*		*
R7	*		
R8	*		
R9	*		
R10	*		
R11	*		
R12	*		*
Total: 12	12	-0-	2

Interpretations

All of the respondents reported *yes* (12), that there are different gender expectations for communicative behavior for men and women within the ethnic groups which they identified as components of their multiethnicity, *conditional*, or qualifying responses (2) in regard to their "yes" answer and *no* (-0-).

In this unanimous reporting of acknowledgment of gender differences, only two respondents gave conditional responses. Both (R6 & R12) stated that dominant culture pressures, primarily, accounted for the differences, but one (R12) went further to state that the historical differences between women and men within some of her ethnic group backgrounds are merely differences without a relational power-difference between men and women, and that current sex differences are a result of missionary and dominating-invaders' rigid enforcement of their own culture-specific sex differences. Aside from these two women, the other 10 acknowledged distinct differences, and also inequalities, or inequities as integral parts of those differences. For example, women are expected to do a disproportionately large amount of work, at home and at school (R7) and women are expected to care for others (R4) and women are expected to be substandard performers in work (R5 & R6), at college (R8) and in religion (R1). This would confirm that across ethnic groups, as indicated by these multiethnic women, in the U.S., there are differences in gender expectations for women and men. Nonetheless, it is not discernible what proportion of the scope of this difference is due to dominant culture pressures (both past and current) for ethnic group members to conform to dominant culture sex role expectations.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview

question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: Yeah, and that one really struck me because, um and not that I want ta, I don't want to get into it, you know an academic standpoint, or whatever, but um, I had been working for _____ (name of professor) last quarter, I had been doing a paper about the Jewish American Princess stereotypes...Right yeah, so um it's really an important issue for me, because I think it's very unfortunate, within Judaism, within the Jewish community, that um, there's a lot of this, there's a lot of internalized oppression. A lot. A lot of internalized anti-semitism. And the way that it tends to manifest itself, and I've seen it, you know, a lot, is that um, the JAP stereotype, when it is used against women, Jewish men tend to not defend them. At all. They actually really buy into it because it's an easy way for them to separate themselves from all of the bad stereotypes about Jews and make 'em kind of...You know it is kind of that otherness. You know, well, not me, but look at her. And here's this woman who is all these things that a JAPs suppose to be, you know, superficial, materialistic. And there's this really weird thing. There's this completely contradictory and yet simultaneously existing stereotype of she's, on the one hand, this frigid and somewhat castrating kind of bitch, but at the other hand, she's completely insatiable and just like, sexually at her limits. And just, you know, basically, well like, I just read it. I read this great quote, like she will consume a man's soul with her, you know, insatiable sexual appetite, (laugh) or something. It's really strange. And I've really, you know, I've read about it in that sort of more scholarly-kind of medium, but I've seen that too. I remember being in, a, I was in a Jewish youth group for years, and seeing it and seeing these guys, our brother chapter, who were suppose to be like our best friends and really close to and they bought into it hook-line-and-sinker. I mean, they truly believed that we were these, you know, materialistic, superficial, greedy. And you know, fridged too. They use to call us, they use to talk about us as being Jewish girls with Catholic morals. You know, so they would go out looking for the non-Jewish girls, to do, uh, you know, whatever with. So, that's really unfortunate, because, um there's such a gap there of understanding and communication between the men and the women, because men, I think, have tried so hard to get away from that Jewish scapegoating. You know they've always been the scapegoats and now they can, you know, it's so much easier to make the women the scapegoats. So aw you know, if it weren't for these women, if it weren't for these horrible women, that you know, bleed us dry of our money and our spirits and our sexuality, then you know, we'd just be fine. You know the rest of the world would look at us as such better people. You know, um, so yeah, uh I don't know if that really fits into expectations exactly but, um, but that was the first difference that I really thought of. The first real, I, I, it's such a it's a terrible conflict. Yeah, and I, that's all, you know, you can list the stereotypes on that one too. There's the Jewish mother thing and that's a really strange thing, because there on the one hand she can often be seen as sort of domineering and overbearing, but she's also, I mean she basically holds the family together. And is seen as being necessary in that role. You know, she's, you know, taking care of the kids and taking care of the home and then she's also kinda suppose to be this community um, activist and civic-minded. And um, I don't know, I tend to think of Jewish women, as, they're suppose to be superwomen. You know, I really think. And I've seen so many of them that really are. You know, and they've done a hell of a job with it, you know I wouldn't want to discredit them ever, but, it's a tough juggling act, um, really tough. And I don't see those expectations on the men. At all. I mean, they're, I guess they're out there, they're being the breadwinners. They're doing that thing. Their head of household or

whatever, economically speaking. I think that often happens. Um, maybe not as much anymore as it use to, of course I'm sure that's changing. But it use to always be that way. And so he was, somewhat typical, sort of capitalist American nuclear family and all that stuff. You know, he's out there like making the money. And she's doing the home. And you know she's probably, I'd say she's busier than he is and probably doing more in the community than he is, but I think she's still seen as running the household. You know, so that's, that's a really strange thing, because he's still sort of, he's still sort of head of household, but she's running it. You know, well I guess it's always been that way. (laughter). It's like that with everybody isn't it? (laughter). Yeah, and um, then there's still all that stuff of, you know, it's almost like, there's this...well gosh, I just get feelings of this really, I don't know that I could pinpoint any specific situation but it's almost like, that while that dynamic is going on, but she still...he's almost like this shadow behind her? You know? And it's, it's um, a really strange dynamic, it's kind of really, I don't know. Yeah, but I, I see, I just see um, Jewish women, wives mothers as really suppose to be, they're expected to take on a lot. They're expected to do a lot, for the family. For the kids. You know, it's a, it's non-stop. It's a huge job. You know, um, and I think it's, that's probably fairly typical for all women. All women are probably suppose to be seen as their suppose to be superwomen. And do it all. But, um, I think it's intensified with Jewish women. And I just, I don't see those expectations on the men. At all. I think probably because we put so much value and emphasis on you know, he's going out and making the money. But they don't have to do anything else. Because that's just, that's good enough. (laughter) You're doing so much (laughter). So...(laughter).

SGD: Oh, well um, hum, I don't know that I can really talk, that I can really address anything expect uh, within that Jewish side. Um, of my heritage or my identity. That's why I kinda was moving onto a) cause I think that might be the only one that I can really, well a) and b) um, that I can really answer. Um, and it says what are the different expectations for women and men within each ethnicity? Um, well, actually, and I kinda, I guess the only way I can address this is from a really specific vantage point and that is um, having grow up as um, a upper-middle class Jewish person. Um, which makes a big difference. I can never speak um, either for, and as a Reformed Jewish person also but, I can never speak for an Orthodox um, woman, or a Conservative woman, I could never speak for a working-class Jewish woman. Um, but from my perspective um, I really, I guess I kinda, kinda think of it, and this might sound really unfair but, I kind of think of it um, Jewish men um, were the money and women are the glue (laugh). You know, I, I, 'cause within the family structure um, the men were, you know, the husband was out, you know, he's being the breadwinner and he's the one going out and, you know, cranking out the money and, and coming home, but then the women are kinda doing everything else.

[R2]

I: Well, certainly in Anglo culture, I don't know if you need me to give example's of that. But in um, in Basque culture, there are different roles, but I see them as really closer together than in Anglo culture. Particularly for me as the oldest child, regardless of gender, which I think is maybe different in different cultures. Regardless of gender, the oldest child is given sort of the second parent, or a leadership role in the family. And in that way, they are different because some women are given very strong leadership roles and are expected to act like in Anglo defined, traditional male roles--as a leader as an organizer and aspire to those roles. There are however, certain roles that women have like the cooking, the washing, that are similar to Anglo culture. And um, in that respect they're similar and they're very different in what's expected from the men and the women--but, they're valued more. And so, even though, cooking, and the washing and those kinds of things are women's work,

they have just as important, if not more important, than what the men are doing. And the outside chores are often shared by men and women in um, agricultural communities. So, in that respect, I see there being a difference between the Anglo and the Basque cultures.

SGD: Okay. Um, the gender expectations are, I think different, in both cultures, that I experience for men and for women.

[R3]

Oh, sure. Um, I'm half African American and half European American and um, I know that most um, men that are African American, um, definitely have a lot more to um, to deal with being um, 100% African American men, whereas because I'm half one and half the other, I can slip into the other segment of society a little easier. And I also, can honestly say that growing up in a White European American town, primarily, um, I didn't even realize, most of the time that I was different. And, however, now that I've lived in a lot of big cities, since then um, and I've, I have since married a man who is 100% African American. I was saying how, my husband, being 100% Black has faced a lot more um, discrimination and can see discrimination in a lot of situations that we are involved in together, that I would never pick up on. And um, I also think that in the workplace, that they have a lot more expectations. I think um, actually I think it's easier for women, um, as far as, to be promoted and be successful in the exact same companies and I think primarily, I see mostly African American men have a very hard time um, in the workplace because there's just so much discrimination. But, um, yeah, there's definitely different expectations for men and women.

SGD: (Yes, implied).

[R4]

I: Oh yeah. Absolutely. Oh absolutely. Absolutely. I mean Hispanic women, my mother um, very submissive. Anything, do anything to me. Um, but faithful, yeah, and my father was very, a very violent alcoholic and he beat on my mother and she's like, she never left him once. And you know how, that's what everyone expects of Hispanic women. Is just to be like, very, let me do whatever I want. Whatever you want to do to me. Um, and for men the same thing. They have to be macho. They have to be like, they have to drink...I don't know it's really weird. Yeah. Definitely, it's definitely a difference between men and women in Hispanics.

SGD: (Yes, implied)

[R5]

I: Um...Yeah, I really do, and it's kind of interesting, because I can identify with the Euro-, European American side and I can see White men. I think for White women and White men it's very different. I can, I tend to relate more with White women. Um, in the fact that, I feel that we kind of have a common, especially being at the age when I'm going into work, and I'm trying to be a professional and I want to move up the corporate-ladder and I see White women and I know that I can kinda bond with them because they're in the same situation as me, because we're so **not** considered to be as good as White men. And so, um, I feel like total barriers of, we're not important, with White women, because everybody's trying, especially in corporate America, we're trying to get to the same place and we still have to overcome. Whether I feel like I'm of color, or not of color, I'm still having to fight the same

battles that White women are, because um, White men still don't take us seriously. I think, um, as being major players, in corporate America. And I feel that um, for being a Black woman and being...and I think that African American men, have a different, at my age, I don't know...I can see differences there too between ethnicities. I think um, African American women, ah, tend to, I don't know. I just, I feel that African American men are different than women and they fight kind of different battles than women do. Because being of...I don't know what I'm trying to say...Let me think. I guess I noticed it in college more. Um, I think African American men have a lot of expectations and heavy things on their shoulders. That they have, a lot more to overcome in America and um, women have a lot to overcome, not only just being women, but also being of color. And, I think that there's um, like a lot of the women that I went to school with, a lot of them have kids and a lot of them were doing the home life, plus going to school, plus working. A lot of the men that I knew, in college, were going to school and working also, but, I think that um, it was just different, and it's, different being a Black male than it was being an African American woman. I mean, you were expected to be able to take care of your children, go to school and go to work, whereas the men weren't really expected to do that much, but there was a lot of other societal pressures on them too. That were different, than what I think women face. I don't know. Women face lots more um...

SGD: Um, I'm kind of in the same boat as you (points to another respondent in the group) because I was, I was raised mostly around my European American family and I wasn't raised around the um, African American side, at all. Maybe a total of five or six visits during my lifetime. I lived in Juneau, so um, my mother who was upper-class European American, I was raised in her household and with my dad who was pretty much a, a convert, I call him (laughter). Yes, he wanted everything, he wanted the American dream and yes, he was Black, but he was gonna do it anyway. And so that meant changing everything from his background and trying to convert it into being a European American background, which was really difficult on our family. Um, so, I will, I will just address that, I know that there's, there's different um, gender expectations for women and men in African American society, but um, I also know strongly in European American society, there is, you are raised, to be, a lady. I mean, you are raised to, you know, learn your utensils on the table, you know, you don't, you don't talk too much, you, you know, you're polite, you're always polite. You don't mix bad conversation, when you're in, with a polite group of company.

[R6]

I: Um, there are different expectations for African American women and there are different expectations for White women versus African American men or White men and I think that each of those roles are different. I think that if you are a White women, which I don't identify with White women, but I think that, um, if you work in a predominantly male, White male, environment then yeah, there are different expectations and you may feel the pressure of 1) either assimilating or 2) being subservient to. As an African American woman um, you have really double the pressure of being a person of color and a woman. And so, I think, then you, I have, I think, the expectations I have for myself are higher than what they wanna have for me. And that is wanting to be a leader and to be confident in my abilities um...to work twice as hard as everyone else to get half the recognition. And I realize that, that's a reality. And so there are, those are, the main gender differences that I think being African American and being an African American woman I have, really um, two battles, in front of me, to be successful.

SGD: Uh, yeah I would say there are different expectations for men and women, in our African American community. I, I, but I don't have expectations as a, where I'd say there's different treatment by the dominant culture, the White culture. So, therefore um, you get different results. But I don't know if I'd agree with expectations; I mean everybody's expected to succeed and be successful, in a White world.

[R7]

Yes. And it's very strong. Um, the Spanish is still very strongly the woman stays in the home and takes care of the children. And women do not play sports, women do not, do, anything. And uh, and that's just basically it. I mean, and for me to go to college is wrong doing, according to the Spanish culture, it's not really acceptable. Same with the Chilean culture. They don't like that either, for a woman to get educated and everything 'cause the only thing we're good for is to have kids and take care of the home. But, um, and I feel here, being an American also um, that's strongest when I identify with being accepted better, because here um, women are allowed to be as equals. And in my Chilean and my Spanish descent that is not possible. We're not seen as equals at all.

SGD: Well, um, **yes!** Big time! Um, in all three--Hispanic um, Latino and Chicano. Um, basically uh, the women are raised very young to, you know, make the breakfast, set the table, wash clothes--everything. And we're instantly um, trained that, you know, to do those and then continue on and ah, and then when you're grown, when you're old enough when you can ever get married to continue doing the same thing for your husband. Um, and um, a lot of men expect to marry a wife that will continue doing the same thing as, you know, what he had in the home--you know, because they watch the mother and the sisters, or whatever--to continue doing that. Um, it's very clear. And you can see it. And so, basically a, you know, a lot of the homes that you go to, the Latino and Hispanic homes, the Chicano homes. The things that happen, you see the woman, mostly she's what they call the center, you know, the mother. Whereas, you know, kept the family always together and, and keeps everything going and, you know, the sister continues on and it's continual, the women continue with the family and the cooking and you know, everything. And um, and you see that very clearly.

[R8]

I: Um, the Euro-American ethnicity in uh, general, dominant, White society kind of situation where um, women have been oppressed for many, many years and um, their general stereotypes for the women have been like, at home, pregnant and barefoot having babies, if they are White and um, so my American Indian ethnicity, my specific tribe uh...I'll give you an example, when women were fed up with their husbands, all that they would have to do to get a divorce, and this is back, way back when, is set their clothes, set the men's shoes and clothes outside the tepee. That's it. That's it. They didn't want to deal with the man anymore, that's it. Women were in charge of the house, they had, that was their tepee, they owned it. So it was like an ownership of the tepee and the house. And um, had the things in it, that they made. And so um, there was more of an appreciation, I think for women. And I think there still is. In that I think women are the main people who carry the lineage on, who, who, who, let the children know who they are. Give 'em a sense of identity. I think there's more of an appreciation for women in the American Indian ethnicity, um...I guess that's it.

SGD: Um, definitely in the Euro-American um, situation there are different expectations for men and women. Um, women are suppose--to say how they're different--women are suppose to stay home, barefoot and pregnant, all men work in the workplace coming home with the bread, at least that's the, I'm not gonna say traditional idea. That's the idea that was input into the heads...of people. Um, um, my American Indian um, um, gender expectation for women specifically, were the, I have an example where there, in my tribe, which is the Lakota tribe, the women own the Tepee, and all the possessions in the Tepee, expect for their men's possessions--which were his clothes. And his moccasins and stuff. And so, if she were angry with him, or if she wanted to get a divorce, all she would have to do is put his clothes outside the Tepee and that would be it. Because the Tepee itself, is her's. And so that, that, gives a lot of power right there. She'll make a life, life's-changing decision, and that, that's carried through. Um, my mom divorced my dad, in fact, and so, but she didn't, I mean she didn't throw his clothes out--well maybe she did?--but anyway, anyway, um, um for men--gender expectations?--I'm not too aware of the men one's. Um, male gender expectations, I'm more aware of women.

SGD: (Yes, implied).

[R9]

I: Oh yeah. Oh definitely. (laughter) Things are changing a lot, everywhere, but um, for the most part, there's still a lot of, in Italy, there's still a lot of chivalry. There's still a lot of distinction between how a woman should dress uh, you know, it is in Europe and it is--you know, especially in the big cities--very cosmopolitan, and there's, they are, the strict, the rules aren't as strict. But there's more of a definition there, you know, in Italy, and so when I'm there, that's when I feel like, I'm, I'm in my element as an Italian, but I'm just slightly off-centered as a woman. Because, I just, I don't fit their ideal you know of a, of an Italian woman. Then in the United States, again you know, that goes kind of back to that other stereotype. And um, some of the things that are glorified in the Italian culture, like how you know, being full figured and, even though, the standard is not full-figured over there, but that it's more acceptable there, to have, you know, to be more voluptuous or whatever, and then here in the United States you know, there's a big, a big stereotype against having a woman's body. And uh, that's, that's a big distinction, physical and nonverbal characteristics like that. I also feel that uh, domestic responsibilities etcetera, for example, in Italy, a single mother doesn't get any help from the government. Even though they have, they have a lot of social systems in place, but a single mother can't get the kind of help she can get here. And so, I think that um, Euro-American society, generally um, has more opportunity for me, as a woman, and that's why I'm still here. But as far as a lot of other things, I know it sounds almost like a contradiction, but as far as a lot of other values, and things, you know, I feel more, you know, I feel more Italian, you know. I like the way Italians dress, I like the food they eat, I like the fact that they get up early in the morning and buy like fresh fruit and don't buy like, a bunch of cans and horde it, you know, and fresh bread in the bakeries. And, and they don't drive everywhere, they walk a lot of places and they, and they, it's a highly social culture. A little more individualistic. And so I relate more to that side of it.

SGD: Um, well first of all...yeah, I think that, the Italian culture, even though there are distinct gender differences and, and gender role differences, which um, at first glance might appear, to devalue the woman, she's highly evolved, in a lot of ways. Um, domestically, she, she runs things. And she's um, she's responsible for a lot of things. And, even though um, it, it's kind of a cultural stereotype, and it's a fair, fairly valid one, that, that uh, men often have mistresses, in that culture. They don't leave their wives for their mistresses, generally,

because they have so, this strange sort of respect and love for their wives. It puts their wives first and so, it's kind of paradoxical but. And then the family unit is really intense and so um, you just don't have a lot of single mothers. Um, the men take a big responsibility for their families, spend time with their children, they hold them, they kiss 'em, and they do um, things that aren't quite--haven't been quite as celebrated in um, Anglo American culture. Um, so, in that sense...in that sense, you know, a woman in Italy has those kinds of powers, you know. She often doesn't have the financial power. Um, my aunt who's a very, very powerful woman, very strong and intelligent woman um, who had a lot of resources--have all been signed over to her husband. And um, you know, the company business, all three homes that they owned throughout Europe, everything, is under his name. Yet, she has worked very hard with him to build those things. Um, they're all in his name. Which I think in Anglo American culture, there's more of a, of a, division, as far as um, that, I think there are more women who are saying wait, this is, this is mine or this we share--we get both our names on it--or, and things like that. That's more common here. Um, certainly, professionally um, there are differences here too. The women are coming into more respect professionally um, with Anglo American...okay so, I guess that, that answers a), what are difference in expectations for women and men within each ethnic, each ethnicity. I think women are, in Anglo American culture, are being more expected to, be unpredictable. So expect the unexpected. Whereas um, in Italian culture there are more specific roles which regards to motherhood and, and marriage and um, proper behavior and proper dress. Compare these across the different ethnic groups which are parts of my own ethnic, ethnic identity. Well I guess I just did that.

[R10]

I: I think there are some very different expectations for men and women in the Mexican ethnicity. Um, I think the men, they're role is a provider. Um, making sure that the, all needs are met in the family, head of household, etcetera. As far as the woman, um, they're, the matriarch in the family, but they're more, in the background of things. And even though they have a lot of power, it's not, it's not as voiced as in our American culture. Um, my grandpa's Mexican home, it's still pretty much, she's still in the background and he get's in front, but it's not uh, acknowledged, I guess, is what I'm trying to say. Um, also the women are expected to do, like in the, in the home, they're expected to do more of the, homemaker's-type of functions. Which is different, in my particular situation, I get a little bit of both and for me, I tend to be right, middle-of-the-road. I believe in 50/50 share, and this is you know married, or in a family situation.

SGD: (Yes, implied).

[R11]

I: Oh, in all three, yes um, for uh, women, in traditional Native American society um, the roles of men and women are very different. And, it doesn't, one isn't necessarily less than the other, or subservient to the other, but just, the roles are so very different that um...even, even though I wasn't raised in a very traditional Native American home, I did have some influences from grandparents and my um, relatives. And so, I, I've felt those pressures to be um, more of a, to care for children, to know how to cook well, to uh, and to embody the idea of womanhood. That's a very important thing in our family. A, the concept of being a, a Native Woman is very important, so, in that way it is. For it, in terms of the Hispanic ethnicity--uh, that's hard for me to answer. I can only, I can only say what I've observed. I've observed that Hispanic women are, are, seem to be a, subservient to the men. Um, and

uh, much more of the-- what would you call the, the--feminine stereotype, I guess it would be the total woman, womanly, I don't, you know, I don't know how to describe that, I'm not doing very well, but uh, that's what I've seen. I, I don't know, because I didn't grow up in that identity. For Caucasian uh, speaking as a part, part of a, partly a Caucasian, um, I've um, I think there's a very great emphasis in Caucasian society on, on women pleasing, pleasing men, in terms of physicality, their looks um, body posture, movements, body size, shape. But in, in terms of things like uh, aw and also work, everyday life, women have been second-class citizens. But I, I believe that's changing.

SGD: (No show)

[R12]

I: Depends. Uh, there can be, for more traditional gatherings, because, you know, they are tied to traditions, you know I mean, women'll dress a certain way and they'll do certain things and men others and it will kind of be with religion, all though usually it's not a problem because in traditional Indian cultures, most of them, the women are treated with respect. You know, I mean, they are regarded as important human beings not dogs (laughter). So, but, you know, it's not a big deal. Pow-Wows, you know, you do different answers, and everybody does the whole, three-step part of the...dressing up, the women wear shawls and then for the, fancy dancing, I mean both men and women have their own fancy-dance styles. You know, it's, in some ways it's so separate like, but equal, you know, with the dances. So, it's, you know, the thing with gender differences, it's usually not, you know, infuriating (laughter).

SGD: Yeah, there are differences, you know, in our Native, in our Native cultures, you know. Women are, in most Native cultures that, you know, I've gotten familiar with and all, women are respected. They're um, they've, you know, they've usually viewed as like, life-givers and of course in the old traditional days they provided a lot of the food, you know, (laughter) if those girls were out there workin' you weren't gonna starve (laughter). And uh, but uh, today it, it's sort of just like at Pow-Wow time, the different roles, the different dances, the different styles of dress.

Research question number six is two-fold, it asks (RQ6a) **What are the situations in which women intensely promote a gender identity?** and (RQ6b) **How does this intensified gender identity relate to ethnic identity?** These questions were approached with the interview question (IQ6) **If yes, in what situations do you intensely take on your gender identity?** The two small group discussion questions that correlated with the research questions was (SGDQ3b) **What are the situations in which you notice or emphasize your gender identity?** Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and explications (direct quotes from the respondents) are shown in the tables and elaborations that follow.

T7.a

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of Situations in Which They Promote A Gender ¹ Identity and How This Intensified Gender Identity Relates to Their Ethnic Identities		
Respondents	Situations	Gender Identity Relationship to Ethnic Identity
R1	* With the JAP stereotype * In the Temple *	* Jewish women superwomen * Most Jewish women [she knew] did lots of charity work * Raised the Kids * Holders of culture * Made sure the Sabbath is observed weekly * Taught the Kids * Have to do a "zillion" things all at a time * Unspoken expectations that women can really do it all
R2	* Basque culture * At home * With family	* In the past few years more aware of the gender differences in both cultures * With family "fall[s]" into the caretaker role: cook, cleans, cares for kids * In Basque culture the roles for men and women are very different * Whoever's the oldest, regardless of gender take on the land, the house, the property of the parents'
R3	* With friends, in conversation * When talking with men, in particular * Mostly [with] people I'm close to * In work	* African American men have it harder than African American women in White culture * More Black women are employed versus a lot of unemployed Black men
R4	* Family Reunions * When I'm around my family * When I go home: I'm the little slave, I feel like that's just expected	* I have to help, to serve, to dish * Women have to be courteous * Women take care of the family, when there's family around
R5	* When I go to the store * Having to deal with men who are talking to me like they're gonna take advantage of me in a situation * Getting my tires changed * In the workplace * With my husband's family	* I always need to be constantly aware that I need to feminine but also masculine in the mind * I notice myself trying to fit in with emphasizing my gender role of being a woman in a European American society * In formal settings
R6	* In a group of predominantly White men * In a predominantly White work environment * In working with police officers * When I'm facilitating meetings * When I'm participating in meetings * In business	* [In meetings] I make sure that I give direct eye contact and let them know my views. I think that men don't necessarily think about that when they speak, whereas I do, and so for me, I intensify my gender identity * I make sure that I work probably twice as hard as a White person, whether they are a man or a woman * I make sure that I'm prepared for any situation and I probably prepare more than other [White] people * African American men have a harder time * Historically African American women were the care-takers, the mammies, they breastfed White babies * Men where the slaves, did the work * White dominant culture is a little gentler to African American women because they've been known as caretakers * There's different treatment [for African American men and women] therefore, you get a different result
Total: 6	24	28

T7.b

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of Situations in Which They Promote A ² Gender Identity and How This Intensified Gender Identity Relates to Their Ethnic Identities [continued]		
Respondents	Situations	Gender Identity Relationship to Ethnic Identity
R7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Mostly at home * Family get togethers * Anytime they say the woman should stay at home, or the women do this or that * When I went to Spain * Playing soccer * In the student groups when the guys forget * Speaking Spanish * When I speak * Supporting women in higher education * It's everywhere 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Within the other family my uncles feel that it's just a waste of my parent's money sending me to college, and I stand up for that right * The Spanish language is very gendered. I try to change the language into making it more equal, not just show dominance of the one gender over the other * I told a guy I play soccer and he says what?! Women don't know anything about soccer; I go, obviously you're wrong, and I probably know a lot more than you do * Latinas and Chicanas are actually going to college more than the men
R8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * When it's being threatened * When people are telling me that I have to fit into a specific role * When I'm supposed to be fit into a specific gender role * At school * With some male professors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The difference between ethnicities and female or male is the difference with the powerlessness and the amount of power * I have a certain amount of power with my identity as a woman, as an American Indian woman
R9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * In situations that have to do with discrimination * With sexual or romantic situations * When I go to Italy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * I'm not typically feminine or typically masculine * I'm biologically a woman and so that creates certain opportunities and restrictions for me in society that I have to deal with, but as far as internally, I don't * I would argue that women are perfectly capable of doing anything that they want to do * I should be allowed just as much sexual freedom as any man * I would put emphasis on sexual freedom in American culture and in Italian, I'd really play it down, because it's so unacceptable; if I was in Italy it could invite danger
R10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * When I am with my family * With my American friends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * With American friend, it's men and women sharing a conversation, in Mexican environment that's not so much the case * Sometimes I find it difficult because I'm not the type of person to just be in one particular group; I like to share with both genders
R11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * When I'm with my family * Family gatherings * Christmas * Thanksgiving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * It's kind of funny, the men will sit in one area and the women are with the children, in the kitchen, or somewhere else * I can almost feel this wave of change going over me; suddenly I feel nurturing and I'm looking after the children and cooking and just doing all these women-things * It just seems very natural because we've always done that
R12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * At gatherings, when you've got the shawl time * When I go to a Indigenous Woman's Group * With Indian Women doing self-taught stuff * At all Women Gatherings * Religious ceremonies * At Native Women's Health Conferences * Wearing ceremonial dress * Doing fancy-dancing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * There is kind of a difference in Indian country, than in general European America; the influence of missionaries and stuff has had an affect on Indian cultures, women have lost some of their status * I've noticed a lot of Indian women really, they're very proud of they're role in society * Things are getting better in Euro-American society too, but I don't know, there's days when I wonder
Total: 6	32	19
Sum: 12	56	47
Mean:n/a	4.666	3.916

Interpretations

The most frequently reported situation in which it is most important for these respondents to intensely promote a gender identity are *celebratory occasions* and *home or with family*, both (9); *defending sex/gender* (5); during *work* or *with men*, both (4); in a *university setting*, during *organizational events*, while *doing business or shopping*, and *with friends* all (3); *travel abroad*, *speech*, or *religious events*, each (2); and *continually*, in *intimacy* situations, and when coping with *stereotypes* and in reference to *sports*, each (1).

