Remarks

Newsletter of the Section on Racial and Ethnic Minorities of the American Sociological Association

October 2009

Welcome Our New SREM Chair
Erica Chito Childs!

Before I introduce myself, I would like to take this opportunity to thank outgoing SREM Chair Dr. Emily Noelle Ignacio for all her work in 2008-2009. As an active member of SREM since 1997 and former SREM council from 2005-2007, I am very excited to take over as chair for 2009-2010.

I am an Associate Professor of Sociology at Hunter College and the CUNY Graduate Center. My research focuses on a number of important issues in race and ethnic relations, including multiracial families, media representations, and educational inequalities. My first book, Navigating Interracial Borders: Black-White Couples and Their Social Worlds (Rutgers 2005) looked at the societal attitudes toward black-white couples through in-depth interviews, focus groups and cultural analysis. Following this research, I published my second book Fade to Black and White: Interracial Images in Popular Culture (Rowman & Littlefield 2009) which shows how contemporary media representations of interracial sex and relationships do not challenge racialized attitudes and beliefs, but rather reproduce racial stereotypes. Currently I am finishing an ethnography of the experiences of young children in New York City public schools and have recently embarked on a global study of attitudes towards intercultural relationships and families, having just returned from collecting ethnographic data this past summer in South Africa.

I look forward to continuing the important work that our section does. We have an exciting bunch of sessions planned for the 2010 meetings in Atlanta, and along with the chair-elect David Embrick, we are already developing thematic sessions to propose for 2011 in hopes of securing even more sessions for our section. We will continue to network through Facebook, and keep sending me the important announcements about new books, conferences and call for papers. We will also be starting a mentoring program in spring 2010 that will pair graduate students members with faculty mentors, so keep your eyes open to sign up! Please do not hesitate to contact me with any ideas, questions or concerns at echitch@hunter.cuny.edu.

The artwork showcased on this page is a work entitled “The Sociological Imagination” by artist and activist Turbado Marabou, designed in collaboration with Eduardo Bonilla-Silva for his upcoming book Anything But Racism. For more information you can contact Mr. Marabou at marabouart@yahoo.com.
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**Articles**


-Maldonado, Marta Maria.  2009. "'It is Their Nature To Do Menial Labor': The Racialization Of 'Latino/A Workers' by Agricultural Employers." Forthcoming in volume 32(6) (July) of Ethnic and Racial Studies. This volume of Ethnic and Racial Studies will focus entirely on the theme of "Latino Identities."


## BOOKS

**Black Europe and the African Diaspora**  
By: Darlene Clark Hine, Trica Danielle Keaton, and Stephen Small (eds).  

This Interdisciplinary and multi-disciplinary collection penetrates the multifaceted Black presence in Europe, and, in so doing, complicates the notions of race, belonging, desire, and identities assumed and presumed in revealing portraits of Black experiences in a European context.

"An elegant, imaginative, and penetrating intervention in the ethnographies and theories of race and community in the African diaspora. A masterful contribution to the growing field of Black European studies and to diaspora studies." -- Mamadou Diouf,

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**The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities.**  
By: Chester Hartman and Gregory D. Squires (eds).  

The Integration Debate is a compilation of chapters that were presented at the Sept 2008 national fair housing conference of the same name, which was sponsored by the Fair Housing Legal Support Center and took place at the John Marshall Law School.

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**Theory and Methodology of World Development: The Writings of Andre Gunder Frank**  
By: Sing Chew and Pat Lauderdale  

This book brings together key, incisive writings of the late Andre Gunder Frank on world development and world history in a single volume. The selections provides a historical tracing of Gunder Frank’s conceptual thinking on development from the national liberation struggles of the 1950s-1960s through to his views on world history, world development and globalization in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The latter period witnessed his rethinking of world development and the rejection of theoretical positions he had taken in the 1960s and 1970s. Pertinent writings during the last phase of his intellectual career addressing the impact of Eurocentrism on the understanding of world development and world history, the mythology of European exceptionalism, and the rise of Asia are included. Published by Palgrave Macmillan.
Fade to Black and White; Interracial Images in Popular Culture.
By: Erica Chito Childs

There is no teasing apart what interracial couples think of themselves from what society shows them about themselves. Following on her earlier ground-breaking study of the social worlds of interracial couples, Erica Chito Childs considers the larger context of social messages, conveyed by the media, that inform how we think about love across the color line. Examining a range of media—from movies to music to the web—iFade to Black and White offers an informative and provocative account of how the perception of interracial sexuality as deviant has been transformed in the course of the 20th century and how race relations are understood today.

Erica Chito Childs' careful research and creative insights are clearly displayed in this engaging and interesting book. Fade to Black and White is an original study that convincingly shows how the depictions of interracial sex and marriage in popular culture and media reflect contemporary attitudes about race and sex in the United States. This book is a significant contribution to the study of American race relations."—William Julius Wilson, Harvard University

MEMBER AWARDS

- Wendy Roth (Assist. Prof., University of British Columbia) recently received a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada ($80,500) for her project entitled "Racial technology: The social impact of DNA ancestry testing." This research will examine the effect of DNA ancestry testing (aka, genetic genealogy) on individuals' subjective identities, understanding of race and ethnicity, and relations with other racial and ethnic groups. She also received a second grant from the Canada Foundation for Innovation ($136,585) to fund research infrastructure related to the project.

- Helen B. Marrow is completing a Robert Wood Johnson Fellowship in Health Policy at the Universities of California at Berkeley and San Francisco in 2008-10 and has accepted a position as Assistant Professor of Sociology at Tufts University to begin in September 2010.