The most frequently noted situations in which these women intensely promote a gender identity is primarily with family or at home and during celebratory occasions, which was, in many instances, also with other ingroup members. This highlights the notion that gender identity is salient for these women, and that, strikingly, they experience most intense gender identification when with family and ingroup members. There were also a large number of reports of, specifically, intensifying gender identity when defending ones sex/gender; notably, this also most frequently occurs with family, friends or other ethnic ingroup members (see explications). The third most frequently reported situations of gender identity promotion occur at work and, pointedly, with men. This finding would suggest that other women could establish relationships with multiethnic women that utilizes their femaleness as common reference points for finding similarities with one another and maintaining positive interactions; this could be very useful knowledge for women at work, at universities and in other male dominant institutional settings. To men, in general, this information might wisely be heeded as a caution against using sexist language and sexist behaviors; since, as these women indicated, it is terribly offensive to them and evokes defensive responses.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12*

represents the code assigned to each individual; / indicates the response to the interview question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: Yeah, uh, I think it definitely becomes necessary with the whole JAP stereotype. Um, and it pains me to say it, but I have run into that stereotype in my own family. I mean, just placed on my sister and I and that's a really weird thing because on the one hand--and I've read a lot about this too, so I know it wasn't just us, it's pretty common--um, is that um, Jewish girls are often raised in that stereotype. Now this is of course, now, I come from an upper-middle class background, this isn't, of course a working-class type of Jewish family or something like that. Because the JAP stereotype is very specifically, upper-middle class. And I don't know, because you know, we're the ones who can buy the cars, the jewelry, you know and the 100 pairs of shoes and whatever else they think we do. (laughter) Um, so yeah, uh, so it's kind of like Jewish girls are raised to value those things, you know. To value being adorned and um, looking a certain way and you know, there's always lots of jokes about you know, we're all getting nose jobs for graduation. You know, all this stuff and that's, that's part of our flaw. You know, that's something wrong with us. That's superficial and that's our, our problem. But, you know, in so many ways you are raised to, um...with those things being a priority. You know, and feeling like your not worth a whole lot if you're not wearing the right clothes and you don't look the right way. Particularly, um, unfortunately, I see a whole lot of this, girls who look typically Jewish. You know, quote-unquote, "trying to get rid of that." Um, and the nose jobs, I guess are the first thing--get rid of the Jewish nose! So, we're kind of raised in that ilk. And we're raised in, particularly if you, um, have a father who is like a professional man, of one type or another, or who's making a good living. Um, and maybe your mom is contributing to that too and there um, it's kind of like, you know, that's what he wants for his girls. You know, he wants them adorned. And, you know, that's the fruits of his labor. And so, on the one hand, you have, you're raised to be like that, but then when you are like that, you're a stereotype and you're all of these horrible things. These horrible qualities. You know, so, it's really kind of frustrating. And I can remember, you know, I've basically been, have been, called a JAP in my own family, by other family members. You know that was just, I couldn't believe it. But, I feel like well, you made me. (laughter). You know, because the school I went to was upper-middle class and um, and we were, despite how well off and we were well off--you know, that's what you call it! In my school, and this of course is relative now, I definitely don't mean it like this, but in my school, relative to the other students, I was poor. I mean that's how, that's what I went to school with. Um, and it wasn't a majority Jewish school, but it was a school that was started by a Jewish man, um, in the early nineteen hundreds for um, for a Jewish boy's orphanage home that was down the street. And that's where all these Jewish boys were going to go to school. So we were always in the, by that time when I was going there it was probably about, I think it was about 40% Jewish. Something around there, and uh, so it was not majority Jewish, but it was known as that Jew school. You know, it was called Neumann and everybody called it Jewman. And, (laughter) and, yeah um, and uh, so, I encountered that there. It wasn't only the Jewish girls it was the Christian girls as well. And, that the clothes were very important, the makeup and the hair, how you looked and you know, all of that stuff. Um, so, it that, that was my influence for, I went to that school for thirteen years. It was kindergarten through graduation. And that's what I dealt with every day, for nine months, every year, for thirteen years. So on the one hand, you almost can't, you can't help but be turned into this person that really fits the stereotype.

But then the stereotype's gonna be used against you. You know. So it's, it's, you just can't win. It's really a battle to break out of it. You know, I've found. You know, it took me uh, quite a while and you know well, that's all I can say. You know, I mean, it's just um, the type of women that I grew up with, were my friend's mothers and grandmothers and all that, they were just--superwomen. You know, I felt like everything was expected of them. They were out, chances were they were working too but, maybe um, they might be working in a volunteer capacity um, a part-time, most of them do a lot of charity work. And then they're also pretty much raising kids and um, they're the holders of culture also, you know, they're the ones that would make sure that Sabbath is observed every week and they're the ones that were, you know, teaching the kids um, and I really felt like all the entire, all our culture was held and caught um, and preserved by the women. Really. And I always think of the Jewish women I know as being superwomen. And just, having to, to do a zillion things all at a time. Um, so, um, ah, it might be a little bit of generalization and I'm, I hate to, I don't wanna rag on the, the men in my life but um, yeah I, I, I think, I feel like the expectation is that, it's kind of unspoken but um, but that the women can really do it all--that Jewish mother and grandmother stuff.

SGD: Um, when I read that question, the first thing that came to my mind was um, this incident that happened. I was sort of getting involved in um, the temple and, in the town I lived in, in Colorado and there was a sacred prayer that needed to be read for um, one of the holidays and they said they needed um, a _____[last name] to read it. Which is um, historically the high priest um, when the religion was stemming and um, well, and um, that's who I am, I am from _____[name]. So they said well, she can read it, you know, and the, the woman who was there said no rabbi she can't we need a bar _____[name], she's a bat _____[name]--which is a woman. Um, I was female, so I couldn't read this part. And um, that was just very disturbing. And when I think of my Jewish identity, I don't just think, it is absolutely not, just a religion. It's my heritage and my culture um, it's a much more over-all identity. But that's a lot of when I really feel like I need to um, assert my gender identity and when it's often sort of taken away from me, is within the religious aspect. Um, and within the services and Reform Judaism has gotten a lot better about that in their, I couldn't even imagine being Orthodox, or Conservative. It's just, wouldn't, you know, not even allowed to, you know, sit in the same pews um, in synagogues. But um, yeah, so it's times like that when I feel like I've been um, disincluded, or, or something like that um, that it becomes necessary to, to really emphasize it and you know, it's most noticeable, I think. You would kind of think that within something like that, we'd, that it would just be the Jewish part that mattered and the male female thing wouldn't really, wouldn't really enter into it as much, but it does.

[R2]

I: Uhhm. Well I really take on my gender in the Basque. And when I'm at home I do take on the cooking and the washing and the taking care of the kids and all. I think part of that has to do with my being the oldest child. And that being a leadership function. But, um, there were many moments where I rejected that. I didn't want to have anything to do with that. I did not want to be a Suzy-homemaker. Everything about that was horrible, and I thought it was terrible. And then I became a feminist, you know, the first stage of saying no. No, that's trash, don't do that. And, as I've grown into being comfortable with myself and seeing what an important function that is in the family and that they appreciate that I do that and value that. Then I enjoy doing it, and it's something that my family needs. And I am able to do that. So, within my family, I really do take on that womanly role.

SGD: In the last several years I've become more aware of the differences, the gender differences, in both cultures. And I'm, at this point, fairly committed to my Basque identity when it comes to my gender. I feel that I have, the right to be a very strong woman. To do what makes me happy and what makes my family happy. And so, with my family, you know, you, I fall into that role, because that's what you do at home--[addressing another respondent] it's like what you were talking about--you don't notice it because it's just around you constantly. And I cook and I clean and I care for kids. And, I don't feel bad about that. Because I feel like it's really important. In my work and school environment though, I feel like it's not a different role that I'm taking on, because I'm the oldest child, and so, even in my family situation, I'm allowed and really suppose to be very strong and assertive and that's the way I operate in the rest of my life and so it seems really consistent to me. I think both of you described Anglo culture similar than, to what I would do. In Basque culture, the roles for men and women are very, are different. There's quite a bit of cross-over though because it's a very, it's an agriculturally based society. And if there's work that needs to be done, you do it. You know, there's more inside work that's women's work and more outside work that's men's. But the cross-over is allowable, 'cause you just do what you need to, to survive. But I think that, both roles are really valued, in, in that culture. And it's not like in the United States, where doing the housework and the cooking and the, caring for the children is, is de-valued. You know, it's very important, it's essential to the survival, of the family. And the family ties are uh, very tight. Um, the other thing too is that it's a very democratically-based culture. And in Basque families, the oldest child plays a very important role in the family. And they will be the one's to take on the land and the house and the property, once the parents's leave, once they die, and care for them when they're old. And that role can be played by either a girl, or a boy. It's, whoever's the oldest, regardless of their gender. So that's one way, in which women are given, oh, have a lot of power. And when they marry, their house is named after their last name and they, it's the woman's last name that's retained. The women can, women can have property that, happens to be named after them and, it's fairly egalitarian.

[R3]

I: I'd say, you know, often my friends and I are in conversations and most of the time, it starts they'll say, women mostly this and all the other women that I'm with, and we start saying, well, men always do this and um, I guess I defend my gender a lot when I'm talking to men, in particular. Mostly people that I'm close to. I'm not very good at uh, defending my gender to strangers as much as I am to people that I know well, or that I'm close to. Then I feel free to voice my opinion. But to a stranger or someone I don't know, um, I may not always stick up for my gender and just let it go.

SGD: Um, again, I think being a woman, a Black woman, I fit um, my degree in college was Business and when I first was working in a different setting, um, I found it, um, a lot easier to get along with people, um, and I didn't have as hard a time as a lot of uh, Black males that I worked with, it seemed like. And um, and I used it, I guess, or I used it to my advantage, being a woman, because um, um, um, I think I, was more accepted and people were more friendly, because I wasn't so, um, didn't feel so discriminated, all the time. I would say um, in the African American culture, um, men have a more, a lot harder time, um, dealing with um, White American culture. Um, they, for um, some reason, um, find uh, getting along with White people, I think's more difficult. And they're always um, feeling that they're being judged, or that they're being discriminated against. And um, that's just my opinion, um, I think women have an easier time fitting into White culture. Black women,

especially, for some reason, than men. Um, and that might be, simply due to the fact that um, more Black women, I think, are employed, versus a lot of unemployed Black men.

[R4]

I: I think family reunions. When I'm around my family, I have to uh, help. Serve. Dish. You know we have to be courteous. You know you can't go outside and talk with the men. You have to stay inside. And, definitely. It's definitely taking care of the family, when there's family around. You know. Recently when I went to California, I was very little, you know when I walked into the house, just because that was where I was raised, you know I asked my dad if he wanted coffee, just took care of everyone. While I was there, so...innocently, it just happens.

SGD: When I go home, um, when I was recently uh, in California. It was all, like all of a sudden, you know, I just like automatically, asked my dad if he wanted coffee, and all of a sudden I'm the little slave, not always a slave, but yeah that's what I feel like sometimes. But yeah, that's, because I feel like that's just expected. So definitely, when I'm with my family. Um, uh, women are expected to just uh, fit in the background, and not really say much. Um, and men are definitely expected to be the providers and macho and uh--well that's all, I have to say about that. And um, so, what are the different uh, when do I notice, what situations do I notice that I get, yeah, the same one's.

[R5]

I: Yeah, um, I think that being, when I take on um...I feel like I need to, to intensely take on my gender identity being a woman, is when um, I feel like I'm being taken for granted. Um, when I feel like, for example, I mean like when I feel like I go to the store when I'm having to deal with men and they're talking to me like I have no clue what's going on and they're gonna take advantage of me in a situation. Especially, I mean and this is for any woman I think going, I had to get my tires changed and I always feel, like if I'm not on my toes, then I'm gonna be charged for sixteen other things wrong with my car that are not, you know. And I feel that, at that point, I really need to um, become the strong woman that's inside of me and not be the feminine woman that's inside of me. And um, and show them that you know, yes I am a woman and I can be a woman when I talk to you, but, I also am not stupid and you need to understand that I'm not gonna let you take advantage of me and charge me for more than, you know, what I'm asking for. Um, and I think um, also being a woman in the workplace. I need to um, I feel like I need to be a lady because I don't want to be labeled as being, I guess, in their, the quote, butch, in trying to be rude and strong and, but I also need to be aware. Always, constantly, aware...that um, I am, I am always gonna always be, probably pushed, have it a little harder, I'm always gonna have to be above and beyond and I may not always be, I need to be a lady in a different context too. I just need to be uh, I always need to be constantly aware that I need to be feminine but I also need to be masculine in the mind, I guess, be able to play by their rules.

SGD: Um, it's interesting because I've just gotten married and my husband's family is, they're Yugoslavian, but they're a very old, old family Yugoslavian but, they're also European American too. And um, I find myself emphasizing the bad thing there that I don't want to be, as being a lady, when I'm at his household, because I'm not really included. I mean I sit and talk, occasionally, with the men, but most of the time, I'm not listened to. Like your situations (looks at another respondent) I mean, oh, that's nice but, why don't you go talk with the women in the kitchen, types of things. And I think that, when I notice myself trying

to fit in with emphasizing my gender role of being a woman in a European American society. At work though, it's different because I am a minority there. And um, I don't know, I kind of keep to myself there, I don't really try to identify with anybody. You know, I, I don't find a need to do that. I just, you know, I know who I am. Most people can't peg me. And they're curious I know, but unless they're gonna ask me, I, I don't--and I mostly just, I guess I strongly identify with being a woman there because I know most women are in my situation, trying to make it in the corporate world, and um, you have to be aggressive but you also have to be a lady too. I guess that's what I was saying, you let the men handle the politics, you let the women talk about cooking and cleaning and your new house and your cars and, you know, that, that's sort of, I do have a, I did have a, it was, I was lucky because my mother was um, she, she worked. And she, she's a professional and so she's very, very opinionated. But so, she's, it's kind of funny because she's very outspoken but then when you're out in a formal setting, she's very polite and nice and kind of reverts back to what she, what she was taught to do, when she was younger.

[R6]

I: More so in a group of predominantly White men. And that's because I work in a predominantly White work environment. And so, that is when I intensely take a the gender identity. And I do that in the sense that I make sure that I am confident, even at times militant, in my views, so that I am heard. And I don't do that as much with women because women have a different way of communicating, with one another versus men, you know, and I work with all sorts of men. I work with police officers who, ah, tend to be, tend to walk over women. Or ignore women, or interrupt women, um, so in those situations, when I'm, when I'm, facilitating meetings then I take on a very strong role. And, I make it known that I, that this is my meeting and that I'm in control, in a sense. And when I'm participating in meetings, I make sure that I am, you know, give direct eye contact and I look people in the eye and I let them know my views. And I think that uh, I men don't necessarily think about that when they speak. Whereas I do, and so for me, I intensify my gender identity.

SGD: Uh, for me, it's in business, when I work, I emphasize it. As woman and a minority, it's like it's almost two strikes against you. So, I view um, I mean, I make sure I'm confident, I make sure that I work probably twice as hard as a White person, whether they are a man or a woman, and I make sure that um, I'm prepared for any situation. And I probably prepare more than other people, and I probably know more than other people have to know. So, I would say, that would be the main situation, in my work atmosphere. Well I, I agree with what _____ [another respondent] said, in that um, African American men have a harder time. And that's because they are treated differently than African American women. Historically, African American women were the care-takers, the mammies. I mean, they breastfed White babies, you know, in the slavery days. So, I think that the White um, dominant culture has, is a little gentler to, African American women, because they've been known as caretakers. Whereas, men, where the slaves, you know, they did the work. So um, in that sense, yeah there's different treatment, and so therefore, you get a different result.

[R7]

I: I intensely take it on at home and in the family and when I go abroad--when I went to Spain. I was strongly for women to be equal and um, when I go home my parents are open, but not as open, they all, they just accept it. But, within the other family, like my uncles and stuff, they're not, they feel that it's just a waste of my parent's money sending me to college.

And I stand up for that right. The situations has to do with taking on my gender identity, I'll just repeat that again, is mostly at the home, when your family gets together. And when, anytime they say, the woman you know, should stay at home, or the women do this or that, I immediately stand up. I say no, the woman has a right not to do it. The men can do it just as well as the woman can do it because the gender roles have tried to be defined as the woman always doing the work. Um, in Europe, when I went to Spain, I, it was very hard and, because the men would, whenever I said I play soccer, they immediately threw back at me saying, what do women know about soccer? And they don't know that. Obviously they don't know who I am and I stood up immediately, as a woman. And immediately stood up for how I felt, um, as a gender identity. But um, I, those are the two places. I mean any time, any, and once in a while in the student groups when the guys forget. Because the Spanish language is very gendered, if you didn't know. Um, we have Latina, Latino and usually they always say Latino, Latino. So, little kids when they're little, they're always thinking it's male. And um, I always talk about Latino, Latina because there's female too. And it's, the language itself is, gender biased, already, and I try to always say Latino, Latina, Chicana, Chicano you know, always say both. You know, ninos and ninas, boys and girls. Because in Spanish you can say ninos, and that means boys-and-girls. But most of it, they think is just boys. And if there's a group of girls, in the Spanish language, like Latinas, like for example nina that's girl, if there's one boy within the group of girls, it's already transferred to ninos. And so, they think that, the boys, if there's one boy, that makes the dominance of the whole group. So, I try to always say ninos and ninas. I try to change the language into making more equal, not just show dominance of the one over the other, which is the gender.

SGD: Oh my, this is really easy (laughter) because um, it's, it's really um, when it comes to the situations, especially when uh, I'm a very talkative person, that was always a no-no, you know, 'cause um, especially with some of the guys. Women, you know, most women are suppose to be quiet and listen to what's goin' on and that's it. You know, you shouldn't talk. And, and if you are outspoken, or feel strongly about how you feel about certain issues and rights of women you'll get cut down, or they just ignore you and they go, you don't know what you're talking about, that ain't right, you know. So um, it's very um, noticeable, you can see it. Um, especially like, for example, I told a guy I play soccer and he says what?! What do you know about soccer? Women don't know anything about soccer. You know, it's not for women and stuff like that. And I go, wel'p, obviously you're wrong, 'cause I do know about it and I probably know a lot more than you do. (laughter) Um, and um, so I, I, see that a lot um, and I notice that and um...I (sigh) continue to support, you know um, for women to go into higher education and to continue, you know, going, reaching for their heights and stuff. And, and for the guys too, 'cause, you know, a lot of us are kinda scared about higher education, but to continue to work with it. The situations that are very commonly seen in all the ethnicities or identities are, you see it everywhere, you see it very strong in different roles. But, but they're changing, hopefully (laughter). Slowly, but surely (laughter). Well um, the different expectations basically for men and women--for the women to be the best they can be. And um, and the men also. And especially to be the best mother, or, you know, sister, or daughter you can be and um, and uh, and for the men to, to get the good jobs, you know, and to continue, you know, right now we're more advancing into higher education. Now, you know, a lot now the families, in the past we didn't look much to that, but now uh, women are being more accepted into going into higher education, but before that wasn't--it was a waste. Why should women go to college? You know, it's a waste, you know, you're losing money, she should be out working, or looking for a husband, instead of going to work she goes to college. Um, so uh, so that's what you see within the ethnic groups, even though, the more your looking at the college campuses and

stuff, you see a lot of Latinas and Chicanas, actually more female, actually, going to college than the male. So that kind of, makes, things are changing obviously and it looks like the women are trying to progress themselves and move up, with the time. Um so, we have our different expectations but they're, you know, they're changing but they're very slowly changing because there is that fact that there is a great amount of drop-out because a lot of the women feel when they get to college, they felt that they've left their families and their families need them greater, so a lot of 'em drop-out to go home. But, they might last for a little bit, but then they feel, this isn't for me, and they go on back, you know. And I think a lot of the men feel that way too, and it just depends on how they are, how close their families are too.

[R8]

I: I guess when it's being threatened. Um, when people are telling me that I have to fit into a specific role, that I don't necessarily fit into. Uh, and I don't want to fit into. I think that's when I stand up and say, now look...my ancestors do it this way, you know (laughter) and so I think that's when, when it's threatened. Or when I'm suppose to be fit into a specific gender role, is when I intensely take on a, my gender identity, of who I am. Yeah, yeah, school, for one. Um, male professors have said things like um, your married, why aren't you home? (Sigh) Things like that...it's just kind of sick (laughter). It's just kind of sick that way. Because they try to push on their specific gender identity upon me. That, it really just doesn't fit me.

SGD: Um, I think mostly with um, well, I'm kind of viewing it from my, with my education for one. It's kind of like, it's kind of like, I'm taking that certain power that I have, that's been given to me, and I'm doing something with my life. And so, that's the situation where I emphasize my gender identities, is where I have a certain amount of power with my identity--as a woman, as an American Indian woman--which I, I identify mostly with. To, to, make changes in my life. To, to do things, that um, many women, don't have opportunities to do. Well, I think that, that's apparent, the difference with the powerlessness and then the amount of power.

[R9]

I: My gender identity? I'm so androgenous, that I only really take it on in situations that have to do um, with either, discrimination or with, like sexual or romantic situations. Um, I, I only get defensive, you know, I only get fiercely defensive if someone's being like prejudiced or stereotyped about what a woman's place is and what a woman's capable of doing. My own grandmother says, why don't you call _____[a male's name] to come over and change this light bulb you know. Well I have to remind her that I'm perfectly capable of doing that for her, even though I'm a woman. And, so things like that, I get defensive of it. But I'm not typically feminine, or typically masculine, so, I just don't mess with any of that. I'm biologically a woman, and so that, creates certain opportunities and restrictions for me in society that I have to deal with, but as far as internally, I don't. I don't really think about it. I really actually, they're very similar, because each situation, I think what...No. No, going back to the sexual thing, the sexuality. Um, in each situation, I would argue that women, are perfectly capable of doing anything that they want to do. That we want to do--see, that's how little I associate it with um, it's just two groups and then there's _____[respondent's name], off somewhere else. But um..Yeah I, that's why I think that, you know, in either case I'd be, I'd be saying, you know, that, that I can hook up my own stereo equipment and do my own oil change and I can do, those things. But in the sexual situation, I'm more likely

as an American to say, I have just as much sex, I should be allowed just as much sexual freedom as any man. Whereas, in Italy, I'd be less likely to say that and I'd be more likely to say, you can't stereotype me as an American, you have no idea, you know. I mean, just because I'm American, doesn't mean I'm sexually free. And those almost contrast each other, you know what I mean? Whereas, I would, I would, I would put emphasis on sexual freedom in one culture and in the other one, I'd **really** play it down, because it's so unacceptable. And even though they're not acceptable in either culture, um, for some reason, if I was in Italy, it could get me into more trouble. Whereas in, in, here, I might get a reputation or a label, but there it could invite danger.

SGD: Um, I, admittedly when I go to Italy, I do...play the part. When I go to Italy, I dress like an Italian woman. And I do, but that's sort of playing...and part of that is because I'm embarrassed to be an American when I go to Italy. And I don't want to be treated the way Americans are treated, when I go there. And I can pass, sufficiently, with my language and my looks and that, that the only barrier, for prejudice against me, would be my dress. And I like the way they dress in Italy, so I feel very comfortable, in a sense. Um, I do that less here because I, I, I'm lazier and I get, I get more, I get more egalitarian in the United States and I feel like, I'm gonna wear pants, damn it, you know (laugh). I'll wear pants if I want to (laugh). Um, I'm more bold, more boldly androgenous in the United States, I should say.

[R10]

I: Um, I think, one of the biggest situations that I take on my gender identity is when I am with family. Um, and basically that is because, all of the preconceived expectations um, for a woman. Um, I notice that I tend to help a lot more um, in that type of situation. Um, you, I, communicate and converse more with the females, of, as opposed to, you know, if I'm with my American friends. You know, it's men and women you know, sharing a conversation. That's not so much the case, sometimes. Um, sometimes I find it difficult, because I'm not the type of person to just, be in one particular group; I like to share with both genders.

SGD: Um, the situations in which I notice uh, or emphasize my gender identity, they basically, when I'm with family. Um, and basically it's just because of the way I was raised. Okay, um, the different gender expectations, the different expectations for women and men, within my Mexican ethnicity, um, I feel that um, men are, expected to be the providers. Um, within the family. And the women are suppose to be, the silent, um, person in the back. Um, and even though they have a strong influence on, what happens within the family-unit, I think um, the women uh, don't get acknowledged for um, as much as in um, as in our American, uh, counterpart.

[R11]

I: It would have to be, it sounds kind of, a bit weird but, when I'm with my family, and extended family in, in family gatherings, like at Christmas, or Thanksgiving, or something, it's, it's kind of funny, if someone were watching actually, because the men will sit in one area and the women are with the children, in the kitchen, or somewhere else. And um, I can almost feel this wave of change going over me. I, I suddenly feel very nurturing and I'm looking after the children and uh, cooking and I have an apron on and just doing all these woman-things that, and it, it just seems very natural because we've always done that. So, probably when I'm with my family.

SGD: (No show)

[R12]

I: I don't think I ever really have (laughter). Uh, oh, I think about the most intensely is that, at those kind of gatherings, you know, when you've got the shawl time (laughter) but uh, I don't know. I don't think I've ever really been in the situation where, you know, it was intensely...we do have a, I go to a Indigenous Woman's Group, when uh, a couple of the girls have been organizing, you know, Indian Women self-taught stuff, know, so that should be pretty interesting. But, that's about as intense as it gets for me (laughter).

SGD: Ah, sometimes with, with ah, when--I've never been in, in anything that's real dramatic gender-wise--sometimes there's all, all Women Gatherings, you know, for Indians. They do that to help, you know, like some health conferences to address women's issues and help, you know, women out, make them stronger. And then sometimes for religious ceremonies, like you get on a certain side of the room, or something. But, and uh, then, you know, at _____[name of a ceremony] or _____[name of a ceremony], I mean, you know, you dress, you have certain styles you can dress and certain dances that you can dance. Like not too many women dress up in like the, you know, double head-dresses and doing men's fancy-dancing, or something. You know, so it's like nothing dramatic, but just the little differences. But, you know, as long as I feel like, you know, I'm not being treated like a dog then it's never bothered me (laughter). Huh, I don't know, I've never really run across too dramatically different expectations. Just um, I guess there is kind of a difference in Indian country, than in like, general European America. Although, the influence of missionaries and stuff, is, has had an affect on Indian cultures where, you know, women have had a, lost some of their status. But um, there's kind of a revival these days in Indian country so, and uh, I've, I've noticed a lot of Indian women really, they have, they're very proud of they're role in, in society. So um, so I, and so I've never had a problem like, feeling like, you know, like I was kept down or anything (laughter), you know, a dog. And uh, things are getting better in Euro-American society too, but I don't know, there's days when I wonder. Like, when Andrew Dice-Clay was popular (laughter)--oh, you know, maybe we just haven't gotten all that far after all.

Research question number seven (RQ7) **Do the women who are intensely promoting their gender identity perceive this gender identity to be shared by a large or small number of other women?** This question was approached with the interview question (IQ7) **To what degree in those situations in which you intensify your gender identity, are these behaviors shared by others of your ethnicities?** There was no small group discussion question that correlated with this research question. Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following tables and explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

T8

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of Whether Gender Identity Promotion is Shared by a Large or Small Number of Other Women Within Their Ethnicities			
Respondents	Large	Small	(See Comments)
			Undecided/Unsure
R1			*
R2			*
R3	*		
R4	*		
R5	*		
R6	*		
R7	*		
R8	*		
R9	*		
R10	*		
R11	*		
R12	*		*
Total: 12	10	-0-	3

Interpretations

The most frequently reported perception of whether their gender identity is shared by a large or small number of others was *large* (10), *small* (-0-) and *undecided/unsure* (3).

As mentioned before, this table can be correlated with RQ4 (see p.65-66) in that gender may have a broader scope of application than ethnicity for multiethnic women. Ethnicity and gender are both salient factors in their identity, but gender seems to take prominence as a somewhat more critical component of their identity, and one which they largely concur, is promoted by a large number of other women across their ethnicities.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: Um, that's kind of um, different in that um, she (respondent's sister) has never um, I don't think claimed her Jewish identity as much as I have. Um, I'm probably the one in the family who has claimed it the most, actually. That, I made my dad real happy. (laughter) Everybody else just kind of went, uuuhhh (sigh) (laughter) They didn't care, really. (laughter) Um, yeah so, yeah and I know she did that and I think she's actually doing it more now. I think that now that we've been out of Neumann for years and have that distance. Um, more from our family. Not really consciously like, get out of here! At all, but just the way life goes--we're having our own lives, she's got her own family now--um, we've got, I think that probably she is um more adamant about breaking down those [JAP] stereotypes and um, I think we both felt like we had to defend ourselves. You know, um, and even defend ourselves to our own family. You know, we'll get into it, I don't know, we'll get into something about how we grew up you know, uh, not always doing the right thing because we were more interested in our clothes and our, you know, our outward appearance and how other people thought of us. That we weren't, we didn't value the things that were really

important. You know and so, we really, I think that sometimes we are having to defend ourselves. And really try to deconstruct that stereotype. And how sexist it is. Um, and assert ourselves um, through breaking down, well you know, I'm, you sort of made me this, but I'm not that, um. I don't think they (respondent's mother and grandmother) would be dealing with the, even more, I don't know that it would, uh, I don't know if it dawned on them yet that there's something wrong with the [JAP] stereotype. (laughter) I don't know, but maybe it just doesn't really, maybe there's, there's always this, this thing that people think that this JAP person really exists. It's not a stereotype, it's just a fact. It's like another human being or something (laughter) um, so you know, I don't know if they would consider that. (laughter) So like, I don't know if my grandmother has ever had to deal with the stereotype. Um I think she has probably had to deal, more with um, sort of general stereotypes about Jews that encompass men and women. And she's one of the, and now she's, a, she's the Jewish grandmother. You know she's the grandmother and the great grandmother, you know. And she, there's a definite role involved there. And um, and stereotypes. Um, which is a really difficult thing for me, because there's so much about the Jewish grandmother that I love. You know, I just, I think it's great. But you know, there are some negative things about it. Um, and she's always been in the position of um, being, um, she's always been a very strong women. And I think that tends to be one of the characteristics of the Jewish grandmother, 'cause if you look at that generation, um and where they've come from. She's been through a heck of a lot. You know, they came to this country from Russia. In, I think, the early nineteen hundreds. And um, you know, it's been a tough road. Um, so she's always been strong. And always been assertive, um, she's probably had to fight the idea that she's the, you know, the domineering bitch or something like that. I'm sure she's had to deal with that and those are probably the times when she has had to assert herself as a woman, in her position and what that means, all that's expected of her. Um, as opposed to just oh well, you know, there she is trying to control everybody again. Um, cause, I don't know, if there's any truth to that there are reasons for it. You know, she's had to fight hard for everything she has. Uh, so, yeah, um, I'm sure she's dealt with a lot of that. Um, but probably our issues are, are different.

[R2]

I: Yeah and I'm, I'm trying to think, because they're somewhat similar. In the Anglo community, I see there being more freedom. I really see there's more freedom to break out of that, that role. That Anglo women are given more freedom, they can go out and have a career, they may be doing a second job at home as well, but, but they're able to do more of that. In the Basque community, I don't know if that's as true. I don't know, there's certainly some women who work, but they generally work--in the real tight communities--they work as teachers, or as secretaries, or in the bakery shops their family might own. And, so, I think that there's not as much freedom to get out of that. I don't see that as very accessible, to take on that role. Whereas Anglo women sometimes they say, you're shackled to the stove, you're, you know, you're a prisoner in your home. But, not really, viewing it from my perspective, that being really important and valued.

[R3]

I: I would say my friends, um, and I you know, we kind of form our own little support group and we talk, we support one another, um as far as being women, and our goals, and in our marriages. And um...so then we would really, um, try to um, um, make our gender, um, being women--oh what am I trying to say?--we try to buildup one another and support one another to be strong and to not conform to society. And um, and so I think that happens

a lot with my friends and when we get together. Um, we do that and we try to build up the women and, and, um, um, just kind of help one another, so that we can um, support one another, since we're facing so many, um, you know, um, um, discrimination, a lot of sexism from men, our husbands and other people.

[R4]

I: Oh, everybody shares them. I mean it's just, you have to do it, you know. They wouldn't even, they wouldn't even tolerate you not, conforming to that. You know, it's kind of like, you just have to. You know, it's totally expected. And it wasn't anything unusual. For me to be that little, that little slave again. I don't think it's really--I think everybody, it's just, it's just, you just do it. So it's like that for everyone in the Hispanic culture.

[R5]

I: I think um, definitely in the work place, a lot of women share the same behaviors as I do. Um, but I think that, right now I'm working with other women in my class who are uh, European American. And so, it's a different, I'm having you know, I believe they share the same kind of views as I do about being, intensifying their, their feminine behaviors but also knowing that they've gotta be on top of it too. And um, have the masculine features in the mind. But um, and I think there's a large number that share that. As I said, right now I'm not around a lot of African Americans, at all, during the day and so um, but I'm sure that um, I think there, again, definitely in the workplace, it's a general view. I mean you know your a woman, you look like a woman, you have to act like a woman and a lady, a feminine lady, in the workplace, but you also need to know that you've gotta be aggressive and strong. And um, you know, not being, you know, not get pushed over, by male counter-parts. And I think um, that, I think it's generally, it's shared by a lot of women that are in my class right now, in my training class.

[R6]

I: Yeah, I think for women, in general, whether your a person of color, but just as a woman you, um, I think that a lot of women feel that pressure, of not being heard, being overlooked. And um, not being looked upon as the leader in a group, when in reality they may in fact, be the leader. So, I think in that case, there are, plenty of women who share that role. For African American woman, I think that um, being an African American woman, for me, I have to work twice as hard as a White woman--in those same roles. Though we're treated similarly in certain ways because we're women, but, African American women historically have been overlooked and so, for me, I work twice as hard. And I think that other African American women um, would agree with that, in that they also try to do the same. Or they find that they're not effective, in meetings and they're passed over for promotions and then they're not given the opportunity. So I think you almost have to be um, militant is probably the wrong word but, very confident in your abilities and your skills and your knowledge. But, in that sense I think that there are plenty of African American women, or persons of color, women of color who share that behavior. Well, the only other situations I can think of are um, within a classroom setting. I attend graduate school so, in that situation, as a student, as a graduate student, it's adult to adult so, you know, sometimes you'll have--most of my classes are predominantly White--um, there are however, about 50/50 in the gender, so, in that situation I feel that...I'm usually the only African American in my class so, it's not that others in that class share my same behaviors but, there are sometimes people of color. But most of them are international students. They're not people from America. So, they

probably have a different view. And I don't know that they would definitely, I don't know if they would notice the same things that I notice. Or make sure that they speak the same way that I speak, since they have different norms.

[R7]

I: Um, to a degree. In the family and the home I take it to a certain degree because I could argue for the rest of my life about it and I just basically say my point of view and that's just that. And if they don't accept it, I can't change people, you know and I just let it be. Through the women it's always shared. The women always agree with me. But through the men, if they're old, they will not change their ways. If they're young, like my brothers, they are willing to change. But if it's uh, the degree basically, is all the women support women and women won't talk to support me because they're afraid of their husbands, or whatever. They just stay quiet, but they, they, inside they tell me they support me, you know? Outside, secretly, because they don't want their husbands to know that they support me. But, (laughter) but um, with these behaviors the women all share, share with me. Um, and I feel the younger men share with me also. It's just the older generation of men, just don't. If they're older, they just don't. They don't see it. (laughter)

[R8]

I: Squaw! Is the term that I can think of. Where other Indian women don't like the use of the term squaw um, because it was and Iroquois word to use for the vagina of the woman, and ah, frontiersman and soldiers um, the calvary, would use that word to speak of Indian woman, as being, as strictly, a piece of meat, strictly a thing to do, you know, you know. And it's, it's, a very offensive term. And um, I think that um, Indian women, uh, get together any time...there was squaw bread um, they used the term squaw bread at Lyon's and a friend of mine told me that and we got together and wrote a nasty letter to Lyon's and they stopped using the term squaw bread. And there was, New Morning Bakery use to make what they called squaw bread. And it really wasn't, that wasn't the original name and so um, they um, we went, we wrote another letter and they changed that too. And so, things that happen. I haven't see it again, but um, behaviors. Those behaviors, those types of um, things, reinforce gender identity in the group--shared with other people. I think they do it um, in a big way. I think that the degree, those situations were, where racism occurs um, and it also affects gender identity, it's a double thing, it's like an interlocking oppression. Thank you for that, Dr. _____[name of a professor]. (laughter) With interlocking oppression, I think that, that those affect you twice as much, twice as multiplied, exponential.

[R9]

I: I think a lot of American women would agree with the stance that I take within American society. And I have no idea what they would do within the context of an Italian society. It's the only thing I can think of, you know. I do, I have no idea. I don't know that many other people like me. With the same background. And so, it's really hard to say, but I would think that my opinion is that a lot of American women, is that they just, they, they just want to be treated as human beings. And that, you know, what's good for the goose is good for the gander, sort of thing. Whereas I don't, I don't see a lot of the same thing happening in the Italian culture. There's more of a movement now than there use to be, but I don't think it's, I still think that's there's, still a clingy-ness to what it means to be feminine that we have moved a little bit more away from in the United States.

[R10]

I: Well, (laughter) that's a very good question I guess, um...I guess that depends on what group, I'm with. And if it's family, Mexican background, that is shared by quite a large amount. I mean, which would be the majority. Whereas, when I'm with friends um, that are of American um, ethnicity, that is not shared as much.

[R11]

I: Um, well my, my Native American Caucasian ethnicity is kind of mixed, together, because that's...what our family is. Um, and, in the situations where a lot of us are together um, it's very strong. They're shared by every one. All the women are doing this and all the men are doing this. But when there's just a few of us together, you know, like my, me and my grandma or something, or me and my grandma and grandpa, it's not, it's not as bad. Uh, and when it's just my immediate family, which could be defined as a Caucasian home, um, I guess um, my mother and I actually do most of the cooking and cleaning and um, waiting on, serving--I guess it would be--my father and my brother. Um, so I, I guess it's (laughter), they are shared by others of, all of 'em.

[R12]

I: Uh, I've heard of funny stuff going on, a lot of people get really offended if you mess with a Pow-Wow Convention, like I saw where somebody went to a Pow-Wow somewhere in the Midwest and some men were doing the jingle-dress dance, or something, you know, which is a woman's dance. It was like, oh, it's just terrible and all this, dadada (laughter) and ah, I don't know, it depends on the, the territory you are in. Because out here I've never seen female hop-dancers. You know, but I saw a picture of a Chipawa um, Pow-Wow, and Chipawa women have a high status in that society, and a Chipa-girl was doing a hop-dance, and it was like huh, I didn't know anybody else did that (laughter). You know, but uh, I don't know, to what degree. I guess it like, something like a Women's Conference uh, it'd be kinda intense because your talking about issues that affect women uh, because your sitting there, you know, listening to stories, or helping out when they're maybe been through domestic abuse, or you found out things like um, how AIDS affects women and then, you know, child rearing stuff, you know and...and then of course, in those situations if it's all women talking about it, you know, it's pretty intense I think, for all of them, you know. Um, you know, most women have to deal with this stuff. If it's not directed at ourselves, then somebody you know, you know, and maybe you help them out--if you somehow end up at a Conference.

The questions used in interview question (IQ9) **What did the other person say that was inappropriate? (Verbal)** and (IQ10) **What did the other person do that was inappropriate? (Nonverbal)** had one small group discussion cue the correlated with them and it was (SGDQ4b) **What did the person say and/or do that was inappropriate?** Though these questions are not explicitly reflected in any of the original research questions, they set the tone for recalling an inappropriate communication interaction and were critical for setting the context of the respondent's experiences. These questions indirectly

addressed the research question (RQ8) **Are there similarities in what women perceive as appropriate behaviors for their ethnic identities?** Understanding the respondents' awareness of inappropriate communicative behavior was essential in eliciting the explicit evaluations which followed in (IQ17) What would you recommend to the other person to say or do which would be more appropriate? and (IQ18) What could you have said or done that would have been more appropriate? These latter questions cross-correlated with the small group discussion questions (SGD4e²) What would you recommend to the other person that would be more appropriate? and (SGD4f) What could you have said and/or done that would have been more appropriate? Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following explications (direct quotes from transcripts) show their responses.

Explications

Respondents give their answers to the preceding question in the following quotations extracted from the interview and small group discussion transcripts. Note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *Verbal* refers to the respondent's evaluation of the other person's inappropriate verbal communication; *Nonverbal* refers to the respondent's evaluation of the other person's inappropriate nonverbal communication; *I* indicates the response to the interview questions, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I(Verbal): It was basically, basically, because of the way he had been raised. In this Jewish family, by his Jewish mother, whatever that might mean to her. And you know, he was necessarily or most probably going to have this certain way and that her parents--this woman who is supposedly interested in her boyfriend, uh my friend's boyfriend--you know. That necessarily her parents were going to act, in a certain way and to think in a certain way, and believe in a certain way because they're Jewish. Uh, you know and um, that his father would um you know, that somehow, that, that, he was raised you know, within all of the stereotypes. And that was going to sort of, color the way he uh, looks at a everything, relationships.

I(Nonverbal): Like her actions with like her boyfriend and this other woman, um, yeah she--and I still don't know if I agree with her, or not on this--but she pretty much, um, he had wanted, well the final straw was for her--she also has just personal conflicts with this other woman-- but uh, the final straw for her was that her boyfriend wanted to go to dinner with this woman and the woman's parents. And that was just like...Dinner with the parents? No! No! And she just told him. No! You're not going to dinner with her parents. Because that

was the step that was like...THE PARENTS. I mean THE PARENTS probably want this relationship to happen, you know so, that was a big step. And she just really, she just put her foot down. She just flat told him, in this, you know, and I don't know, she said she didn't want it to be an ultimatum (laughter), but it sure kinda sounded like one to me. Um, but no, he was not going to dinner with these people! Um, because they were just going to, they weren't going to be able to resist, the parents weren't going to be able to resist trying to get these two little Jewish kids together (laughter). So yeah, she just really, just um, I don't, I don't quite know if that was the appropriate reaction. Maybe it um, I don't know, maybe it could have been handled differently. Uh, she probably maybe could have talked to him about these stereotypes or something. That might have been good.

SGD: Um, well, he just got his basic facts wrong, I guess and um, what he was saying that Jews think homosexuals are going to hell. (*Note: This respondent discussed a different occurrence during the SGD than the one originally reported in the interview.*)

[R2]

I(Verbal): Well, what he said was very abruptly and directly--which in some, in some contexts that would be appropriate--but very directly, that I was not performing my job, professionally. What I heard was, you're terrible, you're doing a terrible job. Which wasn't what he said, exactly, but that's what I heard him say.

I(Nonverbal): Well, part of it was that he was smiling and his facial expressions didn't match what he was, what was coming out of his mouth, what he was saying to me. And he was very, you know--open--his arms out, his legs were, you know, relaxed, leaning back in his chair. Which seemed to me, that he was very relaxed with what he was saying, but what he was saying was, in his tone of voice, was very harsh and direct. Too direct, for me.

SGD: And, what he did that I felt was inappropriate, **for me**, was that it was too blunt. It was too much at one time. He didn't warm me up, you know, he should have asked how was I doing, how was I feeling, what did I have for lunch (laugh) you know. 'Cause that's the way--that's the way I would feel more comfortable handling conflict, because that's what I'm use to, with my family.

[R3]

I(Verbal): Um. I guess I should say, what they didn't say. Because, they really didn't say much. Um, but they didn't greet me, they didn't say can I help you?, they didn't say--and when they did use verbal communication it was a um, monotone and kind of put-off, like they didn't want to be bothered--um, so they just, basically, didn't say very much. And that, in itself, was probably most of the problem. And, what they did say was very um, kind of demeaning and um, rude.

I(Nonverbal): Uh, well, they, they--by the time I finally got him over to our area, to look at the two bookcases, the fact that he answered my question, and then he walked away. I thought that was very inappropriate. And also, um, he never said thank you or have a nice day, or you know, we're open 'til such and such a time, see you later, or nothing. And I, I--they basically handled the entire situation terribly, for anyone, whether it had something to do with my ethnic identity or not. Um, they just--it was very poor service.

SGD: They totally didn't greet us, not one person asked me could they help me.

[R4]

I(Verbal): (laughter) I don't know how, I said something about my husband being Black. And _____[husband's name] is very obviously a Black man. Very obviously. It's not like-- Oh, it's just very obvious. So she said, she said oh, is he Black?. I didn't even realize he was Black--cause she just recently met him. And um, that was what she said.

I(Nonverbal): Well, I think, after, I think just my instance reaction, she, was very...I think she realized what she had said. She realized it was wrong. She realized she was really in for it. Because, I'm the type of person, that I'm gonna, confront her with it. In that, in that, she was very uncomfortable. She was kinda nervous. It was obvious. Instantly, all these things happened, here like, oh God, what did I just say?, you know. So that was her reaction.

SGD: I mean, but obviously, that was what she said that was inappropriate was oh, he's Black?, and I didn't even notice, and, and things like.

[R5]

I(Verbal): Um, well, where I work, the supervisors all kind of learn about the new trainee people that come in. So they know your background history, they know where you went to school, where your from, blahblahblah, and um, one of the supervisors um, came up and he started some small talk with me. And oh, _____[name of respondent] I hear you're from Alaska you know, my mom use to go up to Alaska you know, every summer and she had a friend that was from there and they would go fishing and blahblahblah. And I okay, that's great and you know, and then he said um, he was talking about Troquet blankets...which, he has no idea, what. I mean I don't even know, I don't know their real significance, only that I've learned that they're very sacred. They take a lot of time and effort, they're passed on from generation to generation and um, it's just not something you take lightly. And I, I just, I guess I, maybe because I lived there and I know, somewhat about the culture, I know you just, you don't talk about sacred items, that are cultural just like it's--I don't know, just like their no big deal. And he was talking about selling them and I was like, I don't think they sell them very often. (laughter) And um, then he mentioned to the fact, then he said um, yeah my mother's friend, oh, I don't know exactly what she is, Eskimo, I guess, isn't it? And I said Eskimo? He goes, well isn't that what you call the people from there? And I said no, um, usually they're Alaska Native. Oh, and then he went on more, to say something about them being American Indian and all this other--he was just clumping all these people together! And I, I just thought it was really rude, he just started lumping people together and I just said, I just looked at him, and I said, she was probably Alaska Native, I'm not sure what tribe she was from. I mean, you could give me some regions and I could name a couple tribes, but I, you know, Eskimo's probably not it. Especially if she's from Southeast Alaska. And he just looked at me and he kind of said aw yeah, blahblah, Eskimo's probably not it. So, I just sat there and I thought oh, (sigh) I'll ignore it and I went back to my computer typing. And then he came back! Like ten minutes, it was a long period of time because I was onto something else and I wasn't, I didn't really think about the conversation then, but then he came back, out of the blue, and he said, I hope I didn't offend you. And I said, why would you have offended me? And he said, well, by saying Eskimo. And I said, well, and he was looking at me like he wanted to say, I'm sorry that I called your people Eskimo. And I know that's what he was thinking, that I was Alaska Native. And I said well, no, you didn't offend me, I said um, and besides I'm not Alaska Native. And he just looked at me, like he was just shocked, like (intake of air, gasping noise) your, well, what are you? But he didn't wanna say it. And I just go, I am, I'm African American and I'm half European

American. And he just looked at me and it was just another look of astonishment, like oh my gosh, what have I opened up here?! He said, oh, okay. And then he just walked away. He didn't elaborate, he didn't say oh, I didn't know that, how interesting blahblahblah. He just said **okay**, after he looked at me funny, and walked away. I just, I felt like that was completely inappropriate. I mean, he, I mean, just, the whole context of the situation, was different. I don't, I don't know. It was enough to make me feel uncomfortable.

I(Nonverbal): Um, yeah, he definitely had a strange, it was like, almost a look of shock. I wouldn't say it was, it was almost in the terror-category, but it wasn't quite there, yet. It was just like...Okay. You know, first of all this guy's probably done his research and homework on each person in that class and here he's probably thinking, **oh I really missed this one!** You know, how did this, how did this African American-person get here?! And I didn't know about it! You know, and I, I bet, that if he would have known that, the context of the conversation would have been completely different. That's how, that's how I feel. Like, if he would have known that I was African American, he probably wouldn't have even have talked about Alaska, or anything like that. He would ask me how Portland was, or something, I don't know. It was just, I think it would have really changed the conversation. And so his look, basically, was what got me. 'Cause it was just like this look of you know, mouth dropping on the floor--and then his action, of just abruptly cutting off the conversation after I said that, and walking away. I thought was just strange. So, I think that was probably, probably the worst inappropriate contact action that he took, was the fact that he said oh, looked at me some more, and turned and said, okay, and walked away. I thought that was pretty inappropriate.

SGD: Um, what he said was, when he came back to me, that was inappropriate, what he said to me was, by assuming that I was Alaska Native. And striking up the conversation because he, I think he did it because he assumed I was Alaska Native. And um, the inappropriate behavior was his look of shock, after I told him I wasn't Alaska Native.

[R6]

I: (Nothing)

SGD(Verbal & Nonverbal): Oh, but I remember a recent anonymous phone call, that was just a, one night. My parents were getting prank phone calls, but I didn't know about it, somebody called me on a Sunday afternoon and they said, you know, are you _____[respondent's name], you know, and I said yeah. I didn't know who it was, you know, I thought it was someone I knew, playing a joke, 'cause they kept going on and on, and she said well, is it true that your half Black and half White. And I said, as a matter of fact it is, who is this, how can I help you? And she said, well you know, that disgusts me, that really disgusts me. And her voice was raised and jittery--you know, how you get nervous--and she, I could tell that she was anxious. And she said, you know, I see you everyday in the _____(name of the building where respondent works) and that just disgusts me. And I thought god, that's really, this is really sick. 'Cause she, I, my first thought was, people don't usually say the _____(name of building where respondent works). They say, oh, you work for the city. Because the building is where I work. And so I thought, well she definitely has seen me in the _____(name of building again) she used that terminology. And the other thing is that she, she called me at home, versus calling me at work. She just said, you just disgust me--and she hung up. She just hung up the phone. So, I'm assuming that--I thought she was a Black person. I thought she was a Black woman. I mean, I have a pretty good ear for you know, the tone of being, there's a lot of times difference between Black and

White speaking. I thought she was Black. She's an educated Black woman but, she's Black. So, I thought, oh, that's interesting, that somehow, maybe it could have been that she, I mean, I got a promotion that somehow she didn't get, and I think she was truly disgusted that I was mixed and that somehow our paths have crossed, and somehow, I think it might have been the fact that I was promoted and maybe she just recently found out. You know, she's not Black like me and she got promoted. But there's a lot of that, like see, there's a lot of resentment. But I definitely think she's Black and I think that she's educated...and that she would be, that she felt so compelled to call me, that it upset her so much, that I was mixed. When I, you know, I, to me, it's like, I couldn't control that, that was my parents. She should have been talking to them, not me. You know, that's stupid for her to call the daughter--'cause I have mixed parents, you know, that's silly. [A group member's comment to R6: "You should have said, you want my mom's number?"] So um, yeah, 'cause they're the one's who conceived me. But, I just thought it was silly.

[R7]

I(Verbal): The verbal message that they gave me was that the Hispanic Student Union should not go to the National Chicano Conference because they were, they were Hispanics.

I(Nonverbal): Uh, basically, sitting in a chair, what I noticed, he kind of tensed up and kinda um, be a little bit more forceful, on top of everybody. He kinda he was more up, instead of leaning back, he kinda, as soon as we talked about that, he got up kinda, in his chair and his hands got more uh, stronger, his fists on the table. Saying, what! (fist against the table), you know, like how! (gestures of pounding fists on the table) you know, and that's something, the movements that I saw that he was doing.

SGD: Um and so, in, in that, that person's inappropriate behavior was attacking the other two groups. And, and by saying they can't, or **cannot**, go to this Conference.

[R8]

I(Verbal): Um, they, well, it wasn't necessarily what they, well it was somewhat what they said, but it was also in their actions, their assumption that, myself and another man, well, male student in the room, and around, were White. Um, or Euro-American and um, and then they made uh, the comment that uh, you know those, those um, American Indian people, take things so, are so sensitive to these issues, such as um, their grades and these terms and all those things, and all that. I don't believe that--that was the way it was--can you believe that they would do something like that?, they're just too sensitive to these issues. And that was, uh, inappropriate, and I saw that.

I(Nonverbal): They naturally assumed that I was, um, Euro-American, in fact! And that the other male in the room was Euro-American, because of the color of your skin. And uh, the other inappropriate act was, I believe, to um, say something like that. Without even getting another person's viewpoint on it. Especially the people who she was attacking. I think that was inappropriate.

SGD: Well the person automatically assumed that both the other, the other male that was sitting in the lounge area and myself, which she was talking to, were White. Or Euro-American. Automatically. To prove this, she automatically assumed that. And um, because, she couched, her, her um, what she said, in a way that said, well, don't you agree with me? You know, those, those--Us and Them kinds of situations.

[R9]

I(Verbal): Yeah, what she said--you know, basically like what I said--was that um, you know, that, the context of what she was saying was that Norwegians are this superior class of people. And she said, I ought identify with them because they, their country is so clean and um, you know, they're so hospitable and they just ran the Olympics so well. And, and they're stoics. And that, um, somehow that's better than being an Italian because Italians are emotional and um, more raw, less refined, less of all those things that Norwegians, are--like clean, you know, just the way she, her paralinguistics were just, really putting it, you know, into this, too bad Italians, my Italian granddaughter can't be more of a Norwegian granddaughter, sort of thing.

I(Nonverbal): Well the nonverbal was her tone. And the fact that she was talking to another woman about me. And I was the third person, in the conversation and she was talking about me in the third person. And, speaking for me, speaking, lumping me into just one part of my personality and, and tying my emotionality--which isn't really that bad--she used the fact that I'm Italian and not necessarily to maybe, the fact that I was raised that way, you know, or anything. And it was just her tone of saying, like, like what, not necessarily even tying the two together, but that somehow it was inferior and less than desirable, to be what I was.

SGD: She was just, you know, um, kind of playing up her Norwegian-ness and playing down my, or, or, um,--disparaging my Italian-ness--and um, um, so that's what, what was--what did the person say or do that was inappropriate? Was to um, align a behavior of mine, which she was uncomfortable with, with my ethnicity.

[R10]

I(Verbal): Um, I basically told him that, it was important for them to get the newspapers. That there were, quite a number of individuals that would make use of them. That I don't think they would go to waste. Um, and, even if the materials were outdated, um, inmates themselves, I think that they would make use of them because, because, it's very limited to begin with.

I(Nonverbal): Uh, the attitude was a um, sarcastic. Um, throwing the newspapers, as if they were unimportant. And, that's it, that's about it, nonverbally.

SGD: Um, and um, there were um, inappropriate comments made about um, the Mexican culture. Um, in particular, in this situation, um, the person um, made a remark as to...I have to give a little bit of background, I guess. I, I work in a setting where, it's a jail. And we have, a number of different populations that are represented, and the Hispanic population is one which there are very few services for. And, one of the things there, that I have been able to get into um, the jail, is a, a lot of materials in Spanish. So, that they're, they are aware of what's going on around us. And he, this particular co-worker is responsible for, delivering these. And he, each time that he gets, an amount that's in, he makes remarks as to, why do these people need this? Um, it's, you know, way too many, they're, they don't need to know what's going on, these are outdated. Um, he makes a lot of um, sarcastic remarks.

[R11]

I(Verbal): Um, it was basically along the lines of--we live in a area where there're a lot of um, migrant workers, uh, Hispanics picking and stuff--and it was basically along the lines of uh, Hispanics have always been the same way. Look at 'em there, they're attacking White people and blaming them for their troubles and now they're doing the same thing--blaming. Blaming all the White peoples for all their, their troubles, and invading our country and dadadadada.

I(Nonverbal): Um, well, what I'm thinking of is that my father was forgetting, that I am Hispanic. Um, verbally attacking my ethnicity. Basically making um, what would you call it, um, denying my ethnicity. Uh, negating me as a person, basically, is what I would call it. I don't know if that's, uh, if he was **doing** that, or whatever, but, that's how I saw it, what he was doing.

SGD: (No show)

[R12]

I: (Nothing)

SGD (Verbal & Nonverbal): His inappropriate behavior was saying stupid-stuff.

Research question number eight (**RQ8**) **Are there similarities in what women perceive as appropriate behaviors for their ethnic identities?** This question was approached with the interview question (**IQ11**) **Why were these behaviors inappropriate?** The small group discussion question that correlated with the research questions was (**SGDQ4c**) **Why was this inappropriate behavior?** Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

[R1]

I: Um, yeah she--and I still don't know if I agree with her, or not on this--but she pretty much, um, he had wanted, well the final straw was for her--she also has just personal conflicts with this other woman-- but uh, the final straw for her was that her boyfriend wanted to go to dinner with this woman and the woman's parents. And that was just like...Dinner with THE PARENTS? No! No! And she just told him! No, you're not going to dinner with her parents. Because that was the step that was like...THE PARENTS. I mean THE PARENTS probably want this relationship to happen, you know so, that was a big step. And she just really, she just put her foot down. She just flat told him, in this, you know, and I don't know, she said she didn't want it to be an ultimatum (laughter), but it sure kinda sounded like one to me. Um, but no!, he was not going to dinner with these people! Um, because they were just going to, they weren't going to be able to resist, the parents weren't going to be able to resist trying to get these two little Jewish kids together. (laughter) So yeah, she just really just um, I don't, I don't quite know if that was the appropriate reaction.

Maybe it um, I don't know, maybe it could have been handled differently. Uh, she probably maybe could have talked to him about these stereotypes or something. That might have been good.

SGD: I don't know what groups he lumped in like, he said um, he said Muslims and oh, I don't remember what it was, one other group and Jews all preached the hell-fire thing to um, about homosexuals and stuff. And I was just so hit by this and it was um, it was so upsetting um, because it was at least from a Reformed Jewish perspective. Um, it's completely inaccurate um, and it was, I just was very really bugged by that. I couldn't, also, I couldn't speak for Conservative and Orthodox. I don't think Conservative says regarding about well, there's also no concept of hell really, in Judaism (laughter) so that was, problem number one um, but um, yeah. So um, there may be some kind of, I'm sure there's something somewhere in Orthodox Judaism that, where there's a problem. But um, as far as Reform Judaism um, they're actually very active in um, supporting, I, if that's uh, how we could put it, like supporting homosexuality, like when there's things like the OCA going on and all that kind of thing. They really fight against it, and um, they're involved in all kinds of organizations and AIDS awareness and they're just **so** active and really vocal and visible on this, and that, that he could have information that was so misguided, you know, it was just completely wrong. Um, well, he just got his basic facts wrong, I guess, and um, what he was saying--that Jews think homosexuals are going to hell.

[R2]

I: It was too direct and he didn't warm me up first, or prepare me emotionally or mentally for what was going to happen. What he was going to say. Yeah, the verbal and the physical messages, the body language, were different--they, it clashed.

SGD: Um, that was inappropriate, not in and of itself, but considering the cultural difference--of which he is aware. And we've talked about cultural differences, from time to time, but he feels fairly, competent in his ability to relate to people from other cultures. I'm not so confident in that, (laugh) ability. But, he's not, real open to help. But, it, we've discussed the situation.

[R3]

I: Well, particularly, you know, because this, this scenario is, is where it's sales. And anytime you're in sales, um, you know, unless you don't care to sale something, you do whatever you can um, to make a sale--and they did nothing. And um, basically, his philosophy, and the other two people with him was, you help yourself. Kind of self-serve, looking around at furniture, and then when you're done you just come pay us, and give us the money and leave. You know (laughter). And I thought, my gosh, I can't believe these people are in business. And it's a very large store. I mean they've got stores in Washington and Oregon. And so um--cause I use to live in Washington, that's how I know--and it's a very expensive store, like I said, and so I would think that sales would be important because they have beautiful buildings and a high overhead, so. And they didn't greet us and they didn't thank us for coming, and gave us no service whatsoever.

SGD: Um, I think that was very inappropriate, being that it was a store, and you would think that they would want to make the customers feel welcome.

[R4]

I: Well, you know, kinda, afterward, she kinda felt bad. Bad about, well like I had this friend in college who was like, Black. And she was like you know, well, he didn't look Black because, you know, he was dressed in a suit. And I was just, oh. Oh, she just kept going on and on. And it was, she was--like she didn't know better. And that was what her excuse was. Like, I just didn't know, you know..like I just didn't know. And it was, it was, really stupid. She was so, it was just, so ignorant--this whole conversation that we were having. She's White. And she was raised here in Oregon, and for that, for that past year that I have known her, I could tell, that she's prejudice. She doesn't really realize it. That she definitely has expectations for Black people. She's not even aware of it. So that was--what was the question--What was inappropriate? That was--that was! (laughter).

SGD: I mean, but obviously, that was, what she said, that was inappropriate was--oh, he's Black?, and I didn't even notice. And, and things like that...one of these days somebody's not going to be as patient as me, or something. She could really get in trouble for stupid remarks like that.

[R5]

I: I thought they were inappropriate because um, here he is um, he was making me feel uncomfortable. And I know I am very careful, I don't want to make people uncomfortable, especially if I were in a position of power, like he was, a supervisor and I was a new trainee. And I, I'm sorta young too, so, um, and the fact that he is a male and I was a female and you know, I don't know if that had anything to do with it at all, but I just felt like he didn't take any action afterwards, to correct his behavior. And maybe elaborate a little more on me and what my life, you know, I don't know, I didn't want him to get into any deep conversation or anything, but I, I feel um, he should have noticed. 'Cause I know I turned bright red, I can tell when I, I can tell when I really start blushing, and I think he should have taken some kind of corrective behavior towards what had happened. And not walked away, and been embarrassed. I'm sure he was embarrassed too but, I think but, um, it makes, it makes, he should have corrected his behavior better than he did.

SGD: When he came back to me, that was inappropriate, what he said to me was, by assuming that I was Alaska Native. And striking up the conversation because he, I think he did it because he assumed I was Alaska Native...first of all, he was targeting another culture that he knew nothing about. Then he was assuming that I was in this culture and he shouldn't have been making such broad generalizations talking to me in the first place. I mean, if he wanted to know where I was from, you know, what my background was, he should have just come out and said. And I shouldn't have been the one that was offended, and put on the offensive. He should have been embarrassed, for what he did. And that's, I felt like, in the end of the conversation, that, it was left in my court to feel bad, for him, coming up and approaching me. And--it wasn't--it was his problem. He's the one that hasn't gone out to get educated and more diversified.

[R6]

I: (Nothing)

SGD: So, I'm assuming that...I thought she was a Black person. I thought she was a Black woman. I mean, I have a pretty good ear for you know, the tone of being, there's a lot of times difference between Black and White speaking. I thought she was Black. She's an

educated Black woman but, she's Black. So, I thought, oh, that's interesting, that somehow, maybe it could have been that she, I mean I got a promotion, that somehow she didn't get, and I think she was truly disgusted that I was mixed and that somehow our paths have crossed, and somehow, I think it might have been the fact that I was promoted and maybe she just recently found out. You know, she's not Black like me and she got promoted. But there's a lot of that, like see, there's a lot of resentment. But I definitely think she's Black and I think that's she's educated. That she would be, that she felt so compelled to call me. That it upset her so much, that I was mixed. When I, you know, I, to me, it's like, I couldn't control that, that was my parents. She should have been talking to them, not me. You know, that's stupid for her to call the daughter--'cause I have mixed parents, you know, that's silly. [A group member's comment to R6: "You should have said, you want my mom's number?"] So um, yeah, 'cause they're the one's who conceived me. But, I just thought it was silly.

[R7]

I: In my opinion, it's because it's just doing what the conquerors always wanted to see--divide and conquer. And he's just doing the same thing as they, because you call yourself Hispanic, therefore, you are not allowed to go to a National Chicano Conference, because it's for Chicanos and those who label themselves Chicano. Therefore, he's saying that nobody can be, can call themselves anything but a Chicano.

SGD: And um, this person is trying to start, the divide and conquer thingy and the more you divide our groups the worse we're gonna be. And we need to work with each other and to um, to maintain together. Because what he was doing, within the board meeting, was separating ourselves. Even though we know who we might be, ourselves individually, but by making out the statement within the group, all ready divides us. Right instantly, (snap of fingers) when he said that statement.

[R8]

I: One was because she just naturally assumed that because the color of skin a person is, a certain ethnic identity. That's very inappropriate. And there are many people today who are uh, multiethnic and you can't naturally assume, what might, what ethnic identities they are and number one, they're the same as you, was inappropriate. Okay um, was um, accused people of being oversensitive when she herself wasn't there, there, in the, in the middle of the oppression occurring. That's why her behaviors were inappropriate.

SGD: Because she went to an assumption that, she automatically assumed on the basis of the skin-color.

[R9]

I: They're inappropriate because, the attribution is, is messed up. She's attributing my behavior to, one part of my behavior, to a stereotype of a culture that she's not that familiar with. And it's, it's, and her tone was inappropriate because it was like she was blaming me, or devaluing me in terms of my being Italian. You know? Her tone was such that, too bad I couldn't be more Norwegian, personally. I'm just so Italian. And my only response to her was, yeah, but I'm not having a stroke.

SGD: Um, why was it inappropriate? Because, it's um, it's not tied into my ethnicity, but it's tied into a stereotype that she has about my ethnicity.

[R10]

I: I think they're very inappropriate because, to me they show a lot of ignorance. Um, uh, he's separating a whole ethnic group, and saying well, it's very unimportant to share the information that's in them. I think that, that's incredibly ignorant. I don't feel that we should, prohibit anybody from being educated. And, sharing knowledge, the world events. Um, that's why, that's why I thought it was inappropriate.

SGD: Um, this behavior, in my opinion, was inappropriate because um, I feel that anybody, has the right to access, at least to, newspapers um, any type of material that's going to educate them. Um, what I did in response, or what I said in response, was I tried to tell him that it did not matter how outdated the materials were. That, um, they appreciated the fact that they had anything, to read. Um, and that shouldn't be a major concern, or a dilemma to give it to them. As we give other people the same courtesy.

[R11]

I: It was inappropriate for him, for him, to make those comments, simply because I am Hispanic. And um, for him to make those kind of comments, in a way, it shows me that he doesn't see--he see's me as, just Caucasian. And he also, so, he's denying my ethnicity. And in doing that, he, he's just assuming that I, I'm doing it as well. And that's why it's inappropriate, because he knows that I don't. That's why. (laughter).

SGD: (No show)

[R12]

I: (Nothing)

SGD: So the stuff for him and Indians is like, you know, so many people who really know nothing about it--but its, you know, have so much influence on how our country is shaped--you know, how like the federal Indian policies, how they got the land, you know the wars, diseases, stuff that happened then. Um, but now, his inappropriate behavior was saying stupid-stuff.

Research question number eight (RQ8) **Are there similarities in what women perceive as appropriate behaviors for their ethnic identities?** This question was approached with the interview question (IQ12) **On a scale of 1 - 5, one being extremely inappropriate, how inappropriate was the other person's behavior? Why?** There was no small group discussion question that correlated with this interview question. Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following table and explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

T9

On a Scale of 1-5--One Being Extremely Inappropriate Behavior--How Inappropriate was the Other Person's Behavior					
Respondent	1	2	3	4	5
R1			*		
R2			*(2.5)		
R3	*				
R4	*				
R5			*		
R6	No response reported from R6				
R7				*(3.5)	
R8					*(4.5)
R9		*			
R10	*				
R11			*		
R12	No response reported from R12				
Tot:10/12	3	1	4	1	1
	24.5				
Mean:	2.45				

Interpretations

In response to how inappropriate was the other persons behavior on a scale of 1-5, with one being extremely inappropriate behavior: three respondents stated (1); one respondent stated (2); one respondent stated (2.5); three respondents stated (3); one respondent stated (3.5); one respondent stated (4.5); and two respondents gave no response to this question.

These responses indicate that when inappropriate behaviors occur, they range, primarily, from severe to moderate in their degree of inappropriateness. Many of the respondents also mentioned that this behavior was enacted by others who believed themselves to be culturally aware and multiculturally competent (R2), or should have been (R5), as was the case with both respondent's upper-level management supervisors. The women's responses suggest that there is a high intensity of rule violation when inappropriate communication occurs.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: I'd probably have to throw it in the middle there. (laughter) I'd probably have to give her a three (a throw- o'-the dice gesture). (laughter). Yeah. (laughter) Yeah, yeah, because I can kind of, I can kinda see where--you know and just out of the context of the whole Jewish part of it, then, I guess maybe it would feel really uncomfortable to have your significant other, you know do it. Because it is, sort of intimate to you know meet somebody's parents and have dinner and stuff. But then again, you know, then you have to get into all this stuff about, well, then can't they just be friends and meet each other's parents and you know, all

that. So, I guess I kind of, I guess I have to give her you know, some leeway. Because I would be able to understand. I think it's a fear factor. I guess that she was afraid of what this was gonna do to their relationship. So I really have to give her some credit on that. But um, I don't know, I just don't think that she, it wasn't like she was really dealing with it. She was just kind of putting a stop to it. You know, so yeah. It was really, it was really inappropriate, I think.

[R2]

I: Yeah. From my perspective, or what I think it is, really...When I think about a two and a half. That's what it felt like. And I understood in the context, that he was trying to, by his body language, express that it wasn't serious. And he felt like being direct, like that was the honest thing to do. Like, that would be okay.

[R3]

I: **One.** They were extremely inappropriate. And I, I have all ready decided, that I um, um, they need to know. And I'm going to call and speak to the manager of the store and I'm also going to send a letter. And um, I think that um, the entire situation was handled inappropriately. I don't think um...they didn't say hello, they didn't, they weren't helpful and they also didn't say thank you.

[R4]

I: Oh, probably a one. I think mostly because, she's kind of aware of her, of her prejudices but she doesn't really, I don't know. Well, the way, she's comfortable with things. That's ignorant, and she's comfortable with the way she feels like that, with people. That's the other--So, definitely, definitely, a one.

[R5]

I: Um, I think I'd give him, probably, I mean I, I don't know if you can grade ignorance or not but, I think I'd give him maybe, I think I'd give him a three because he did, when I was taking my break, he made the effort to come in and sit down and talk with me again. I guess that was a little bit more of his corrective behavior, you know. And I think that that, that was, good because he was able to come and sit down and chat with me afterwards. And I was kind of like, okay you know, I'll give him a break because at least he's not completely avoiding me, now. Which I thought for sure he would do because, I think that if I were him I would have avoided the person that I had done that kind of action to. But um, I think I'd give him a three. And I think maybe, and I, I have to give him credit too, for being aware that he could have offended me, if I were Alaska Native, by calling me Eskimo you know, and lumping my culture, all together, you know. I think that I had to give him some credit for that too. (laughter) He was attempting to correct himself...save himself. (laughter)

[R6]

I: **(Nothing--no response given)**

[R7]

I: I'd say uh, between three and four. And um--how inappropriate was the other person's

behavior?--I just said between three and four because what he's doing is showing the other people in the group, the division. And he's, he's dividing the people within the group, in the board meeting. Which is, that, I just do not agree with, division.

[R8]

I: This wasn't a violent behavior, where extremely inappropriate would be a violent reaction, um, one is extremely and five is ah, I'd say maybe a four and a half. She was on the verge of, it was not extremely inappropriate behavior, but it was inappropriate. And um, because of her preconceived notions, because of her prejudice.

[R9]

I: I'd give her a four. And I, the reason I don't give her a five is that, um, she was operating out of some really old tapes, you know, in her mind. And, and that she does, she does love me and it wasn't like a really hateful, malicious thing. And, and it was mostly out of ignorance and not out of malice. I think, if it would have been, if the ramifications of what she was doing would have been more serious, I would have rated it higher. But, it was a conversation that I was basically able to--even though I felt something wrong--I was able to let it roll off, for that moment, rather than make an issue of it. Oh! One being extremely inappropriate, I'd give her, I'd give her, a two. Because even though I thought that was really inappropriate, I still thought that she could have been worse. She could have just called me a dumb, day ol' WAP and why did her daughter have to marry an Italian. I mean she could have been really horrible about it. But she was just kind of flippant and arrogant and ignorant. Yeah, two's good.

[R10]

I: From my opinion it was a one. And the reason why, is because I just don't feel that, he, should feel that he has the authority to, to make decisions for somebody else's education and, or knowledge.

[R11]

I: Okay. I would give him a middle of the road three. Uh, because um, it could have been worse, it could have been in public. Uh, you know, it could have been a comment that would have been very difficult for me to deal with, in public, where other people could see us. But, it wasn't, a, it's and uh, it's something that's been on-going (laughter). So I've grown up, I've heard this over, and over, and over, and so, um, it's old-hat for me to deal with this. So it's not a one and it's not a five, I'll give him a three (laughter).

[R12]

I: (Nothing--no response given)

Research question number nine (RQ9) **How frequently do others violate the rules?** There was no small group discussion question that correlated with this research question. Respondents 1-12 addressed this question and the following table and explications (direct quotes from the respondents' transcripts) show their responses.

T10

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of How Frequently Others Violate the Rules for Competent Communication			
Respondents	Very Often	Not Very Often	Unsure
R1			I'm not sure
R2	Maybe once a week		
R3		Not even monthly, maybe several times in a year	
R4	It's an everyday thing		
R5	I think people use 'em all the time; I think it happens a lot		
R6			[Unspecified]
R7	About two to three times a week		
R8	Everyday		
R9	At least once a week		
R10	On a weekly basis		
R11	Quite often, it happens a lot; I hear it a lot		
R12			[Unspecified]
Total: 12	8	1	3

Interpretations

The most frequently stated response was, on a daily to a weekly basis, or *very often* (8); several times a year, or *not very often* (1); and *unsure/unspecified* (3).

This table reflects the cumulative perceptions of these women, that others frequently violate what they believe to be basic guidelines for competent communication. This should

be pursued in future research because the implications for this are staggering when one considers that this is generally, a daily to weekly experience for these multiethnic women. This suggests that the scope of inappropriate interethnic communication is extremely wide. Along with this, there is a high intensity of inappropriateness (see RQ8, p.106) when it occurs, and it appears to occur very often.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: Yeah, and particularly that is a very specific context. And I don't know that you often, or that often you encounter that kind of interaction between three people and that kind of intimate relationship. I'm not sure what to say.

[R2]

I: I think that some of the ways that communication, in that way, happens somewhat often. I'd say to me personally, maybe once a week. But the intensity of the message really has a lot to do with that. If it's something that's not terribly important to me, then if it, the body language and what they're saying doesn't quite match or if they're, in my perception, much too direct. If this message isn't very important, then, if it's not, if the message is pleasant enough, I'll put it that way, then it doesn't bother me and I understand that that's their way of saying it, but part of it really has to do with the message itself.

[R3]

I: You know, I think honestly, things like that happen to me, happen to me very seldom, and if they do happen, maybe in a lesser degree. I probably wouldn't even notice it and I might attribute it to the other person having a bad day or whatever, but this was to such a degree, that um, something like this doesn't happen very often. And I, I can't even think, off the top

of my head of another situation, recently. So, I'd say not even monthly. I mean it's very seldom. Maybe, maybe several times in a year.

[R4]

I: Daily. It's an everyday thing.

[R5]

I: I think people use 'em all the time because I think people are ignorant. I think people don't take advantage um, especially...it's kind of funny because I thought okay um, with the job I have I know everybody has to have a bachelor's degree, at least, I thought okay, these people are gonna be educated at least but, I feel like it's almost worse because people are more ignorant there. It's like they came from these little sheltered backgrounds and they didn't ever take the opportunity, or chance, to branch out, learn about different cultures. Um, for example, I was in a meeting, a staff meeting there and of course, I'm not going to say anything, I've been there for two months. I'm in a staff meeting, we're just suppose to be observing, there's a couple trainees in there with the normal staff people, and they were talking about, how Hispanics needed a little more um, like when, if they can't read or write you need to get the language line on the phone and call 'em and talk with them to get the information that they need. Well apparently one person hadn't done this and so the supervisor was upset. And um, I said well, how come you don't have your information that they need um, printed in a bilingual form so that--like different papers for different languages--and um, send those to them if you can't get a hold of them by phone. And this one person in the staff said well, _____[respondent's name] you know, these people--and also Worker's Comp--these people make a choice to come and work in Oregon and they're also making the choice that they need to learn how to speak English. And, that was just another one, of those things. I didn't say anything, and I just looked. And I said okay, I'm just gonna let this lay, even though I wanted to say, something, but I didn't know if it was appropriate for me. 'Cause what am I gonna do, reeducate all of the people in this room? How long's that gonna take me? You know, to make them understand that they cannot think like this anymore. So I mean, I think that these inappropriate behaviors happen a lot. I think they're very subtle and if you don't know um, you know, I think it'd be very easy to go around thinking everything is bliss and wonderful and people didn't say things like that and it's just stupid stuff, but um, I think it happens a lot.

[R6]

I: (Nothing--no response given)

[R7]

I: I see it about 2 to 3 times a week.

[R8]

I: Everyday. Um, it's just in the preconceived notions, it's in their, it's in their, the way that they were raised and the way that they act. And the way that--and everyday, people walking down the street. And it's often that, that people assume, specifically for me, that I'm Euro-American because of the color of my skin. So, I inform them otherwise. That I am, I am

Euro-American yes, but I am also American Indian and that um, what, your behavior is inappropriate, you are um, these are some things that you might need to look at.

[R9]

I: I would say, I would say that I run across some sort of general evaluation, like they know I am, um, like, are you connected with the mafia? First of all, they're stereotyping me with the wrong group. And I run into, I would say, I would say, depending on how much personal interaction I have, probably within a given month, I'd say I run across comments like that, at least once a week.

[R10]

I: Um, within the same atmosphere, at work, I think, inappropriate comments like--on a weekly basis. I think they're pretty frequent. Um, and depending how severe they are, I, you know, I address them.

[R11]

I: I would say actually, um...probably quite often. Even thinking, I'm thinking, even when I'm around Native Americans, I hear Native Americans slamming Caucasians and, you know, doing exactly what my father said, blaming all their problems on Caucasians and uh...so I think it goes both ways, and I think it happens a lot. I hear it a lot.

[R12]

I: (Nothing--no response given)

The interview question (IQ14) **What did you say in response to the other person?** had one small group discussion cue the correlated with it exactly. Though this question is not explicitly applicable to any research question, it helps establish a frame of reference for recalling an inappropriate communication interaction; this is critical for understanding the context of the respondent's experiences. The explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

[R1]

I: **(Nothing)**

[R2]

I: Well, it took me a moment to think. And I think I probably reacted with my mouth open and going uhh, what? And um, I think I said, can you explain that? Because I need more information than that, that would have been enough for me to understand what he was talking about.

[R3]

I: I said, um, you know, what I did say was very nice and friendly. In fact, I tried to be overly friendly, thinking that, well maybe they, you know, were just kind of being cool because they don't know who I am, really, and I thought maybe if I came across very friendly and warm that they would open up and become friendly with me. And that didn't happen. So everything I said was always friendly, up until the very last second when I left and I said, well okay, thanks very much, and we left. I never once, didn't have a smile; I always had a smile on my face the whole time, I was always very friendly. And I never acknowledged how inappropriate they were, toward me.

[R4]

I: Oh, well, I, I said. What did I say? I said, um. I, I, do you even, do you even um, I asked her, do you even realize what you're saying? And, you know, she just said, well, and she started talking about the way he was dressed again. And I said, but, NOT ALL BLACK MEN dress in large clothing. That's ridiculous. Do you realize that? And she said, oh this is America, she said, so I just don't see him as Black. And I just said, _____(name of person, respondent is talking to), _____(name of person, respondent is talking to), _____(name of respondent's husband) is very obviously Black. He's happy with himself. You know, don't say you don't see him as Black. He is Black. And to say that you don't see him as Black. That's like, that's like, there's a lot to being Black, and that's like saying he's excused from being Black, for some reason. And I got like very, like--hold the phone--he's Black. And he's happy with it. Why can't you be happy with it?

[R5]

I: Well um, as I stated, he, I told him that he hadn't offended me and that I wasn't Alaska Native and that I was African American. And so, of course that shocked him and he looked me. But I kind of like left it. I felt like I had left it in his court. He needed to say something.

[R6]

I: (Nothing)

[R7]

I: I said, that um, it's important for all students to go to this conference because, we need to work with each other and understand each other. And, I don't agree in the names, I think we should take whoever that wants to go, to let them go, because it's important. And we shouldn't be determining on names.

[R8]

I: At first I didn't say anything. Because I wanted, I wanted to get her to say all the things she needed to say and I, so I could recognize where her prejudices were coming from. And, once she said everything to me that she had to say, I started asking her questions. Like um, well, why do you think that? Um, don't they have a right to feel this way, kind of like prying for information while she was still feeling safe--that she was assured of my ethnic identity was White. And I guess it was because it was partially an experiment of mine, because often times I get very angry and I, and I, attack the person, not physically but verbally attack the person. I'd say well, what are you doing, what are you thinking because I always felt that was challenging my ethnic identity um, but um, after I thought about it and after I took many different classes, I've found that um, what I have is power and privilege with the color of my skin and so I need to use that power and privilege to, to help people learn and understand their own power and privilege and um, try to kind of help out my own, my own race, my own people, you know, um, in a way. So, I still didn't respond to her, I just asked her questions first of all.

[R9]

I: Oh, I just said uh, maybe you should, you might wanna try being more emotional and then it could bring down your blood pressure.

[R10]

I: Um, I basically told him that, it was important for them to get the newspapers. That there were, quite a number of individuals that would make use of them. That I don't think they would go to waste. Um, and, even if the materials were outdated, um, inmates themselves, I think that they would make use of them because, because, it's very limited to begin with.

[R11]

I: Well um, it made me angry, it always does. And so, the first thing that I try to do um, I'm, I'm a, I'm much better at verbal sparring than he is, and so, I just start throwing darts, basically. You know, well, they were here before you White people were, um, if it wasn't for the White people they would have been totally happy where they were, and you wouldn't have killed so many of 'em and dadada...on and on like that, basically, um, just throwing barbs, because I get angry, when I hear that.

[R12]

I: (Nothing)

The interview question (IQ15) **What did you do in response to the other person?** had one small group discussion cue that correlated with it exactly. Though this question is not explicitly applicable to any research question, it helps establish a frame of reference for recalling an inappropriate communication interaction; this is critical for understanding the context of the respondent's experiences. The explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

[R1]

I: **(Nothing)**

[R2]

I: Well, I know, that I physically--because he was leaning back and I tend to get close to a person as I talk to them, you know--and I was kind of leaning forward, and at that point, I sat back. (laughter) I pushed-back on my chair slightly, I put my shoulders away from him, and I think that I lost the look on my face, at that point. I wasn't having a good time.

[R3]

I: Oh yeah, okay for what did I say. I guess, I really didn't say anything in response to the way they were acting, I ignored it and I continued to be friendly, and what did I do? Yeah, I smiled, and um and I tried to be very friendly, thinking that they would open up and um, perhaps be a little more friendly as well. I was wrong. And um, all of which I think was wasn't necessary. In fact, I think it really should have been the other way around. I think I could have walked in there with a, no expression whatsoever, and they should have been smiling and friendly toward me, but uh, they weren't that way, at all. It was the other way around.

[R4]

I: Well, I'd say. I was just so, so stirred up inside. I think I handled it really well because I stayed really calm. I didn't raise my voice--to her in any way. Um, I was very motherly, I think. And she's almost thirty, you know, and I, I'm twenty years old. So, I, I was very calm and very like...I couldn't believe it. And I was really treating her like a little child, the way I was talking to her, and DO YOU REALIZE, you know, and HOW THIS IS WRONG...AND WHY THIS IS WRONG, and, that's I think, I was just very, I wasn't, I was, I don't know, I think, she felt ashamed of herself. And she thought, you know, I think it just really made her think. Just because, I didn't, you know, just go overboard. And make her feel real stupid. Um, I let her, I just made her aware--of her, of her feelings. And I made her think about it. But even, I was, I was, nice, but I was very firm. You know what I mean. I was, you know, in control of myself. I was definitely in control of myself.

[R5]

I: I just looked at him like, what else am I gonna say to that? a) No, you've gotten the wrong culture, b) you know, that was a stupid comment and c) you know, you need to be more careful because you shouldn't just assume, just because you're just, you know,

assuming is wrong, and he needs to be, he needs to be more sensitive to other people. And obviously he's not. He's, and the thing that I really notice is that he's a White male. He's like, he's a supervisor and a White male. He probably feels like he doesn't really need to learn those kinds of things. And um, so like I said, I left it in his court. He needed to have said something to me. Either moved on, or said oh, that's interesting, or something, but he just looked shocked and walked away. So, I don't know--he said okay and he left.

[R6]

I: (Nothing)

[R7]

I: I kinda, I didn't do the same thing as, as this person did. I couldn't sit up a little more in my chair, so I did it with my hand motions (she extends her hands, palms upward, and outward in various gestures), going it's important for these students--you know, more with a calm hand motion you know, with an outline--to go. These students should go because we all are working together to learn about the history--that supports everybody to learn not just a certain people. And he kinda said well, okay (laughter). I didn't really do anything, that's what I did. I just kinda went a little more up and took a little more force but I did it in a positive way so there would not be um, any ah, closed minds. So he could hear it.

[R8]

I: I thought I was kind of open, I tried to check my anger um, because it wasn't really challenging my identity um, what I felt it was doing was inappropriately judging me and um, Indian people. Um, and so, I, I sat forward and I asked her the questions and that, that's kind of what I did until it was time to go to class. And when it was time to go to class was when she found out what my ethnic identity was. Because I didn't tell her until we got in the class, and most of the presentations and discussions were about the American Indian people and I, and I, I raised my hand and I said, well, you know my--when I raised my hand to make a comment--and I said well, from my tribe, that's not necessarily true. And she looked at me, and her eyes got really big and she went like this, she covered her face with her hands and then she put her hands down in her lap and then she gave me a big ol' smile. And um, I don't know how she felt at the time, but it was evident that she was kind of shocked, that I was American Indian. Because I, it didn't connect with her, before.

[R9]

I: Um, I used a very, comforting voice. You know, I, I wanted it to be a gentle suggestion and not a retort. I was very, very sure not to um, put in any defensive kind of come back.

[R10]

I: Well, I think um, I'm a very quiet and reserved person, and I don't speak-out against a lot of things, unless I feel very strongly about them. And I think just the fact that I was very stern, in how I said what I did, um, and did not project any type of leniency or, or smiles, or anything like that, I think I probably got the message across--as much as it could, it could, go across.

[R11]

I: Uh, I changed the channel. I had the remote. I changed the channel. Um, (laughter) but uh, I, I think I got very cold and aloof, you know uh, my body language was saying, I'm not happy with you right now, leave me alone. So, that's what I was doing. (laughter).

[R12]

I: **(Nothing)**

The interview question (IQ16) **How did you feel?** had one small group discussion cue that correlated with it, which was (SGDQ4e) **How did you feel?** Though this question is not explicitly applicable to any research question, it helps establish a frame of reference for recalling an inappropriate communication interaction; this is critical for understanding the context of the respondent's experiences. The table and explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show the respondents' responses.

T11

Composite of Respondents' Feelings Resulting from Inappropriate Communicative Behavior by Other	
Respondents	Feelings
R1	Really pretty torn . I was just very, really bugged by that, it was really upsetting . Annoyed . Like I wanted to stew .
R2	Attacked . Really attacked. I felt a physiological reaction . It was, this is personal . This feels personal , to me.
R3	It really bothered me . I think what bothered me more was I was trying to figure out, were they being the way they were being simply because here we were two young women with small children and were they judging us, or were they simply not having a good day, or was this the way they handled their business. I was very angry .
R4	Mad. I really got frustrated instantly. I remained very calm . She made me realize how ignorant her statements were. It was pretty frustrating. One of these days somebody's not going to be as patient as me .
R5	I felt targeted . I just felt like, now I'm gonna be continually different here;, always, for my whole lifetime that I stay at this company I'm going to be different. It made me self-conscious , really self-conscious. It made me aware that people do guess when they see me and they wanna know; it's like they can't really talk to me until they know and can decide what level I should be at when they do talk to me. It just made me really self-conscious . It made me feel upset . I shouldn't have been the one that was offended and put on the offensive ; he should have been embarrassed . In the end of the conversation, it was left in my court to feel bad for him coming up and approaching me. He's the one that hasn't gone out to get educated and more diversified; it was his problem.
R6	Mainly, what I felt is, sorry for her that she felt so compelled to call me, that it upset her so much, that I was mixed. I don't think it was about my color.

T11 [Continued]

R7	At first I felt attacked . I felt attacked for one, because I feel strong for all three [of her ethnicities: Latina, Chicana, Hispanic]. I felt good about it , in a way, because I felt that he started to understand, maybe a little bit, sort of. I tried to keep everything calm and make sure everyone was okay about it, because people jumped back, you know.	
R8	I felt, first of all, like if I checked my anger and I figured out that this persons' just operating from misinformation, or no information, I felt like maybe I could help her understand something that she was doing. I just felt empowered , I guess I would say. I felt empowered to do that, to check her, to make her think about why. I thought that was really interesting, that was the first time I ever did that too. I wasn't emotional. I tried to talk with her more about why she felt that way and tried to sort-out this and to figure some things. I tried to put my emotions aside . First, my first reaction's always anger. That's my first reaction, always anger , because of the misinformation. But I've learned--I'm learning--to deal with that .	
R9	I felt a number of things. Number one, I felt like, how could I have a grandmother who thinks, who can be, prejudiced and have stereotypes about her own grandchildren. I feel like she, somehow, because I'm not as Norwegian as she would like me to be, there's somehow this loss of respect , or this need to patronize , or somehow she treats me differently because I'm not as Norwegian as she would like and so, that hurts . It disconfirm this value of who I am, al the things that I am.	
R10	I felt pretty angry . It angers me when there's a group of people, no matter what ethnic background they may be, and they're being treated unfairly , and if they do have a need they're not being supplied with. I feel very angry. I feel sad that someone's taking that into they're own hands and not doing anything about it. I felt very angry because he does this every single time .	
R11	Immediately I felt angry . I felt hurt . The person who I consider to be my father, is sitting there telling me that Hispanics are bad people--and I am Hispanic. So it makes me wonder, does he think I'm a bad person?	
R12	It was like I was being an idiot , here I was, stupid , I called him up. At least I wasn't mad about it anymore. I felt better afterward .	
Total: 12	53	Mean: 4.416

Interpretations

In response to the questions, how did you feel, as a result of this specific inappropriate communicative behavior by another, the most frequently mentioned response was *bothered/upset* (15); *very aware* and *angry*, both (9); *targeted* and *calm*, each (5); *hurt* and *good*, both (3); *attacked* and *stupid*, each (2).

Bothered and upset, as could be anticipated, were the universal feelings experienced as a result of inappropriate communicative behaviors by others. There was a high reporting of feelings of intense anger--which is not so surprising--but what is surprising

Bothered and upset, as could be anticipated, were the universal feelings experienced as a result of inappropriate communicative behaviors by others. There was a high reporting of feelings of intense anger--which is not so surprising--but what is surprising is the commonly expressed sense of being made to feel "very aware," which was reported just as frequently as anger. Aware of what? In every instance the reports of awareness were described in the context of relative power and feelings of powerlessness. For instance, (R5) "I just felt like, now I'm gonna be continually different here; always, for my whole lifetime that I stay at this company. I'm going to be different. It made me self-conscious, really self-conscious. It made me aware that people **do** guess when they see me and they wanna know; it's like they can't really talk to me until they know and can decide what level I should be at when they do talk to me."; (R8) "I checked my anger and I figured out that this person's just operating from misinformation--or no information"; (R9) "There's somehow this loss of respect, or this need to patronize, or somehow treat me differently. It disconfirms this value of who I am, all the things that I am"; (R10) "It angers me when there's a group of people--no matter what ethnic background they may be--and they're being treated unfairly and if they **do** have a need they're not being supplied with...someone taking that into their own hands and not doing anything about it." The sum of these types of comments seem to imply a sense of anger in conjunction with an awareness of less relative power and a need to somehow bring that power back into balance--but not necessarily knowing how to go about achieving that balance, of a more equitable power relationship.

It is also noticeable that these imbalances of power permeate everyday negotiations of life: (R5) supervisor at work, (R8) a university setting, (R9) family, (R10) co-worker at work. This everyday dynamic of feeling pressured to be made aware of, and have to contend with, difference, racism and bias--reported at the second highest frequency, in conjunction with anger--is also an indicator of the degree of stress and the number of stressful ethnic-relevant situations they deal with on a daily or weekly basis (see the frequency table, p. 119).

Another interesting combination of feelings reported, at equal frequencies, was targeted and calm. Feeling targeted is not surprising given the recalled scenario (recall when someone behaved inappropriately for your ethnic identity) but, in the midst of feeling bothered, upset, angry and targeted, how and why do these women feel a need to struggle with remaining calm? It would seem that the pressure of living in a society whose majority members deny racism (e.g. on a micro-level: I'm not racist, but... and on a macro level: Public universities are open to everyone, if they want in, they have to work for it, like

everyone else) or just don't want to deal with it, forces these women--who must deal with it--to feel they must remain calm and controlled in their interactions with dominant group members. To remain calm, cool and collected is the distinctly implied imperative--or risk being pigeon-holed (She's just another angry ethnic.) or dismissed (What a bitch!). These women, the majority of whom appear to be over-achievers, are learning the politics of trying to be very careful not to offend the offender and yet at the same time to introduce reason (trying to educate the other) into the dialogue in an effort to maintain some proportion of their own ethnic integrity. What a precarious and risky (e.g. dealing with one's supervisor, or university administrator, or professor) negotiation; this adds to the stress that these multiethnic women must negotiate with on a daily or weekly basis (see the frequency table on p. 119).

The next most frequently reported feelings were hurt and good, both of which were reported, again, at the same frequency. These two contrasting emotions highlight another paradox in antithetical emotions. How can one feel hurt and good simultaneously? Well, these women explain that the hurt they felt was in being approached inappropriately by others whom they thought really should know better and whom they thought generally liked them, or loved them (as was the case with family members). Was their hurt due to a sense of betrayal because they believed the other person liked them, in a general social sense, only to find that the other person really had just "clumped" (R5) them in with the ethnic group they presumed they belonged to and really didn't want to get to know them in any way other than as "the ethnic person?" For example, (R11) "I felt hurt, the person who I consider to be my father, is sitting there telling me that Hispanics are bad people--and I am Hispanic. So it makes me wonder, does he think I'm a bad person?" and (R9) "I felt like, how could I have a grandmother who thinks, who can be, prejudiced and have stereotypes about her own grandchildren" and (R2) "I felt a physiological reaction. It was, this is personal. This feels personal, to me." These women commonly expressed feelings of being hurt.

The good feelings arose in confronting and challenging racism, (R7) "I felt good about it, in a way, because I felt that he started to understand, maybe a little bit, sort of" and (R8) "I just felt empowered, I guess I would say. I felt empowered to do that, to check her, to make her think about why" and (R12) "I felt better afterward." It seems that some kind of hurt is inevitable as a prerequisite to anger or being bothered or upset--which all of the respondents testified to--and yet, it's very important to recognize that three of these women had the courage, and the patience, to confront their offenders and try to work out the problem, and in all of these cases they reported good feelings in reflecting on the episode.

It would seem these women are learning to shift the burden (of dealing with the problem on their own, in their heads) back to the source, and in doing this they experience some good feelings about themselves and about the interaction.

Not only did they feel good about themselves, but they also had better feelings, in hindsight, about their offenders, than did the other women who did not challenge the offender. This is very interesting. It implies that these three women found a way to get power in situations in which another person had made them feel attacked (R7) and angry (R8) and like an idiot (R12). So, regardless of the risk (there was relatively high risk in R7's situation with an instructor at her university and a relatively lower risk in R8's dialogue with another student) it appears that speaking out to others' inappropriate behaviors, to the degree they felt comfortable with, worked well as a communication tool. They used this tool for negotiating a move towards a greater balance in power and getting some good feelings, even from generally negative communication situations.

Feeling attacked and stupid were the least frequent, but nonetheless significant, responses given. Feeling attacked by offensive behavior is a rational response towards extremely inappropriate behaviors, while feeling stupid implies internalized oppression. But (R12) states, "At least I wasn't mad about it anymore. I felt better afterward." Therefore, if this is lingering internalized oppression, she is becoming proactive in taking her power, empowering herself, to reverse that pattern.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: Yeah, I touched on that too--really pretty torn--because at the time. I was also, I was working on that paper, about the JAP stereotype. And just realizing that there is this, there is this truth to these stereotypes, um, but it's, it's sort of a forced truth. You know, and it's a truth that it, I think that there's this, there's a distinction you can make where sometimes--I'm torn, now, I hate to make too many generalizations about this because you have to be really careful--but, if you run into a situation where there's a truth about a stereotype, or you are finding that a stereotype really exists, you have to, you have to, kind of deconstruct it, and look back at why? You know, because it's not so much, you know people will just use this stereotype against you. And that's their means to an end or, really an end in itself. But, you know, you have to think about why it's there. You know, like I explained, that, the whole JAP thing. Yeah, I know plenty of women who fit the JAP stereotype, but why? You know. How did they end up that way? And, you know who benefits from using that against them? Um (laugh) you know, and um, which came first, you know, it's the chicken or the egg thing?

SGD: Um, it's completely inaccurate um, and it was, I just was very, really bugged by that. You know, it was just completely wrong. Um, was really upsetting. So we kinda, actually I kinda let another woman in the room (laughter) get at it with him on that one. 'Cause I just kinda sat there and stewed--um, so how did you feel?--annoyed and, and like I wanted to stew.

[R2]

I: Attacked. Really attacked. Not only, almost in a physical sense. Because I, I felt a physiologically reaction. That wasn't just, it really, in response to, oh, someone's not happy with the way I'm performing--it was, this is personal. This feels personal, to me.

SGD: And then, I felt, really, attacked. Not so much because of the message, but, the way it was delivered, combined with the message. I think had, had it been something else that was given to me really bluntly I would have been okay with it. And if it had been a different topic I would have, you know, I, if he'd kind of put it at me gently, I would have been all right with that too. And what I would, and have recommended, is that, just letting him know, that I need him to check out how I'm doing first and sort of wind around to it. And, that feels a little uncomfortable for him to do--he likes to really, be really blunt and he actually doesn't like to deal with conflict, at all. So that's, a second layer to the situation. That, that, I need, I wanna talk about it, but I need some time to discuss it and feel out the situation, and that kind of thing.

[R3]

I: You know, it really, for some reason it really bothered me. And I guess what bothered me mostly, was um--cause like I said we discussed it all the way home from the store, my friend and I--and I think what bothered me more was I was trying to figure out, were they being the way they were being simply because here we were, two young women, with small children and were they judging us--or were they simply not having a good day? Or, was this the way they handled their business and if so, you know, I can't believe they're still in business. So, um, I'd say, I really, this is a situation that really stands-out for me. That I really reacted strongly to. In most situations, I normally wouldn't even discuss it after the fact. I might just say, boy that person's kind of rude and then drop it. But this case, in my opinion, felt strong. And it was just, so out of character, because in that situation--you know, because I had been to several stores the whole week and in every store I was in and the

nature of the business, for furniture sales, is that everyone is just there (snap of fingers) right there and they jump to it, and hi how ya doing, what can I do for you, dadadadada--and then to have nothing. I thought, boy, these people, I can't believe they're still in business. That made me feel really um, I was just really, really shocked by the whole thing. I just thought boy, I can't believe that happened. I just thought, that's amazing. And it wasn't even busy. I mean that would have been, you know, a little more understandable. But, there was no one there. So, then I had to start, that was when my mind started to wander and then when I realized that there was no one there and it wasn't busy, I thought, wow, there must be something else. Something deeper, maybe it's racism, you know, discrimination, I don't know. So I really thought about it a lot.

SGD: I was very angry and in the end, I didn't buy the bookcase. I called 'em and told 'em I didn't want it. (laughter) I bought it somewhere else. But, guess they lost some business for that.

[R4]

I: Mad.

SGD: I mean, at, at first I didn't understand really, what she was trying to do, or say, but it was really stupid, and I'm just like, I just, I, you know, I really got frustrated instantly. But, I remained very calm, you know, and just said, what do you mean? I mean it was really, I mean it was really, really bad. That she just, I, I, you know, after she said all these stupid things, I just said, you know, _____ (name of person respondent was speaking with), she, she made me realize, that what she was, how ignorant her statements were. So, it was pretty frustrating and I just told her, I said not, you know, I mean, how can you? This is something that would, I can't just say something and then it's gonna be over with. This is something that, she feels strongly--this is the way she thinks. And I'm not, didn't know how to, just didn't, I knew that I couldn't change the way she thought instantly, in that conversation. So um, I pretty much, you know, I think I stayed pretty calm and...one of these days somebody's not going to be as patient as me, or something.

[R5]

I: I felt, I felt targeted. I did. And I know that I am unique in my situation because I am, well, I am one of two people who are of color, another person's Japanese. And um, I felt like, great, you know. He, first of all, he was like trying to group me in with somebody of color. So they, they, obviously, that's important to them. And I don't know if it's good for their staff, or what. But I, I just felt like, (sigh) now I'm gonna be continually different here. Always, you know, for my whole lifetime that I stay at this company, I'm going to be different. And um, it just make me self-conscious, it made me really self-conscious--that I had to explain to somebody what I was. And that people, it made me aware that people do guess when they see me, and they wanna know. It's like they can't really talk to me until they know where I'm at, and can decide what level I should be at, when they do talk to me. So, I guess, it just made me really self-conscious.

SGD: It mad me feel upset because I felt like I was, first of all, he was targeting another culture that he knew nothing about. And I shouldn't have been the one that was offended, and put on the offensive. He should have been embarrassed, for what he did. And that's, I felt like, in the end of the conversation, that, it was left in my court to feel bad, for him

coming up and approaching me. And, it wasn't, it was his problem. He's the one that hasn't gone out to get educated and more diversified.

[R6]

I: (Nothing)

SGD: And I said is there anything else? I'll, you know, the next time I see you, I'll, we can sit down and talk about it, if I run into you--then I could--so next time, if you see me, why don't you come up and say something. And she hung up. She just hung up the phone. So, it was the only thing I could do, 'cause she was on the phone. So, what, it mainly, what I felt is, I felt sorry for her. That she would be, that she felt so compelled to call me. That it upset her so much, that I was mixed. When I, you know, I, to me, it's like, I couldn't control that, that was my parents. She should have been talking to them, not me. You know, that's stupid for her to call the daughter--'cause I have mixed parents, you know, that's silly. [A group member's comment to R6: "You should have said you want my mom's number?"] So um, yeah, 'cause they're the one's who conceived me. But, I just thought it was silly. She didn't really want to sit down and talk, or else she would have, you know, stopped me and said, hey, can I talk to you, because it really bothers me that you're mixed. 'Cause really her grudge isn't about the fact, I don't think, I really don't think, it was about the fact that I was mixed. I think it was, probably, I got a job that she didn't get. 'Cause I had applied for some promotions and got 'em. And if somehow we passed, or, crossed paths and she was upset about that. I don't think it was about my color.

[R7]

I: Well, at first I felt attacked. How can you do this!? You know, how can you not have Hispanics go to this conference!? Um, you know, by his actions and the way he was speaking. But then I said, okay, this person doesn't understand, ah, he said how can MECHA work--you know, which is Chicano--how can MECHA work with Hispanics!? You know, so I basically, I said, we are working together because--we work together. And this person really couldn't understand, but then he says, after I explained things to him--we want to work together, we want to bring the same things--he says, he says, well, obviously I don't know the politics around here. And I, I didn't say anything. I said well, this is just the way we're doing it. And that's the way the students want to do it. And he's like, obviously I don't know the politics about what's going on. And he kinda like, in a mad sense, because he really didn't understand what was going on, but um, he just kinda ignored it, he just said, well fine. And so, I felt good about it, in a way, because I felt that, we're trying to, he, he started to understand, maybe a little bit, what's going on. Sorta.

SGD: I felt that most of them are from here, I think it's good for everybody to learn about it, everybody should have a chance to go. The way I felt--I felt attacked, for one, because I feel strong for all three. And by just favoring one side, or the other, hurts the other. So, I tried to keep everything calm and make sure everyone was okay about it. Because people jumped back, kind of a little bit, you know.

[R8]

I: (laughter-sigh). I felt um, first of all, like if I checked my anger and I figured out that this person's just operating from misinformation, or no information, and uh, I tried to, I felt like maybe I could help her understand something that she was doing. And so um, I just felt

empowered, I guess I would say. Um, to, because of my power and privilege, I felt empowered to, to do that, to, to check her, to make her think about why her--where things were going. I thought that was really interesting, that was the first time I ever did that too. And I thought it worked out really well, except for when I broke the news to her in class. And then um, because she had walked out before I had a chance to tell her. So that was really very interesting.

SGD: Okay, I didn't, I wasn't emotional. I did what, a, an instructor kind of would say to, to do. Please don't try to be emotional, try to understand that they're coming from a perspective of misinformation. Okay, so, it was real hard for me. But I, I, it came, I came to this, I didn't reveal my ethnic identity either. At first, because I figured that would just automatically put her off, because of the way she was saying it, in the first place. And so, um, so what I did is, I tried to talk with her more about why she felt that way, and what she would have been given, and tried to sort-out this, and try to figure out some things, you know. And about, well, you know, what would you think if, if, if The Redskins were called uh, um, like The Frontiersman or some kind of negative stereotype of Euro-American something-or-other? And um, she, she, had a, she goes well, it's just all in fun and all this--but anyway. Um, so, how did I feel? Well, I guess I had tried to put my emotions aside. First, my first reaction's always, anger. That's my first reaction, is always anger, because of the misinformation. But I've learned--I'm learning, to deal with that.

[R9]

I: I felt a number of things. Number one I felt like, how could I have a grandmother who thinks, who can, be prejudiced you know, and have stereotypes about her own **grandchildren**. And at the same time, that was tempered with the fact that I know she loves me, and so, you know, she does. I don't think she has been conscious of her stereotypes. But um, and she loves my Italian grandmother too, so I know she's not really trying to say anything against me. I think she's really ignorant of what she's doing, and that, I kind of have to decide how I'm gonna feel about it. But it immediately, before deciding how I'm gonna feel about it, I feel like she, somehow, because I'm not as Norwegian as she would like me to be, that, there's somehow this loss of respect, or this need to patronize, or, that somehow she treats me differently because I'm not as Norwegian as she would like. And so, that hurts. That, that disconfirms you know, this, this value of who I am. All the things that I am.

SGD: I felt affected. In a way, but also because of her state, I was really, I took that into consideration and didn't want to, get into any kind of um, heated discussion with her. And raise her blood pressure. So, I kind of, I kind of just, took everything into consideration and tried to be objective about the situation.

[R10]

I: I'd say that I felt, pretty angry. Um, and again, it's, it's what I've been saying all along, it angers me when, when there's a group of people--no matter what, you know, ethnic background they may be--and they're being um, treated unfairly, and, if there, they do have a need, they're not being supplied with it. I feel very angry. I feel sad that someone's taking that into they're own hands and not doing anything about it.

SGD: Um, I felt very angry. Because, he does this every single time we get them in. Um, what I would recommend to the other person, so that it would be more appropriate--so that

I wouldn't get as angry--would be, to make it, to generalize his frustration against so many materials and say that, um, he, he doesn't feel we need as many. But not concentrate on the fact that it's for a particular ethnic group.

[R11]

I: I don't know, I um, immediately I felt angry. I felt hurt. Because, you know, uh, my own, the person who I consider to be my father, is sitting there telling me that Hispanics are bad people. And I am Hispanic. So it makes me wonder, does he think I'm a bad person? So, um, angry and hurt.

SGD: (No show)

[R12]

I: (Nothing)

SGD: You know it was like, I was being an idiot, trying to, you know, I 'cause I had the radio on. I don't know, the thing about it, at least I wasn't mad about it anymore--and here I was stupid, I called him up (laughter). But um, I felt better afterward.

Research question number eight (RQ8) **Are there similarities in what women perceive as appropriate behaviors for their ethnic identities?** This question was approached with the interview question (IQ17) **What would you recommend to the other person to say or do which would be more appropriate?** The small group discussion question that correlated with the research questions was (SGDQ4e²) **What would you recommend to the other person that would be more appropriate?** Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following tables and explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

T12.a

Composite of Respondents' Recommendations for Other Communicators to Say ¹ Or Do Which Would be More Appropriate		
Respondents	Recommendations	Reasons & Explanations
R1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Get more informed * Talk to the people who have lived these lives * Realize stereotypes are generalizations that don't apply to everybody * Don't assume * Give people more credit for their diversity of thought, their ability to think in a "zillion" different ways * Educate himself; ask the right questions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Give more people more credit for having a spectrum of human responses as opposed to, what's the Jewish response * Educating himself is rather easy, it's a matter of opening some books and asking questions * Be able to explain the fallacies of stereotypes and be able to explain them to others as well as know them for oneself
R2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Give criticism more gently * Give a bit of a "warm up," or feel out the situations before addressing conflict issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * I need him to check out how I'm doing first and sort of wind around to it. And, that feels a little uncomfortable for him to do--he likes to really be blunt * He actually doesn't like to deal with conflict at all, so that's a second layer to the situation. * I need some time to discuss it and feel out the situation
R3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Greet me as any other paying customer * Give some sort of help or assistance when approached * Approach me as any other paying customer * Say thank you for coming, and have a nice day when I leave 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * I'm gonna call up that guy and the manager * I think it's important for the manager of the store, that they are aware of the service the salespeople are giving and to do something about it, if they want to * It's important in sales to make customers feel welcome
R4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Change the way she feels * Be more careful with what she says, more careful not to say something that stupid * Be careful of what she says around minorities * She's prejudice and she needs to kind of think about that 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The only way she can act appropriate is if she feels totally different * The way she feels right now, she's comfortable with it, it's not going to affect her * Be careful because one of these days somebody's not going to be as patient as me * It's really weird 'cause I almost felt like a mother disciplining a child
R5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * If he is curious about someone's culture, ask directly: What's your background? What ethnicity are you? * Don't guess random ethnic groups to find out what I am * Don't use the word, them and those to group together people with ethnicity * Take a class on different cultures and multiethnicity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Nobody cares where the European American who's blonde and has blue eyes sitting next to me, if, they don't care where she's from * I hate that word them, it bothers me, I think it's racist * In the workplace now [supervisors] can't go around grouping them together and those together * He probably really doesn't care, I think for him to go and take some diversity classes would be a very helpful thing, especially if he's going to be a supervisor--for very long
R6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Sit down and talk about it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * I told her, the next time I see you, why don't you come up and say something; she hung up the phone so, it was the only thing I could do
Total: 6	21	18

T12.b

Composite of Respondents' Recommendations for Other Communicators to Say ² Or Do Which Would be More Appropriate [continued]		
Respondents	Recommendations	Reasons & Explanations
R7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Accept things the way we're doing it * Should have said he was glad we're working together * Instead of being so uptight and with his fist together, showing he was mad, just be more relaxed * Use a calmer voice * Not be so harsh and strong acting * Not to have said anything 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Because we are working for unity, not for division * Saying that we can work more together would have been proper * Accept that Hispanics, Latinos and Chicanos are gonna go to this Conference, it's appropriate for all three groups to go because it's educational and good for them to know about each other * That's how I learned, I went to a National Chicano Conference
R8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Don't assume * Don't look at people as being Euro-American because of the color of their skin * Maybe pose a question instead of accuse, in order to get information * Go to the Longhouse or talk to a professor for knowledge on the subject * Bring up the issue in the Native American Topics class * Don't just go around saying, these people have something wrong with them * Get a Native American Indian perspective on the issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Don't assume that just because of a certain skin-color people are a certain way and they don't identify with certain ethnic identities * The class atmosphere was such that it could have been talked about in class
R9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Deal with me on an issue by issue basis and a characteristic by characteristic basis * Not to lump me in with a stereotype of a group that I identify with * Treat me on the basis of my own personality and merit * Understand that what I do works for me and that it's not necessarily tied to any kind of blood ties, but rather, as a product of my socialization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * I identify with the group but I don't identify with the stereotype * I might get defensive or embarrassed when people associate me with the stereotypes * I usually think I'm very proud when I am allowed to just freely enact my own association with that culture
R10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Be a little more sensitive * Realize that there are needs besides their own * Express his frustration in general, not attack a specific ethnic group that is involved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * I don't attack his ethnic group
R11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * To have realized and said that what the TV movie was presenting was bogus and not a fair representation of a people * Recognize that it was a biased and bigoted representation and purposely done that way 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * In order to get that response, I would have to change his whole attitude, and it's just not gonna happen
R12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Get educated * Don't say such bigoted things on the air, they've influences our country too much all ready and warped public consensus towards bias and bigotry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * So many people who really know nothing have so much influence on how our country is shaped * Get educated on federal Indian policies, how they got the land, the wars, diseases and what really happened
Total: 6	24	13
Sum: 12	45	31
Mean:n/a	3.75	2.583

Interpretations

The most frequently reported recommendations were *get informed/take some ethnicity classes* and *don't be so harsh* (9); *give individuals credit for being unique and diverse* (6); *be polite/respectful* (5); *recognize and refrain from stereotyping* (4); *don't be prejudiced* and *change feelings/perceptions about ethnicized individuals & groups*, both (3); *don't assume*, *approach individual directly* and *don't discriminate*, each (2).

The respondents suggested what I perceive to be two approaches (most effective if used in conjunction) and these are *immediate*, that is, behaviors that can be enacted during the interaction, as it is happening, and *on-going*, or *cumulative* actions that can be integrated into one's lifestyle, on a life-long basis, towards improving interethnic and intercultural communication appropriateness and effectiveness. These multiethnic women's suggestions imply that both approaches, especially if used in a complimentary manner, would be most beneficial in developing satisfying interactions.

Recommendations to Others

The immediate actions that other communicators can take to improve their communication competence are: 1) take ethnicity classes; 2) don't be (so) harsh; 3) be polite and respectful; 4) don't assume (specifically, don't assume you know the other person based on their appearance, which was mentioned by several of the women who had white skin privilege), and; 5) approach the individual directly (particularly when wanting to know her ethnicity).

Take ethnicity classes was a primary recommendation these multiethnic women made to help educate non-ethnic identifying individuals in what ethnicity is, what it feels like and how they experience ethnicity as women in the U.S. Taking ethnicity classes is both a short-term and an on-going, or cumulative action, because the more informed the individual is the more possibility there is that their attitudes may change in accordance with an expansion of their knowledge-base. This is an action that is a relatively non-threatening way to learn about different cultures and communication systems (among other things) that various ethnic groups, in general, within the U.S. attach to certain behaviors.

For example, Hecht, Collier and Ribeau (1993) got an overwhelming response from a large respondent pool of African Americans from various geographic regions in the U.S.

that they, on the whole, were offended and angry at having their individual actions being interpreted as indicative of (all) African Americans' behaviors. For instance, Cynthea Hilliard would like to be thought of as Cynthea Hilliard--end of story. Yes, I am Black and yes I am female but I am also, and primarily, a mother, a student, a golfer, a hiker, a swimmer, and so on. The African Americans in Hecht's, et al., research (both female and male) expressed a strong desire not to be associated with some stereotype that others' attach to being African American in U.S. society (e.g. to be a drug dealer, a shoplifter, a welfare mother, an "underqualified" job applicant who succeeds only because of Affirmative Action, and so forth).

Don't be so harsh was the other most mentioned recommendation for other communicators. Many of the respondents indicated that they felt hurt and/or offended because the other communicator seemed to be excessively harsh (e.g. hostile, or extremely aggressive) in interacting with them. This is not surprising given the long history of negative "race" relations in the U.S. Accentuation of the harshness seemed to be indicative of an attempt to control a situation and exert authority. From the respondents' narratives it is clear that reducing harshness, particularly in times of conflict, or contention, would be an immediate remedy others could utilize towards overcoming offensive communicative behaviors. A reduction in harshness would also suggest a willingness, on the part of the other, to spend some time finding out how the other person is feeling. Respondents also said that others should not force the dialogue to follow protocol that they perceive as "normal" conversation.

To be polite and respectful was another frequently given recommendation the respondents made for more appropriate and effective communication. This implies that the other communicator was being rude or insensitive to some degree. Politeness and respect are communicated in different ways within specific ethnic communities with the U.S. Intercultural and ethnicity communication courses can help others understand the clusters of possible communication codes (communication systems) that various U.S. American ethnic groups use.

Don't assume was recommended specifically by the multiethnic women who had white skin privilege. They found, over and over again, that they were frequently offended and, quite frankly, often amazed at the comments that white dominant culture members would make to them in reference to, "those people of color," that is, ethnic group members. Others clearly felt safe to make blatant and implied racist comments because the people around were white skinned and they assumed shared ingroup membership. Such comments

made the respondents extremely aware of their ethnicities and, in all instances, this compelled them to take on those ethnicities most intensely. Many of the women indicated that the university and work settings were the places where such assumptions, by others, most frequently occurred.

Approach the individual directly was another recommendation. This suggestion was contrasted with behaviors based on assuming or trying to guess their ethnicity (or combination of ethnicities). If another's ethnicity is a salient point, then the person who is curious should simply and politely come right out and ask. The respondents said this would be much more effective in terms of getting the answer and it may save the other from making erroneous assumptions and misinformed statements that could be offensive. All of these actions, taking ethnicity classes, not being harsh, being polite/respectful, not assuming, and approaching the individual directly, are immediate steps another communicator can take towards being more competent interethnic and intercultural communicators.

The on-going, or cumulative, strategies other communicators can utilize are to take a variety of ethnic-specific classes to broaden the knowledge-base about different U.S. ethnics' experiences and ethnic group's communication systems, which indicate how they, in general, use codes and interpret the meaning of various communication behaviors. For example, concepts such as distance, tone of voice, eye contact, dynamism, silence, and so forth, all can be perceived quite differently from the perspectives of various U.S. ethnic groups. These meanings and interpretations must, at least, be dimly perceived for appropriate communication to be consciously enacted from a culturally-relative perspective.

Giving individuals credit for being unique and diverse and not to stereotype were commonly cited recommendations to others. In other words, in several instances, the women wanted to be recognized for who they are as complex individuals rather than being held accountable as representatives of entire ethnic groups, or all women in general. They expressed a common irritation in being associated with a stereotype (in all instances, negative) that other's had of an ethnic group, or of women in general. To begin to see each individual as unique and diverse would go a long way in disallowing a stereotype to creep in and camouflage who she really is (that is, what she thinks, the work she does, the education she has earned, her goals and aspirations, her values, her likes and dislikes, and so on).

Not to be prejudiced meant not having negative attitudes and predispositions toward individuals based on their group identity. The women also recommend working towards **changing feelings and perceptions about ethnicized individuals and groups**.

Such recommendations are consistent with not stereotyping and giving individuals credit for being unique and diverse. The women felt that we live in a dominant U.S. culture that conditions us, to some degree, to have particular values (for example, to value money, competitiveness, a higher education, a high status career, and so on) and yet those values often generate a power dynamic (centered on money and competition) that encourages prejudices and misperceptions of others to continue. These types of attitudes (prejudice, bigotry, stereotypes) were sensed often by these multiethnic women and they did not respond well. Further, they felt that others should take the responsibility to improve the accuracy of their perceptions and overcome their prejudices.

Don't discriminate was also mentioned by some respondents. Discrimination is, of course, a little different than the other don'ts in that it is active behavior based on stereotypes, or prejudices and racism. To actively avoid these behaviors and to speak out against the implicit comments that reflect these attitudes are definitive steps towards enacting more competent interethnic communication.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

Yeah, I um, well, if they're more informed about em. You know, if they've talked to people, who lived these lives--lived these stereotypes. Um, then you know, if they were able to explain that to others, um, or just you know, know it for themselves. It's really important. Um, but I also, think, yeah, then there's also that--um, this may sound completely contradictory, but--trying to realize that um, that those are generalizations and that they don't apply to everybody. Um, and that they won't even necessarily apply the way they think they're going to. Like, the way this friend of mind just sort of assumed that the parents were

going to act because of, you know, who they are, because of their Jewish identity. Trying to sort of break out of that and say no. Yeah, but giving people, you know, more credit for their diversity of thought and um, their uh, their ability to think in a zillion different ways, um, strictly because of this person, this specific person that they are. As opposed to, well you know, your Jewish, so you're probably gonna react this way. Um, you know they're uh, you know, her folks, or his dad, or whatever, could have a million reasons for acting the way they do, or reacting the way they do. And I think just sort of giving people more credit for having a spectrum of human responses as opposed to you know, what's the Jewish response.

SGD: Um, just to be more well, to educate himself, really. We talked about this, that night as well about, you know, do you, are we responsible for educating other people about who we are, you know. And, and that's really a bother to me um, so I think, he just needed to educate himself and it's such an, um, something like that's rather easy to be educated on, you know, it's a matter of opening a few books, you know, and asking the right questions. *(Note: This respondent discussed a different occurrence during the SGD than the one originally reported in the interview.)*

[R2]

I: For me, and I think this is different from other people, I need to have a little bit of a warm up to something that's that, um, critical. Not, you know, I understood, that it was a critique and I appreciate having information that would help me perform my job better, I truly do. But I think I needed to hear it a little more gently. Not that **what** he said was the problem, it was that he sat me down and he just **said it**. And I need to sort of, talk about the weather, see how I'm feeling and you know, kind of have him feel out the situation, and then say, then it would have been, okay even, for even for him to say, so and so and so and so are having a problem with the way you're operating. Then that wouldn't have been a problem. But I needed for him to really check out how I was doing and kind of wind around to it. I have thought about this, quite a bit, (laughter) actually. And what, what I wish that I had done, even before this happened, was to sit down and say--because I noticed the way that he deals with conflict and I could, I knew from watching him deal with it, or not deal with it, in certain situations, that it really conflicted from the way that I would want it handled--and, I could have, at that point, said you know if this ever arises, this is how I want it to be dealt with. Or, either, in that situation, could you tell me why you did it that way, or maybe I could have originally--had I not in the situation, had I been emotionally okay after that happened--I um, think I should have said, you know, this is a little too direct for me. Could you have, could you maybe do this a different way, at another time? At the time, I was so shocked, even by the time that I left his office, that I was **not** thinking clearly--at all. I just wasn't thinking clearly. So, my own communication could have been better to give him the tools that he needed. Because, in different situations, it's admirable to be very direct. And I appreciated that he really was trying. It's just that, that was not what I needed at that point.

SGD: And what I would, and have recommended, is that, just letting him know, that I need him to check out how I'm doing first and sort of wind around to it. And, that feels a little uncomfortable for him to do. He likes to really, be really blunt and he actually doesn't like to deal with conflict, at all. So that's, a second layer to the situation. That, that, I need, I wanna talk about it, but I need some time to discuss it and feel out the situation, and that kind of thing.

[R3]

I: Oh, I've got lots. In fact, yeah, we went to bed that night and I was thinking about it, I was trying to fall asleep. And I was thinking, okay, I'm gonna call up that guy and I know exactly what I'm gonna tell him and uh, and I'm, gonna tell 'em, I gonna say, first of all, before I even begin, I'm going to tell you how poor the service was that I received and if you'd like to know more, then I will continue. If you really don't care, that's fine too. But, I just thought, you know, this is--and I've gotten to a point in my life, where I know that if I was the manager, or the owner of this company, I would want to know, I think--um, you know, how my service from your salespeople is, so, um--I will definitely call and tell them that--I was not greeted, I was not, um, given any sort of help or assistance, other than when I came to them and asked them a question. And even then, they immediately walked away, and no one said thank you, no one said have a nice day, thank you for coming in. I have a lot of things I am going to say, and I'm going to say it over the phone and I'm gonna say it in a letter. And it's not, because it's something I need to do. But I honestly think that if I was the person--cause I, I can go on, you know, it's no big deal, I've all ready kind of forgotten it--but, I think it's important for the management of the store, that they are aware of the service the salespeople are giving and to do something about it, if they want to.

SGD: And um, what did the person say or do that was inappropriate? They totally didn't greet us, not one person asked me could they help me. Um, I think that was very inappropriate, being that it was a store, and you would think that they would want to make the customers feel welcome. Um, what did I say or do in response?--basically nothing. Everything I did in response was try to be really friendly thinking they'd be really nice and kind of snap out of their bad attitude. But, it didn't work either. And it, um, I, I was mad. I kept trying to figure out, you know, why. I mean, it was two men and one woman salesperson, so it's not like it was a man-thing, you know, that they didn't want to help women, or anything, because even the lady didn't even offer to help, so um, I don't think there's anything I could have done or said, but I was very angry. And in the end, I didn't buy the bookcase. I called 'em and told 'em I didn't want it. (laughter) I bought it somewhere else. But, guess, they lost some business for that!

[R4]

I: Well, I would say, I think I've done all I can. By explaining to her that not all Blacks are the same, like not all White people are, and (could you repeat the question?). Okay. I think that, that's all I would say to her. Because, um, the only way she can act appropriate, the next time she's in a situation, is if she feels totally different. Now that she feels the way she feels right now and she's comfortable with it, it's not going to affect her. I really just think that I made her aware. I just opened her eyes--and maybe not--maybe she just kinda went back to way--I mean, you know, I'm sure that wasn't a life altering situation. But, it maybe made her think, but, I certainly wouldn't, um, I think that's all I could do. And I think, I'd be--because I'm gonna see her again--just tell her that, oh, she's just really, really ignorant. She's prejudice and she needs to kind of think about that. I think that's really all I can do. But, if she's comfortable with the way she is, I don't think she's gonna change. And maybe just, she'll just be more careful with what she says next time, and that maybe she won't change the way she feels, she'll just more careful not to say something that stupid, is all.

SGD: Um, that's hard because, like I said, that's in her. That's just the way she thinks all ready, and, and I, I would, the only thing I would recommend to her is to be careful, to be careful of what she says around minorities--because one of these days somebody's not going to be as patient as me, or something. She could really get in trouble for stupid

remarks like that. Uhhm, yeah, so, um, unless she changes, the way she thinks 'cause this is just like, the way she is um, I, I, don't--but I told her, I don't know. It was really weird, 'cause I almost felt like a mother, disciplining a child. And she, you know, remained quiet, and she listened and um, she really didn't have very much to say afterward.

[R5]

I: Well, you know, um, an interesting thing happened, a person who was Japanese, came up and he--if, I think that, if this man really wanted to know what I was, or you know, I mean that's fine, I have no problem with him talking about Alaska, because I am from Alaska--but um, maybe if he was curious to know if I was from that culture, I think I would have rather had him just directly asked me. You know, what is your background? What ethnicity are you?--and to the Japanese man I was talking about, he did, he said can I ask you a personal question? Do you mind I'm just curious--because he's half European American and half Japanese--he said, what is your ethnicity? And I explained to him and he said, oh, and then we talked about it. And it was you know, I didn't feel like it was some kind of, I'm just gonna start guessing random people of color and you can tell me where you fit in, or anything. I mean nobody else cares where the European American woman--who's blonde and has blue eyes sitting next to me--they don't care where she's from. She's from Salem! Big deal! You know. But um, for me, it's like, I can't just be from Portland. And I can't just be from Alaska--I've gotta be Alaska Native. And when I'm, when they find out that I'm not, you know, that's just shocking to them. But um, I think for him, I would have had him uh, to address...first of all, I wouldn't of, I would have told him that you can't--I should have said, and I did kind of tell him--oh, she's probably Alaska Native. He said, oh, well, I wasn't sure if she was American Indian, or what you called **them**. And I hate that. I hate that word **them**. I don't know why. It just bothers me. I think um, I think it's racist. When you group **them** people. And um, so I did correct him on that and um, I really think it just tells me that maybe they should get the supervisors, at least, in for a diversity class and learning how to address the fact that there are so many different people in the workplace now that they **can't** be going around grouping **thems** together and **those** together and um, I think that's how I would of--had I, you know, in my own little world I would have liked to address the inappropriate behavior that he did, was--put him in a diversity class. I guess that's what I would have liked to do. Recommended to him, told him to go get, you know, maybe you should take a class on different cultures and you know, multiethnicity and you know, it really does help and you don't feel like you're in an awkward situation when you have misgrouped a person.

SGD: If maybe he'll learn a little bit about different cultures. I mean, he's a European American male, he's a supervisor, he probably makes good money, he probably really doesn't care. You know--about other people--that much. And um, I think for him to go and take some diversity classes would be a very helpful thing, especially if he's going to be a supervisor--for very long (laughter).

[R6]

I: (Nothing)

SGD: I'll, you know, the next time I see you, I'll, we can sit down and talk about it, if I run into you. Then I could, so next time, if you see me, why don't you come up and say something. And she hung up. She just hung up the phone. So, it was the only thing I could do, 'cause she was on the phone.

[R7]

I: I recommend for this person to basically accept things the way we're doing it. Because we are working for unity, not for division. And if this person believes in that, which I know they do, they should have, to say, they should just say, I'm glad we're working together. And I think, saying that we work more together, I think that's a proper way to do it. And that would be, these, these two groups work together. And I would like for this person to, instead of being so uptight and with his fists together, showing that's he's mad, kinda, in a way, he should just be more relaxed about it. Because, why is this happening?, instead of saying (angry tone of voice) how can this happen! You know, why is this happening?, you know, be more relaxed and uh, have a calmer voice and not be so, harsh. And, and, and so strong acting, you know.

SGD: Basically if they would have not said anything, and just accept that Hispanics, Latinos and Chicanos are gonna go to this Conference--which is a National Chicano Conference--and it's appropriate for all three groups to go to this because it's educational and it's good for them to know about each other. Um, and that's how I learned. I went to a National Chicano Conference and that's how I learned about, you know, Chicanos and stuff.

[R8]

I: I would say what, mainly if she were in the presence of other people, not necessarily to um, um, look at them as, as being Euro-American because of the color of their skin, but maybe pose the question more. Like, well, you know I don't understand um, why um, American Indian people, and I don't want to generalize um, why some American Indian people feel this way about these names and things and do um, you guys have any ideas about why? And if then, if, if we didn't, she could go to the Longhouse, which is one of the cultural centers, or um, go talk to our professor. 'Cause he, he is also American Indian, but just so little that he doesn't know so much about it, but he does know and has contact with many of the Indian people in the state of Oregon and he's very, very sensitive, uh, a very open man to talk with about issues like that. She could have even brought it up in class. The class atmosphere was such that it could have been talked about in class, about different feelings, or anything. So, I would have recommended her to, to talk about it in class, and try to get a perspective, a Native American Indian perspective on the issue. Um, and that would have been even more appropriate than going around and saying, well I don't understand why these people get offended, they have something wrong with them 'cause they're doing this, or something, they're so sensitive.

SGD: Not assume that, just because of a certain skin-color, that people are a certain way, and they don't identify with certain ethnic identities. Don't assume that.

[R9]

I: Oh, what would I recommend to someone in general, or what would I recommend to her specifically? Oh, well that's kind of a different thing--she's eighty years old, she's not gonna change, but if she wasn't, you know, under those circumstances, I would recommend, yeah, I would recommend that she, that she, deal with me on an issue by issue basis, and a characteristic by characteristic basis and not to lump it in with the stereotype and a group I identify with. I identify with the group but I don't identify with the stereotype. And so, I might get defensive or embarrassed when people associate me with the stereotype. But, I usually think I'm very proud when I am allowed to just freely enact my own association with that culture.

SGD: I would just recommend that um, I would recommend that she treat me um, on the basis of my own personality and merit. And, and understand that what, what I do works for me and that it's not necessarily tied to any kind of um, blood ties, but rather, as a product of my socialization.

[R10]

I: Well, I would say that, they need to, be a little bit more sensitive, to the fact that there are other needs--besides their own. And that, he might express his frustration at having so much, so many materials, in general--I've got too many materials--instead of, what do these, you know, Hispanics need all these materials for? He could make it more general, not attack a specific ethnic group that is involved in this.

SGD: Um, what I would recommend to the other person, so that it would be more appropriate--so that I wouldn't get as angry--would be, to make it, to generalize his frustration against so many materials and say that, um, he, he doesn't feel we need as many. But not concentrate on the fact that it's for a particular ethnic group.

[R11]

I: Um, in terms of doing, I guess recognize, that what we were watching was not a fair representation, of a People. It was a biased, and bigoted representation, and purposely--to my mind--purposefully done that way. Um, to say, I would have preferred, for him to have recognized that, and to have, uh, to have said that, you know, this was kind of bogus, to look at. But that would include, in order to get that response, I would have to change his whole attitude, and it's just not gonna happen. So...(quiet laughter).

SGD: (No show)

[R12]

I: (Nothing)

SGD: And he says, well, I'm not much of a believer in, in, ah, trying to make up for past loses, blahblahblah. So the stuff for him and Indians is like, you know, so many people who really know nothing about it but, its, you know, have so much influence on how our country is shaped. You know, how like the federal Indian policies--how they got the land, you know, the wars, diseases, stuff that happened then.

Research question number eight (RQ8) **Are there similarities in what women perceive as appropriate behaviors for their ethnic identities?** This question was approached with the interview question (IQ18) **What could you have said or done that would have been more appropriate?** The small group discussion question that correlated with the research questions was (SGDQ4f) **What could you have said and/or done that would have been more appropriate?** Respondents 1-12 addressed these questions and the following tables and explications (direct quotes from the transcripts) show their responses.

T13.a

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of What They Could Have ¹ Said or Done That Would Have Been More Appropriate		
Respondents	Recommendations	Reasons & Explanations
R1	<p>* I think I should have done a better job of explaining to her</p> <p>* Should have just bashed the stereotypes too * I should have been tougher * I probably should have just put my foot down and said, you're wrong, you're generalizing, you're stereotyping * Just open my mouth</p>	<p>* I was a little upset with myself, I kinda passed the buck * I let somebody else take care of it * I guess you kinda pick your battles that way anyway * If you tried to fight all of 'em you'd probably go crazy</p>
R2	<p>* <i>I can't really think of anything that I could have done, in the moment</i> * I would have said, right after that, okay, that was a little too direct for me, but let's talk about what the situation is * After resolving that, I would have said, when my job performance is being critiqued, I appreciate the information but, could you handle it a little differently?</p> <p>* Would that be okay with you? * I'd prefer to have a little of a warm up first, before we get to it * Can we find some compromise that works for us, in how we deal with conflict</p>	<p>* I think maybe being more persistent, beforehand, in by saying, I think this is some information that you need to know about the way I see the world and deal with things * I think that would have been better</p>
R3	<p>* <i>I don't think there's anything I could have done or said</i></p> <p>* Is there a reason why you're not providing me with any assistance? * Is this the way your store operates? * Are we to look and then not ask questions and simply come to the counter when we are ready to purchase? * Apparently you don't seem too interested in helping us, who's your boss, who's the manager? * I called 'em and told 'em I didn't want it</p>	<p>* At the time things were running through my mind that I never brought up, never had the courage to say</p> <p>* There are things that I wanted to say, and I don't know, necessarily, that it would have been constructive * Maybe I would have got some better service then * If I could confront these situations head-on, I think I would feel good, more confident; I don't have the courage to do it, but I imagine it would have been very successful * I need to talk to the manger, just simply saying those words, people change, instantly * I should have said something, but I didn't</p>

T13.a [Continued]

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of What They Could Have ²

Said or Done That Would Have Been More Appropriate [continued]

Respondents	Recommendations	Reasons & Explanations
R4	<i>* I honestly feel that I handled it really well; I would do the same thing again</i>	<i>* I would definitely handle it that way again * I stayed pretty clam and I think I handled the situations pretty well</i>
R5	<i>* What I said I thought was appropriate, about saying what my culture is; I don't think there's anything that I could have said or done</i> * Definitely, I think redirecting it to make me aware that I don't need to be self-conscious of their ignorant remarks; I shouldn't have been embarrassed * I did take it one step further, I knew an African American man who's in Personnel that kind of helped me get my job--I told him over lunch this last week about what happened * But I feel better talking about it	<i>* I try really hard to do that because when people make comments like that, it's their stupidity and ignorance and that should be the thing that's reflected, not me feeling like I'm ashamed, or upset because I was addressed those kinds of questions or behaviors * I've made it a point to say I don't care * I don't feel like I need to defend my culture, or where I'm from or why I look like I do; it's their problem * Definitely I have no problem keeping my relationship with them strictly business * [Personnel person] He'll probably mention it to somebody else and he said the exact same thing, you shouldn't feel bad for his inappropriate--I didn't even say it was inappropriate--behavior * He shouldn't be doing that at the position that he's at * I find myself becoming more and more aware of inappropriate behavior as I get older * I just see other people's interaction will be targeted, comments that are said; how can people say this stuff: What inspires them to make such a rude comment?</i>
R6	<i>* Nothing</i>	<i>* I don't think there really is anything I could do; she didn't really want to sit down and talk, or else e she would have stopped me and said, hey, can I talk to you, because it really bothers me that you're mixed</i>
Total: 6	23	22

T13.b

Composite of Respondents' Perceptions of What They Could Have ³ Said or Done That Would Have Been More Appropriate [continued]		
Respondents	Recommendations	Reasons & Explanations
R7	<i>* I felt that I did the correct thing</i> * I feel that I should of, I wanted to, talk to him after the meeting a little bit more; I really didn't get to do that * I would like to get together with him, probably this week, to talk; just him and I, one-on-one, to see how he really feels about things	* I think that would be a better way to do it, talk one-one-one about different names * We should work together more
R8	<i>* I think I did pretty good</i> * I would have liked to have talked to her about it, instead of breaking it to her in class * I would have liked to have talked to her personally about it * I should have been able to have enough time to tell her before she walked out * I could have created a better atmosphere instead of springing it on her; I don't know what her reaction necessarily was, I don't know if she was offended	* I felt I was open to her in the beginning, in asking her why she was feeling this way and why she would say something like that when she didn't know the other side and there were other sides to these things * I kind of let her down a little bit in not letting her know that I was American Indian and that we can talk about these things * I don't know if it would have been more appropriate to tell her right out that I was American Indian; I don't think she would have been as open with me if I would have told her that * I don't know how far I would have gotten because I think her door closed, once I said that *
R9	<i>* I think what I said and did was appropriate for the situation</i> * I could have said, the person who raised me was American and not Italian, so I really don't see the relevant of some genetic makeup that you feel a need to associate and attach as a characteristic because you think that it's alien to your culture * The most appropriate thing I could have said was, that kind of generalization doesn't work for me	
R10	<i>* I think what I said and what I did was the most appropriate because I try to maintain a professional attitude at work</i> * I don't think that I would change anything that I did * I felt it was the right thing to do, in the situation; I don't think I would have done anything differently	* If I feel strongly about something and I feel irritated about it I try to educate the person, more so than attacking that person about it * I remained pretty calm * I tried to educate him * I remained professional
R11	* Instead of getting angry and trying to hurt him in return, it would have been better for me to say what I felt * To say, well, when you say that, you're saying that about me too and it upsets me, it makes me feel bad * I makes me think you feel about me that way too * Just to express how I felt about it	* Maybe if he realized, that when he said those kind of things he was hurting me--even though he didn't think he was, he was hurting me--he might take a second look before he says things and realize that Hispanic ethnic people are people too, and they have feelings.
R12	<i>* Nothing</i>	* You kind of have to get somebody set straight once in a while
Total: 6	19	12
Sum: 12	42	34
Mean: n/a	3.5	2.833

Interpretations

In response to the question which asked the respondents what they could have said or done that would have been more appropriate the most frequently reported response was *nothing* (12); *spoke up, or stated my thoughts/feelings* (10); *confronted/challenged and told the other person how to operate with me and asked, why are you behaving this way?*, all (6); ***not to have internalized others' prejudice or rudeness*** (2).

The respondents were also asked to describe recommendations for what they thought they could have said, or done, that would have been more appropriate. In other words, they described what they could have said or done which would have been more appropriate and effective.

Recommendations to Other Multiethnic Women

Nothing was the response most given for what they thought they could have said or done that would have been more appropriate. This might be perceived as a defensive or dismissive remark (For example: I did everything appropriate, and I did all I could.) if it were not for the fact that most of the women did talk about their efforts to re-educate the other person about who they were and their ethnicities, in general. In most cases though, after responding "nothing," most respondents did proceed to suggest some things they might have done differently.

Spoke up, or stated my thoughts/feelings was also frequently mentioned. Why did many of these women hold themselves back from doing this? Is this self-censorship? And, if so, is it because of fear of retribution from the other? My deduction is that yes, this is the case, since some of the most frequently mentioned situations were work and school. Fear of retribution has a recognized effect of silencing people. So, what would reduce the fear? Perhaps the knowledge that peers or other superiors would step-in, interrupt and interject. This is not always possible, but frequently it is possible. By speaking out themselves, respondents also have the opportunity to build their own confidence by affirming that they do have legitimate reactions to what is being said. By acknowledging those thoughts and letting the other person know, perhaps the other will not feel so free in addressing them in inappropriate ways in the future.

Confront/challenge, to have just come right out and **told the other person how to operate with me**, or simple **asked, why are you behaving this way?** were the next most often mentioned behaviors they could have done that would have been more appropriate. All of these are based on a need to change the power balance in the relationship and assert dominance. The confronting and challenging suggestion could be either assertive or aggressive. My perception was that for most of the respondents, they meant it in more of an assertive sense, saying things like: "That's not right, this is how things really are, for me." To tell the other person how to operate suggests a great deal of confidence, or composure by the woman, to address the other and explicitly outline the general rules of how to interact effectively with her. The women said that by telling the other person what the rules are for having a satisfying interaction, at least you can know 1) that they know, 2) if the other person is willing to work with you on negotiating satisfying communication, and 3) if they are sincere about making any necessary efforts to meet you half-way in the communication process. The respondents said, if they are not willing to change, then you know where you stand--the doubt is gone--and perhaps then you can make some choices about if and how you wish to deal with this other individual.

Not to have internalized others' prejudice or rudeness was another specifically mentioned recommendation for self-improvement. Speaking out, challenging, telling others how to operate with you and just simply asking, "why are you behaving this way?" can all work well towards not internalizing other's prejudices or rudeness. These actions involve externalizing your thoughts and feelings so that they have less of an opportunity to become internalized oppression.

Both, or all, communicators have some culpability in enacting a satisfying dialogue. Nonetheless, I do not believe that multiethnic women should be responsible to carry very much of the burden of improving the conversation, educating the other, or combating prejudices or racism. But, as long as misinformation and racism plague their interactions or hinders their ability to achieve, these middle-to-upper-middle class U.S. American multiethnic women indicated that they have to deal with this problem in the ways that will advance their satisfaction (in interactions) and success (in achieving individual goals). The solutions offered are, I believe, reasonable, and feasible and practical, and they can contribute to interethnic appreciation of communication differences.

Explications

The following are direct quotes from the transcripts of the interviews and small group discussions of the 12 respondents. These are the substance and the source of the information gathered for the preceding table(s). Each woman's narrative is important; each provides a perspective and a context from which her statements can be understood and interpreted, and so I include them in this thesis. The reader may choose to follow, or read one, or more, woman's story, as desired. I believe the "thick" descriptions each woman shares is critical in perceiving the texture of her experiences. Please note that *R1-R12* represents the code assigned to each individual; *I* indicates the response to the interview question, given during the interview session; and, *SGD* indicates the response to the small group discussion question, given during the small group discussion.

[R1]

I: Yeah, um, I think I should have done a better job of, I think I did explain to her, you know, why those stereotypes exist and why um, Jewish people might react in a certain manner um, based on their history. Or, based on the lives that they lead. But, um--which I think is a really important to explain-- but I also think, I also think I should have done a much better job of just, bashing the stereotapes, too. You know of just, maybe just, gosh, I, I don't even know, bashing them for the sake of bashing them! Um, and not letting, not letting anybody get away with that. Um, yeah I really, I should have been more adamant about that. And said, well, you know, you're really, your opinion is really pretty uninformed. And um, you know, and is very ignorant and you don't exactly know what you're talking about here, so you know, let me break this down for you. Um, yeah, I should have been tougher on that, and I feel bad about that--even just now, just talking about this--because I feel like I'm really, condoning so much of it, um, and I really, I really, I don't want to do that. Um, particularly because of the way that it's used against Jewish people. Um, harshly used against them. I mean they're demeaned to the point where, they're almost, you know--I've seen it so many times--where we, practically viewed as less than human, you know. And that's, that leaves you open to anything, I mean, you're open to being treated like--that's a lot of what the whole, the problem with the JAP stereotype--and I've read a lot about it and you know, I've seen it--that if these women, if they really fit these qualities, then they are horrible people. I mean, they're seen as horrible people. And somebody who's that, sort of inherently bad of a person, deserves being treated as such--being treated badly. Um, so it's justified, you know. And I don't ever wanna, I don't ever wanna, to justify any of that. Um, but I just feel like I can't quite, I would be doing myself and my Jewish family and friends and whomever, a kind of a, disservice, if I didn't give some credence to you know, behind the stereotypes. But um, you know, why, if I didn't really just open my eyes and look at perhaps how those stereotypes were created and why they exist and if we do fit them to any degree, why that is? Um, because I think, often, it's, um, it's just sort of arisen out of necessity. And then somebody has just chosen to use it against us. Um, so as opposed to being something just really bad, and that it's a--so, yeah, uh, and maybe it's just sort of the phase I'm in, dealing with this. It's that I'm having to recognize the truths behind it. Um, and hopefully I'll move out of that and be able to uh, you know, then I'll be able to break

down the stereotypes more for myself. And then for other people. Yeah, I probably should have just put my foot down and said, you know, that's wrong. I mean, you're generalizing, you're stereotyping and it's...you know.

SGD: Um, just something, I guess. Just open my mouth. I was a little upset with myself that I kinda let that go by, I kinda let, I passed the buck on that one and kinda let somebody else take care of it. But, I guess you kind of pick your battles that way. Anyway, if you tried to fight all of 'em, then we'd probably all go crazy. *(Note: This respondent discussed a different occurrence during the SGD than the one originally reported in the interview.)*

[R2]

I think I would have said--right after that--okay, that was a little too direct for me. But, let's talk about what the situation is. And after resolving that, I would have said, I, I, when my job performance is being critiqued--I appreciate the information, but, could you handle it a little differently? Would that be okay with you? I'd prefer to have a little of a warm up first, (laughter) before we get to it.

SGD: I can't really think of anything that I could have done--in the moment--that would of, that could have, made it better. But, I think maybe being more persistent, beforehand, in saying, you know, I think this is some information that you, that you need to know about my, the way I see the world, and deal with things. And can we find some compromise that works for us? And discussing the conflict, how we deal with conflict? I think would have been better.

[R3]

I: Oh, that's a good one. That's a good one because, uh, I, uh, at the time, I did make some comments to my friend while it was happening. And she agreed yeah, you know, boy, they're real unfriendly and not very polite and dadadada. And then I thought--and at that time, things were running through my mind that I, never brought up, never had the courage to say--for instance, ya know, is there a reason why you're not providing me with any assistance or, is there, um, you know, is this the way your store operates? That we are to look and then, um--to not ask questions--and simply come to the counter when we are ready to purchase? Um, so there were things, that I guess I wanted to say. And I don't know necessarily that it would have been constructive. I don't know if it would have changed. But actually, you know, thinking about it, I now think I should have said to the person, um, apparently you don't seem too interested in helping us, who's your boss?, who's the manager? Maybe I would have got some better service then. Maybe that would have been a good thing to say. And I wish I--and when these things happen, I wish I would have the, um, the, the hindsight, right then and there. So that I could confront, confront these situations head on. Because I think that I would feel good if I could do that. I think it would make me, um, more confident, if I could be more, um, more, confronting. I think that's something I'm not very good at. And I'd like to be better at it. So, um, that would have been a great situation, if I could have been that way. And it probably would have went very well. But I, still I, didn't have the courage to do it. But I imagine it would have been very successful. And you know how, a lot of times, men will do that. Like if you're in a restaurant or something and a man will say, yeah, um, I need to talk to the manager. Just simply saying those words, and you know people (snap of fingers) change, instantly. And I wonder if maybe, if I had said that, things would have went a little bit different. Yeah, I should have. I should have said something, I think. Or, I could have said something, but

um, as it was, I uh--at the exact moment--didn't have the courage (laughter). So, I guess, but I, yeah, I realize, and I will call, and I probably should have said something. I think I should have said something, but I didn't. And I should have said something like, um, is this how you treat all of your customers? (laughter) That would have been a good one! (laughter) Is there a problem here? (laughter) Are you having a problem today? (laughter).

SGD: I don't think there's anything I could have done, or said, but I was very angry. And in the end, I didn't buy the bookcase. I called 'em and told 'em I didn't want it. (laughter) I bought it somewhere else. But--guess, they lost some business for that!

[R4]

I: I honestly feel that I handled it really well. I would do that same thing, I would do the same thing again. Um, if different, if somebody were hurting someone, I think that that's, I don't know how I'd handle it because when I see things on television, it's really weird. I feel like I would really want to hurt that person bad--physically. I mean it, it scares me to have those feelings, but if I was in that situation again, I would definitely handle it that way again.

SGD: So, it was pretty frustrating and I just told her, I said not, you know, I mean, how can you? This is something that would, I can't just say something and then it's gonna be over with. This is something that, she feels strongly. This is the way she thinks and I'm not, didn't know how to, just didn't, I knew that I couldn't change the way she thought instantly, in that conversation. So, um, I pretty much, you know, I think I stayed pretty calm and I think I handled the situation pretty well.

[R5]

I: Um, you know, I don't know. I feel like um, I feel like for me, what I could have done for myself, is said, I'm not the one who should feel self-conscious. He should definitely be the one that should feel self-conscious. And I, I try really hard to do that, because when people make comments like that, it's their stupidity and ignorance that um, should be the thing that's reflected. Not me feeling like I'm either ashamed, or upset because I was addressed those kinds of questions or behaviors. And I, I never want to feel like that. And I've made it a point now, to say I don't care. And I am not gonna come out and you know, I don't feel like I need to defend my culture or where I'm from or why I look like I do--and it's their problem. If they can't, if they can't be open with me and ask me and be interested--or not be interested, I mean I don't care if they're interested--I mean obviously their interested if they ask me. But if they can't just be direct and ask me where I'm from, or what my culture is--like the Japanese American man did--then I really, you know, definitely I have no problem keeping my relationship with them strictly business. (laughter) Because just, I don't want to have to be around that kind of behavior. But definitely, I think redirecting it to, to make me aware that I don't need to be self-conscious of their ignorant remarks. It, and I, I shouldn't have been embarrassed, at the time. I should have felt sad for him, but that's about it.

SGD: Um well, what I said, I thought was appropriate, about saying, you know, what my culture is. Um, into his, you know, to respond to him. I don't think there's anything that I could have said or done. I did take it one step further and um, I mean I knew an African American man who's in Personnel that kind of helped me get my job, I told him over lunch, this last week, about what happened, and he was kind of floored. And I know, that he'll

probably mention it to somebody else. And he, and he said the exact same thing, he said, you shouldn't feel bad for his inappropriate--I didn't even say it was inappropriate--he said, for his inappropriate behavior. Because, you know, he shouldn't be doing that, at the position that he's at, in his life. But, I, I really, I find myself becoming more and more aware of inappropriate behavior as I get older. And I don't know if I'm becoming hyper-sensitive, or it's um, maybe, I just didn't have a real strong compassion about getting in other people's business. But, I, I see it with other people. People that maybe, I just see other people's interactions will be targeted, things that are, comments that are said. And I'm just, how can people say this kind of stuff? You know what inspires them to make such a rude comment? So, I don't know. But I feel better, now, talking about it.

[R6]

I: (Nothing)

SGD: Nothing, really, except you know, if she would have said something to me face-to-face. I'm assuming she's a coward--to do it over the phone. So, to me, there's nothing, I don't think there really is anything I could do. She didn't really want to sit down and talk, or else she would have, you know, stopped me and said, hey, can I talk to you?, because it really bothers me that you're mixed. 'Cause really, her grudge isn't about the fact, I don't think, I really don't think, it was about the fact that I was mixed. I think it was, probably, I got a job that she didn't get. 'Cause I had applied for some promotions and got 'em. And if somehow we passed, or, crossed paths and she was upset about that. I don't think it was about my color.

[R7]

I: That's a hard one. Um, I felt that I did the correct thing. But I feel that I should of, I wanted to talk to him after the meeting, a little bit more. And I really didn't get to do that. And I would like to get together with him, probably this week, uh, to talk, just him and I, one-on-one, to see how he really feels. And um, I think that would be a better way to do it. And maybe what he should have done too, maybe, is went away and after the meeting and said, can we get together and talk about this, maybe? And um, yeah, I would like to get together--and probably with him, this week--and talk one-on-one about, on different names. And see why, you know, we should work together, how important it is.

SGD: Like I said um, I felt I did a pretty good job of controlling everything and he was still kind of confused about everything. But I just think that, it's okay, you know, and um, I thought I did the good thing. And I felt that he, this person still had a little tension, but it kind of dropped off, you know, um, by the way he said, I guess I just don't understand. You know, um, I just told him, we know what we're doing, basically, and just let it be (laughter).

[R8]

I: I think I did pretty good. Um, (laughter) um, but I wish she wouldn't have left the room. 'Cause I would have liked to have talked to her about it, instead of breaking it to her in class. I would have liked to have talked to her personally about it. And even after class, she didn't talk to me, per se, um, individually. And she never expressed her concerns to me as an American Indian. Which was something that I think she could have done. That I felt I was open enough to her in the beginning, in asking her why she was feeling this way, and why she would say something like that when she didn't know the other side, and there, there

were other sides to these things. And um, I felt kind of, like, I kind of let her down a little bit in not letting her know that I was American Indian and that we can talk about these things. And, and um, she could have, she could have approached me afterwards. Um, in fact, we were in class the whole term last term and ah, I gave a couple of presentations where she asked some questions. Which I thought were good, because I thought she was learning something um, but um, she never approached me individually, about it again. A, a Japanese-national student approached me, wanting to know more. But this other--and I am safe to say she was real Euro-American because she assumed that, she--she even admitted in fact, in class, she said I'm Euro-American, I just don't understand--those things. So, anyway, so that's, um, I could have told her, I should have been able to have enough time to tell her before she walked out, is what I could have done. And, and created a better atmosphere instead of um, springing it on her and her, I don't know what her reaction necessarily was. I don't know if she was offended because I didn't reveal my ethnic identity in the first place, or because she assumed that I wasn't American Indian um, um, I don't know if it would have been more appropriate to tell her right-out that I was American Indian. I don't think she would have been as open with me, if I would have told her that. And I think that um, I don't know, I think that I should have um, gone and talked to her individually after the session, after the class. And I don't know how far I would have gotten, because I think her door closed on that, once I said that.

SGD: Well, I could have revealed my ethnic identity to her, but before I could do that, she left the room. Because we got in this conversation and we got some really good, interesting things, I thought, 'cause we started talking about it a little bit more and she was starting to see some things. And then--it's time for class. So we went to class, and then in class I revealed my ethnic identity and you should have seen her face, it was like woooooow. And so, but after that, she didn't talk to me one-on-one, personally. But when I gave my presentation, she was very supportive, of what I was saying. And she really wanted to look at the, the articles and the things I had. Because my presentation was about American Indian identity. And about Pow-Wows and activities like that. And so, I could of revealed my identity to her but, the timeframe was kind of--before the whole shocking thing happened in class (laugh).

[R9]

I could have said well, I think I could have said um, the person who raised me was American and not Italian and so um, I really don't see the relevance of um, you know, some genetic makeup, as to, to why, you know, you feel a need to associate that, and attach a characteristic, because you think that it's alien to your culture. That's assuming she had open ears. And um, I would have, I take it that the most appropriate thing I could have said was um, that, that kind of generalization doesn't work for me.

SGD: Um, I think what I said and did was appropriate for the situation.

[R10]

I: Well I think what I said and what I did, was the most appropriate, because I try to maintain a professional attitude at work. Um, basically, if I feel strongly about something and I feel irritated about it, I try to educate the person, more so than attacking the person about it. Um, so I don't think that I would change anything that I did.

SGD: Um, I think I, I remained pretty calm in that, I tried to, educate him, as to what I felt was a right thing to do, in the situation. And um, I remained professional and I didn't attack him--or his ethnic background. Um, and I don't think I would have done anything differently.

[R11]

Instead of getting angry and trying to hurt him in return, it would have been, um, better for me to say what I felt, to say, well, when you say that, it, you're saying that about me too, and it, it upsets me, it makes me feel bad. It makes me think you feel about me, that way too. And uh, just to express how I felt about it, because I think maybe if he realized, that when he said those kind of things, he was hurting me. And that, even though he didn't think he was--he **was** hurting me. He might take a second look before he says things. To realize that Hispanic ethnic people are people too, and they have feelings.

SGD: (No show)

[R12]

I: (Nothing)

SGD: Well, nothing, there's not all that many Indians in the _____[name of town] area. So, its just you kind of have to get somebody set straight once in a while.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Implications

Foremost this research can encourage researchers to study the many different dimensions of multiethnic women's identities and the situated communication experiences of their everyday lives. This study is very thought provoking because as we read from the explications--the narratives of these 12 women--we see an incredibly rich database of descriptive accounts, definitions and evaluations of ethnicity and gender issues in the context of communication. Within the narratives the respondents give some straight-forward strategies as well as ideas for cumulative improvements towards becoming more effective interethnic communicators. During the two hours they had (i.e. a one hour interview and a one hour small group discussion) to disclose specific information, the twelve women provided numerous relevant, practical and emotion-invoking insights that have direct application to mutual negotiation of competent communication. The quality and the quantity of their talk implies that researchers have fertile ground on which to pursue research on multiethnic women's identity and communication competence.

The respondents gave several factors for enacting more competent communication, and I would also like to share my presuppositions of what contributes to a satisfying dialogue and whose responsibility it is to attempt to enact communication competence to affect a pleasurable exchange. I conceive of communication--between mutually consenting adults--as a negotiated exchange; both, or all, parties contribute to, or detract from, a successful negotiation. I would like to suggest that because the respondents could recall such vivid details about the inappropriate communication situations they experienced that their experiences were indeed significant.

What is also important to remember is that each respondent also had culpability in negotiating a more satisfying dialogue--at least for herself, if not for the other person as well. This is why I specifically posed two questions to each woman. The first question was, what were the recommendations they would make for the other communicators--to say, or to do--that would be more appropriate. This was immediately followed by the second question, which asked what she could have said, or done that would have been more appropriate.

Though in every instance it was the other communicators' behaviors that evoked a negative response for each woman--and though she may not have been the initiator of the dialogue--she was a partner-of-sorts in the talk. Therefore, she had at least the opportunity to attempt to turn the negativity around, and possibly make it more positive, for herself and maybe even for the other person.

A negative comment or action on the part of one person does not necessarily equal a dissatisfying communication outcome. Some of the women seem to have perceived this because they did manage to end their interactions, in which the other behaved inappropriately, with some good feelings. So, my presuppositions are: 1) it takes a minimum of two people to have a dialogue, and 2) each person is responsible for at least some part of the final outcome.

Their evaluations were, for me, like looking into a kaleidoscope of oppression and overcoming oppression; each woman offered a vibrant color and a different pattern to this glimpse into their everyday lives. Their enthusiasm and interest in my research motivated me to work hard at simultaneously unfolding their individual experiences; they each contributed essential perspectives gleaned from the lessons of their lives. The amount of information disclosed is indicative of the well-spring of eagerness these multiethnic women demonstrated in sharing their knowledge on ethnic and gender communication. Their excitement about this project implies that perhaps they have never, or rarely, been asked these types of questions before. This should be an enticement to other researchers to pursue studies about facets of multiethnicity because, as these women's accounts acknowledge, it is a very new area of research with respondents who are open to someone approaching, and, in a respectful manner, asking them what they think.

Most of the interviews were, at least at some point in the talk, somewhat emotional and at times tear-arousing. I did not intend this and I did not anticipate it. Nonetheless, it seemed to be cathartic for several of the women (as well as for myself) who talked to me later and said that no one had ever asked them to talk about their multiethnicity before. Most of the women acted somewhat surprised that I was interested in the multi, yet integrated, components of their ethnicity. Some of the women told me that even their own parents and other family members never talked about ethnicity, or their multiethnicity, with them. Several women were so moved by our discussions that they subsequently confronted the persons who had behaved inappropriately. In three instances women spoke to their supervisors at work about the inappropriate communication these supervisors had used with them. This decision was made after they described a recalled, recent conversation when

someone behaved inappropriately for their ethnic identities. One woman talked to the salesperson who was rude to her and decided not to purchase the furniture she had intended to buy. Another woman arranged a time to meet with the university instructor (from the board meeting who had made derogatory comments about her ethnicity) and talked to him one-on-one about that communication episode.

These women's actions, which they shared during the small group discussions, seemed to be connected to realizations they had made about what they had discussed with me during the interviews, in reference to the inappropriate communication situations they had experienced. These women approached their offenders and told them that they had been made to feel uncomfortable by their inappropriate behavior and then told them why it was inappropriate and made suggestions as to what would be a more appropriate approach for them. This amazed me. Who could have anticipated such a proactive series of responses to my questioning them about ethnicity, gender and communication competence? All but one of these five women (almost half of the respondents) took a risk in addressing their offenders (e.g. supervisors and professors). This implies that they felt strongly about some of the issues we had discussed--strongly enough to move into action, even when there was potential for unfavorable consequences. From what they told me, they mostly got positive results from speaking out and confronting the issues that had troubled them.

Suggestions for Future Research

I would suggest that future researchers continue to focus on tertiary-educated multiethnic or ethnic-identified women, particularly those from middle to upper-middle class income backgrounds. Clearly these women, the supposedly "privileged" ethnic women, are not feeling very privileged in comparison to their perceptions of their non-ethnically identified peers (at work, school, in stores, and in public places). These women have to deal with the same issues of racism, prejudice and discrimination as lower-income ethnics do. Money does not change "racial" status in the U.S., it merely allows you more freedom in terms of the range of areas in which you can socialize and move. The bottom line is that these women are still "people of color," or (female) sex and that continues to raise problems for them. I believe this contemporary myth (of upper income ethnic "privilege") must be explored and challenged further from various social science perspectives; speech communi-

cation, women studies and anthropology are all good starting places for developing interdisciplinary knowledge on this topic.

The methodology I used, that is, the one-on-one interviews and the small group discussions were very helpful, for a number of reasons. First, they allowed me, the researcher, some time to get to know each respondent, which I believe was important in interpreting what they said (for example, implied meanings and values). I had time to speak with each woman during the "recruitment" process and see if she fit my definition of multiethnic, and to feel-out if she was willing to participate in this two step data collection approach. The one-on-one interviews were a good warm-up to getting the respondents aware of the types of questions I wanted answered and the issues attached to those questions; it was a means of introduction to what I was researching. Because there was some time between the interviews and the small group discussions, the women had an opportunity to think about what I had asked them. Some of the women acted on their reflections during the interim between the interview and the small group discussion. For instance, several of the women confronted their offenders, told them that what they had said was inappropriate, and what would have been more appropriate for them. One woman told a supervisor about the incident who was sure to approach the offender, and another decided not to make a major purchase as a result of reflection on a salesperson's inappropriate behaviors.

The women got a opportunity, during the small group discussions, to see some of the other respondents and to hear them tell their experiences. This, I believe, was a marvelously affirming time for many of the women. Some group members had few other places in which they could express their experiences of gender, multiethnicity and inappropriate communication situations. So, this was a safe place for them to share their thoughts. Also, to hear that other women shared extremely diverse ethnic backgrounds was very affirming for several women because most of them perceived that their ethnic identities were shared by a very small number of others. During these discussions they could hear that they were not alone in this very important characteristic of their identity, their multiethnicity. The small group discussions worked very well in tandem with the interviews, to illuminate the women's experiences. The discussions were important for providing a forum for them to get together and hear one another's definitions of their ethnicities and their experiences with inappropriate communication behaviors. There was a lot of head nodding, and a general sense of empathy with each other's evaluations of inappropriate communication behavior. This appeared to be a positive experience for the women; they

sat together and heard similar, but different, accounts of racism and prejudice and how they dealt with specific instantiations of both. Many women recognized that they were not alone in dealing with these types of difficult situations. In the small groups they could feel comfortable sharing their experiences and, additionally, bringing up topics which I had not specifically addressed during the interview. For instance, one woman shared her feelings in noticing she had been followed in a store and suspected of being a potential shoplifter. They commonly expressed an increasing awareness--as they age and accumulate experiences--of racism and ethnic identity shift (via marriage, childbirth and close relationships with others). Many of the women also stated that talking about these issues with other multiethnic women was somewhat therapeutic. For all of these reasons the small groups were very important.

Nonetheless, I believe the combination of the interviews and the small group discussions had a positive effect of prepping each respondent to think and talk about the issues. This became important before meeting with others who were strangers even when they all were aware the others had gone through the same process as themselves. Also, the detail of the group discussions suggests that time for reflection after the interview is useful for respondents, and one interview about identity may provide only a limited picture of the complexity of ethnic and gender identity. Both the interviews and discussions then were effective for the purpose of gathering rich qualitative data. The women with whom I met were willing and able to describe and evaluate their experiences. Thus, future research on these topic areas could be successfully pursued using the same methodology.

What I did not anticipate was the seriousness in which my respondents listened and responded to the questions I asked them. They were absolutely genuine and sincere, and I believe this was because their multiethnic identity is salient to them, in their everyday lives, and that it has been for much of their lives. This was a unique opportunity for each woman to look at herself from a holistic perspective and identify every integrated part of who she is ethnically. This is the primary issue of multiethnic research because in so many ways, multiethnics are denied the opportunity to identify all that they are. The cumulative effect of years of such narrow ascription by others is very disconfirming. This was an opportunity for these 12 women to express "I am all of these things" and "don't make me prioritize one over another," or "I prioritize this ethnicity in this way, for these reasons." I believe this was a research project in which several of the women claimed some personal power in identifying themselves, for themselves, and that was significant.

Other researchers would do well **not** to construct ethnic definitions when undertaking an ethnic-relevant research project. I suggest that predetermined categories not be constructed and that instead, researchers encourage the respondents to talk about all that they are before categories are assigned, or definitions are constructed. I would also encourage other researchers to do ethnic studies with persons who are similar in power or status or have greater power and status. I found this to be very rewarding because I learned a lot from my respondents' knowledge and their lived experiences, which were not so different from mine. In addition, I think that the respondents felt comfortable with me and therefore disclosed a great amount of, what I perceive to be, valid information. A more equal power dynamic worked towards creating a safe environment in which we all felt relatively comfortable talking about the often times emotional topics of ethnicity, gender and competent communication.

Limitations

The one limitation I felt in doing this research was knowing that I was only accessing two hours out of the lives of these women. Although I was able to gain detailed information within those two hours, I kept wondering what had been left untouched and unspoken. I think that at some point it might have been useful to ask these women what they thought were the most important issues they were dealing with in their lives at that time. Perhaps I could have forecast these issues by sending them questionnaires and then with their responses, constructed an interview guide to probe the topics that were salient for them. This approach, I believe, would work well for future research. There were times when I felt that I had assumed the responsibility of goading these women to answer the questions that I wanted them to answer as the researcher. I had a lot of questions that I thought were important; but, I began to ponder--in the course of doing this research--what they would suggest were the important issues in the everyday dynamic of knowing their ethnicities and their gender through communication with others. I may have been a little more comfortable talking about things that specifically addressed some of their own concerns in respect to ethnicity and gender.

Topics which I did not specifically address in this research, for example the concept of ethnic shift, which one respondent alluded to, at length, should have been more explicitly addressed by at least one research question. Though I have experienced this in my own

life I had not realized that it was a commonly experienced phenomenon for other multiethnics as well, to which some of these women attested. It is a very complex concept which entails a mind and heart move to affiliation with another group of others, who may have previously been totally foreign. For example, empathetic sojourners sometimes experience this when they travel abroad, and consequently, some such individuals do not continue to identify with their native cultures, and may not even return to their native countries, because they have made that mind and heart commitment to another group, another culture, another identity. This transition, from one ethnic affiliation to another, can happen on a continuing basis to multiethnics. An individual may affiliate with one ethnicity at some cycle in her life and then shift to a stronger affiliation with another component of her ethnicity during another cycle. I can bear witness to the fact that this has happened to me rather frequently; I often consider myself an ethnic chameleon. This ethnic chameleon capacity should be uncovered and explored.

Topics for Future Research

The respondents of this research provided the ideas that I will suggest for future research. At the end of each interview, and what seemed to be a natural process at the conclusion of the small group discussions, I asked each respondent if there was anything she would like to add, subtract, or edit--in any way--or merely respond to, in considering the research questions that I asked of her. Some of their responses are reflected in the topics suggested and issues in the following areas for future research. I believe that multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches would be most suitable in studying the following topics and questions for research; but, certainly any of these suggestions could be modified and adapted to the individuated disciplines of speech communication, women studies and anthropology.

Do multiethnic women commonly experience--and if so, how do they cope with--feelings of betraying their ethnic identities over their gender identities, or vice versa? Respondent #1 clarifies this potential topic area in a quote from the interview transcript below in which she talks about the conflicting emotions she feels when she deals with the "Jewish American Princess," or JAP, stereotype within her family, mostly from the male family members and her Jewish American friends.

"It's always just where I am right now, in dealing with this for myself. This feels so sensitive to me and so touchy and it could be so easily...I easily feel like I could, fall into feeling like I've been disloyal, somewhat traitorous, in saying this [references to the JAP stereotype]. But, I don't know, I just find that it's real important to acknowledge them, at this point. If I were out on the street with some kind of skinhead, or, you know (laughter) throwing these things at me, then my responses would certainly be a lot different."

Understanding that a multiethnic woman is both a woman and ethnic, and the dilemmas that can bring in a sexist and racist society, might be the first presupposition for developing a perspective to explore this sensitive topic.

When do multiethnic women experience resentment about having to identify themselves? How can they shift the burden of resentment back to the source of the pressure? How do they work towards a communicated equity that acknowledges their wholeness as complete and integrated human beings in a U.S. community that demands that they part their ethnicities, and choose one? Respondent #3 states,

"Being an African American woman does have its challenges, however, I know that I am half African American, and sometimes I don't honestly feel like I should have to belong to any, either ethnicity. I don't feel like I should have to be White, or I shouldn't have to be more Black. I just think of me as myself. I'd like to say that, I do sometimes resent the fact that this society, or this American society, makes you belong to one or the other. Because I do say that I'm half both, and that, I just want to be. I don't always want to say I belong to a certain group. And I do feel very fortunate that I grew up that way. And I honestly don't think that I experienced any discrimination, which is hard to believe because other members of my family, my siblings, did face discrimination as they were growing up. But I honestly never did. So, that, so then, I guess I'm very fortunate. But then again, in my adult years, I'm seeing more discrimination and dealing with those issues."

Respondent #11 shares the same type of sentiment as Respondent #3.

"Some of these questions are kinda hard for me to answer because, I combine, it's all combined. I can't really identify the **parts** of me that are Native American, or the **parts** that are Caucasian, or Hispanic. So, you need to keep that in mind, as you're analyzing these answers."

Respondent #12 adds a different perspective to the same concerns that Respondent #11 alludes to. How do multiethnic women experience, cope with, or move beyond the social

constrictions of "race" and blood quantum? What are their suggestions to the next generation of multiethnic women?

"The thing with my multiethnic identity is like sometimes how tangled it can be, if there's two or more different backgrounds. Some of them may not get along (laughter). 'Cause you know, here in America I can pass as Mexican, or I can pass as White. 'Cause I've been in Mexico before and my Spanish is real bad, so as long as I didn't say anything, I could pass, you know, but. Up here it's kind of weird 'cause, most everyone up here's mixed so, they accept me as Indian, you know, I got brown eyes, okay, you'll pass, you know (laughter). But uh, when I first came here I was in, like a special program for minorities that were interested in health careers--it was just kind of an educational thing, you know--and uh, to show, you know like, get students familiar with different things. And there was a little group from White Mountain, or was it White River?, Apache Reservation. And in the Southwest--there's large, big reservations in the Midwest and the Southwest--but there's still a lot of full-bloods. And in the Southwest they're real dark, you know, there's still a lot of Northwest Indians that are real light, you know, it's just differences of climate but, they thought I was White. You know, and they didn't really wanna accept me as Indian, you know, it was like wooooo (laughter). So, it's just kind of weird, 'cause there are like days where it's like, where do I fit? You know, 'cause it's like, you know, 'cause I usually kind of sympathize with the Indian side of things, and, and but, you know, I kinda look pale, I usually pass as White just fine, you know, and it's just like this weird thing of like, where do I really, honestly fit in? Yeah, it's just, sometimes it's harder when sometimes you get flack, from other Indians. 'Cause there are some full-bloods here who'll have this attitude that, half-breeds ain't worth nothin'. Then, there are a lot of full-bloods that are just the opposite. You know, who see it's how you were raised not (laughter), this pile of family trees. But yeah then, I know I'm not the only mixed Indian that goes through that. I don't know what it's like for other people--like, Asians, or Blacks or Hispanics, though I guess Hispanics are different, it's not really, you know, defined by various blood quantum (laughter). But...(laughter). It's weird (laughter)."

Blood quantum and "race" terminology, in a racist society, can create some extremely disconfirming perceptions of self for the multiethnic woman.

What about the women who are transitioning in ethnicities? Where and what are the turning points of ethnic identification? How do marriage, children and personal her/history effect ethnic shift? Respondent #4 discusses some of the identity drama that occurs in this phenomenon and how other's communication to her, when she is with her husband or daughter, is making her own perceptions of her multiethnicity more fluid.

"Well, I guess from the beginning, messages that are, from the beginning, I don't know, being married to _____[husband's name], my husband, I almost feel like...When we watched *Mississippi Burning* I thought _____[husband's name] was really strong, he's a very spiritual person, he handles prejudice really really well. And, like when we were watching this movie, I was just, I was just like, so upset and he said, well _____[respondent's name] how come you let them get you so upset? They're ignorant people and that's just the way they are and it shouldn't effect you and dadadadad...I don't know how he does it. So, I mean it was scary to me how much hatred I felt. I mean, I thought how many White friends do I have right now and are they really that important to me?--I never want to talk to them again! And that is how that movie affected me so much. Being married to him, I have a daughter [with/by her husband], it's, I identify more with Black people and if you say something about Black people now, it hurts me more. And if you say something about me...it's really weird because I'm kind of going away from Hispanic. I don't know it's, it just feels really weird lately because, I don't recall a single incident where I was being judged or discriminated against during when, when I was being raised in a White town. I don't remember anything and it seems that ever since I met _____[husband's name] and in the workplace, that's when things happen. When people look at us and say things. And it's, it's really...I don't know. Because before I was just fine, and now people just don't like me for a reason. You know, because I'm with _____[name of respondent's husband] and it's very weird because sometimes we hear things and I just put it right out of my head and _____[name of respondent's husband] will tell me what had just happened, and I'll go like, oh, is that what they meant?, or whatever. And it was just really weird learning what effect...and a lot of people even mistake me and say that I'm Black, or half-Black, or whatever and it's just, it's really weird. Because people just totally treat you different. And if,...that's really scary, really scary. But, at the same time, it's not like anything's gone away, like I said earlier, I sympathize with hard working Hispanic men that, that are joked about, you know there's a lot of jokes about Hispanic men and they joke about their accents and my dad has an accent like that. And it's just, it's just...I see that now, whereas I didn't see that before. But now, like I said, I see discrimination against Hispanics. I see that about Hispanics every day. It's true, it's true...you open your eyes and you see all this ignorance and it's scary. It's scary what they do, you know, it's scary."

How is discrimination communicated to multiethnic women? What are the specific situations at school and work and in the family (vicarious experiences) that have made these women knowledgeable and aware when it is happening to them? What are their perceptions of what's happening? What would they suggest to other multiethnic women for reversing the feelings and the effects of those who presume a power-up position via discriminatory comments and behaviors? The following brief excerpt from of Group #1's Small Group

Discussion makes it clear that these women are aware of discrimination, and feel when it is happening to them.

(Small Group Discussion Group #1)

(R6) So, you think it was because you're a person of color?

(R3) I really, I really, you know you don't know. You don't know if they were all just havin' a bad day. But it seems kind of weird that all three of them would be having a bad day. So I do think it's probably color related.

(R10) Well, that's an interesting situation 'cause I, you know, my husband and I, have gone into a store, which you know, a department store and on the weekends, we may dressed, we're not gonna be dressed up on the weekend. We're casual. And we'll go in, and it's interesting because sometimes, you notice what the sales people do. And there have been occasions where, you'll see them go to someone right away,

(R3) Uhhm.

(R10) but they'll ignore you.

(R3) Uhhm.

(R10) And we've gone through that situation. But also we've gone through a situation where, they'll be different people, but they'll focus on us. They won't ask what we want, but they'll just, like, tail us. To make sure that we're not doing anything.

(group laughter)

(R3) [laughter]. Oh god!

(R10) You know, like we're gonna shop-lift, or you know, do something illegal.

(R3) Oh, god.

(R10) We look around to see if they're doing this to other people, and they're not. And it's very, it's a, it is so, you're so aware,

(R3) Uhhm.

(R10) of the fact that it's because, of the difference in ethnicity. So it's very interesting that you say that, because I think we've gone through the same thing.

(R3) I think that, a lot of times, if you're, if you're in-tune to it, like you said--like after being through situations like that where it was so obvious--once you become in-tune to it, you kind of look for it. And so, I think yeah, if you never look for it, yeah, you're not gonna see it. But if you're, if something slaps you in the face, you know, where you're so in-tune, then yeah you would catch-onto stuff. 'Cause I know my husband will come home and say things like

he noticed that he felt discriminated against, but I probably didn't. That probably happens a lot more to him too also, being a man.

(R4) We'll also, when we're together [respondent and her husband] when people like look at us or say things, or do something, after, you know after the fact _____[husband's name] will say, did you notice this?, or did you notice that? But I'm like, oh, oh yeah, they did do that! Or you know, things like that. I don't know, I, I guess I just don't look for that so it doesn't affect me as much.

As these women continue to cross-reference their cumulative years of experience, and as they age, they are developing some sophisticated perceptions of what is going on when they experience discrimination. Future research should certainly include and magnify their perceptions and recommendations to others for more appropriate and effective means of communication. Their comments indicate that studies into making explicit the mechanisms of discrimination and the effects of this on multiethnic women's perceptions of themselves and others would be significant areas for future research.

The details and distinct understanding that these 12 multiethnic women have demonstrated during the process of conducting this research has proved to me that their perceptions are salient to contemporary living and relevant in understanding how to communicate competently in an increasingly multiethnic U.S. society. There is a tremendous well-spring of information and knowledge that multiethnic women possess. The academic world, in general, and social scientists--across various disciplines--would do well to pay attention, and begin to approach these women, and sincerely solicit them to share their wisdom.

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APPENDIX 1
INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my thesis research project. I am interested in your identity as a multiethnic woman and your ideas about appropriate and inappropriate communication. First, your answers to our interview will be tape recorded and analyzed by me, as the graduate student researcher. In the second phase of the data collection you will be asked to participate in a group discussion about identity and appropriate/inappropriate communication. This discussion will be videotaped and also analyzed by me.

A code number will be assigned to each respondent. In the analysis, respondents will be referred to by code number. In this way, confidentiality is established. If at any time you do not wish to continue participation you may discontinue this interview and your choice not to participate will remain confidential and will not be held against you in any way. The only persons who will have access to the tape recorded interviews and videotapes will be my graduate professor, Mary Jane Collier, and myself.

Cynthia R. Hilliard
(753-2253)

**** *Would you like a copy of this transcript?***
(If yes, please write just your first name and phone# below)

**** *Where should it be sent?***

APPENDIX 2
(TAPE RECORDED INTERVIEW GUIDES)
RESEARCHER'S KEY-GUIDE

The following questions will be asked of each respondent by the researcher in a total of 12 tape recorded, verbal interview sessions of approximately one hour.

Topic Area: I] How does a multiethnic woman describe her ethnic identity and her communication styles in terms of salience, strength and scope of ethnic identity?

(ETHNIC IDENTITY DEFINITION) How would you describe, or define, your ethnicity? Could you please name, or label the combined parts of your multiethnic identity?

(SALIENCE) What are the situations in which _____ ethnic identity is most important?
 ... _____ ethnic identity...?
 [... _____ ethnic identity...?]
 [... _____ ethnic identity...?]...etc.

(STRENGTH) What are the particular situations when you feel it is important to intensely take on, or promote, _____ or _____ ethnicity [or _____ or _____ ethnicity, etc.]?

(SCOPE) Do you think that your particular definition of your ethnic identity is shared by a large or a small number of other people? (*Please Explain*).

Topic Area: II] How does a multiethnic woman describe the salience, strength and scope of her ethnic-gender identity communication styles?

(SALIENCE) Do you think there are different expectations for men and women in _____
and _____ ethnicity [and _____ and _____ ethnicity, etc.]?

(STRENGTH) If yes, in what situations do you intensely take on your gender identity?

(SCOPE) To what degree in those situations in which you intensify your gender identity, are these behaviors shared by others of _____ or _____ ethnicity [etc.]?

Topic Area: III] What are the similarities in what women perceive as appropriate behaviors for their ethnic identities and how frequently do others violate the rules?

For the remainder of the interview, the respondent will be asked to recall a recent conversation in which another person behaved inappropriately for the respondent's ethnic identities.

- 1) Where were you? What was the topic? Who where you with?
- 2) What did the other person say that was inappropriate?
- 3) What did the other person do that was inappropriate?
- 4) Why were these behaviors inappropriate?
- 5) On a scale of 1 - 5, one being extremely inappropriate, how inappropriate was the other person's behavior? Why? (STRENGTH)
- 6) How often do others use these inappropriate behaviors? (SCOPE)
- 7) What did you say in response to the other person?
- 8) What did you do in response to the other person?
- 9) How did you feel?
- 10) What would you recommend to the other person to say or do which would be more appropriate?
- 11) What could you have said or done that would have been more appropriate?

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interviewer: Cynthea Hilliard (753-2253)

Major Prof: Dr. Mary Jane Collier, Speech Comm Dept (737-5392)

- 1] How would you describe, or define, your ethnicity? Could you please name, or label the combined parts of your multiethnic identity?
- 2] What are the situations in which _____ ethnic identity is most important?
... _____ ethnic identity...?
[... _____ ethnic identity...?]
[... _____ ethnic identity...?]...etc.
- 3] What are the particular situations when you feel it is important to intensely take on, or promote, _____ or _____ ethnicity [or _____ or _____ ethnicity, etc.]?
- 4] Do you think that your particular definition of your ethnic identity is shared by a large or a small number of other people? (*Please Explain*).
- 5] Do you think there are different expectations for men and women in _____ and _____ ethnicity [and _____ and _____ ethnicity, etc.]?
- 6] If yes, in what situations do you intensely take on your gender identity?
- 7] To what degree in those situations in which you intensify your gender identity, are these behaviors shared by others _____ of _____ or _____ ethnicity [etc.]?

For the remainder of the interview please try to recall a recent conversation (within the last month) in which another person behaved inappropriately--with you or towards you--regarding your ethnic identity(ies).

- 8] Where were you? What was the topic? Who were you with?
- 9] What did the other person say that was inappropriate?
- 10] What did the other person do that was inappropriate?
- 11] Why were these behaviors inappropriate?
- 12] On a scale of 1 - 5, one being extremely inappropriate, how inappropriate was the other person's behavior? Why?
- 13] How often do others use these inappropriate behaviors?
- 14] What did you say in response to the other person?
- 15] What did you do in response to the other person?
- 16] How did you feel?
- 17] What would you recommend to the other person to say or do which would be more appropriate?
- 18] What could you have said or done that would have been more appropriate?

APPENDIX 3 SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

The following topic areas and questions will be available for the respondents to use as a guide for their videotaped discussions.

The following are topic areas and sample questions which you may use as a guide for your discussion. This is intended to be an informal discussion, but you may want to use these (familiar) suggested questions. It is not necessary to reach consensus or persuade, but rather just to discuss your perceptions and feelings. Take about 45 minutes to one hour for this discussion.

- 1] Please introduce yourselves to each other.

- 2] Describe and discuss the combinations of your ethnicities.
 - a) What were any situations in which your ethnic identities were most apparent?
 - b) When did you most intensely take on a particular ethnic identity?

- 3] Are there different gender expectations, for women and men, within the ethnic groups which you identify with?
 - a) What are the different expectations for women and men within each ethnicity? Compare these across the different ethnic groups which are parts of your own ethnic identity.
 - b) What are the situations in which you notice or emphasize your gender identity?

- 4] In recalling a recent conversation in which another person behaved inappropriately for your ethnic identities,
 - a) Describe the situation. What was the topic?
 - b) What did the person say and/or do that was inappropriate?
 - c) Why was this inappropriate behavior?
 - d) What did you say and/or do in response?
 - e) How did you feel? What would you recommend to the other person that would be more appropriate?
 - f) What could you have said and/or done that would have been more appropriate?