- Gregory D. Squires received the Joseph B. Gittler Award for Significant Scholarly Achievement in Contributing to the Ethical Resolution of Social Problems, Society for the Study of Social Problems.
The Spectre of Culture
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A spectre is haunting the study of race & ethnicity – the spectre of culture. Despite this essay's iconic commencement, I do not mean to denote a manifesto, but rather offer a brief caveat on the growing influence of cultural sociology amidst the current study of race & ethnicity. As of the last count of section memberships, Culture has the largest section in the ASA at 1,198 (SREM is 818). Yet, despite the growing interest of an array of sociologists with the “cultural turn,” I find that some hold a dismissive attitude toward culture based on a fable that culture and race are antithetical or that culture is strictly epiphenomenal. In so doing, it is high time that we openly meet this nursery tale of the spectre of culture with four brief points: First, I define the project of cultural sociology. Second, I examine why, despite the growth of the intersection between culture and race & ethnicity, there is resistance to this meeting. Third, I map some of the scholastic advances birthed from the culture-race connection. And fourth, I gesture toward what could be fruitful trajectories in this line of inquiry.

What do cultural sociologists mean when they say “culture”?
The cultural turn, in brief and somewhat reductionist terms, describes a social sciences and humanities shift towards how meaning is produced, consumed, interpreted, and (re)produced. This turn involves transcending a focus on institutional structures, politics, or economics, what many consider social structure—the proverbial “bread and butter” of sociological analysis. Yet with unfortunate consequences, the concept of “social structure” is often juxtaposed against culture. In so doing, structure becomes understood as constraining and “culture” becomes unstructured and superfluous; a synonym for agency. To add to the confusion, these contrasts are often mapped unsuitably onto other dichotomies, inclusive of material versus ideal and objective versus subjective. Yet, if we move past such conflation, we can understand culture as mutually constraining and enabling; as a social structure of its own that is both material and ideal, constitutive of artifacts and embedded in behavior, reproduced through interaction, and internalized in social actors while externalized in institutions (Hays 1994). In this sense, “culture” can be defined as, “... the social process [my emphasis] whereby people communicate meanings, make sense of their world, construct their identities, and define their beliefs and values” (Best 2007).

Why turn away from the Cultural Turn?
Despite the already established and fruitful relationship between cultural sociology and the sociology of race & ethnicity, there are an adamant few that treat the partnership with a Montague and Capulet type apprehension and distrust. Such Shakespearean drama results in both tragedy and a comedy of errors, doing little in the end to articulate the source of apprehension. There are some good reasons for the trepidation. To begin, some scholars avoid proposing cultural explanations for racial and ethnic phenomenon because of the perception that culture “blames the victim.” Still reeling from Oscar Lewis’ now infamous “culture of poverty” thesis (1966), not to mention Stanley Elkin’s slavery-infantilization argument (1959), Kenneth Clark’s “dark ghetto” posturing (1965), and of course the sociological senator’s now notorious essay informally known as the “Moynihan Report” (1965), many refer to these studies—and rightfully so—as improperly hinged to the notion that the cultural practices and values of the underclass...
keep social actors chained to the lower rungs of the social order. With such paradigmatic examples that gift-wrap “it’s your own fault you are poor” arguments for the New Right, many would not touch culture with a ten foot pole (for a robust discussion for how cultural sociology can provide a clear alternative to the “culture of poverty” style argument, see Reconsidering Culture and Poverty by Michéle Lamont, Mario Luis Small and David J. Harding, in a forthcoming special issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science).

Additionally, when scholars have explicitly engaged these issues, cultural explanations have been either rightfully dismissed (see Steinberg’s apt analysis in The Ethnic Myth) or framed as extra-racial responses to structural discrimination (see Wilson’s discussion of culture in The Truly Disadvantaged). While these arguments do attempt to give a robust discussion of culture back to the Left, culture becomes ideological propaganda, responses to the more important material conditions, or traits that people hold “in their heads.” In this vein, culture becomes an amorphous cloud of psychological tendencies that is quite a sticky thing to measure in comparison to economic opportunity, social capital, and legal constraints.

Also, for years the masters of cultural sociology seemingly avoided race. Even as cultural sociology took off at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham, the focus was on youth subculture, class distinctions, or neo-Marxist analyses of how audiences used and understood mass produced cultural objects. So also, influential CCCS member and race & ethnicity scholar Stuart Hall was framed as more of a “cultural studies” or “media studies” intellectual than a sociologist. In addition, cultural sociology’s luminaries, such as Jeffrey Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Anthony Giddens, Wendy Griswold, Lynette Spillman, and Ann Swidler initially had little to say about race & ethnicity. Race is virtually absent in Pierre Bourdieu’s vast oeuvre of work, and Max Weber—often hailed as a starting point for cultural approaches—only made a passing shot at race in relation to “class, status, and party.”

**Advances in the Cultural Sociology of Race and Ethnicity**

Many of the aforementioned problems no longer apply in the contemporary intersection of culture and race & ethnicity. Sociologists now have a robust definition of culture that no longer reduces culture to unhealthy traits and values. Advances in empirically measuring cultural effects and situating culture as an independent variable now take culture away from its prior status as epiphenomenal. Also, many scholars are employing cultural sociological concepts and tools to engage race & ethnicity such as Elijah Anderson, Amy Binder, Lawrence Bobo, Bethany Bryson, Michael C. Dawson, Annette Lareau, Herbert Gans, Julian Go, and a host of others (see Michéle Lamont’s edited volume The Cultural Territories of Race for a great example). In specific, cultural sociology in the study of race & ethnicity is taking off in three key places.

First, the study of ethnic & racial migration is an area in which cultural sociology is thriving. For example, Mary Waters and Anthony Heath’s comparison of second-generation immigrants between the US and the UK uses new tools from cultural sociology to reassess classical models of assimilation. Both Christopher Bail and Matt Wray rely on the cultural sociological concept of “symbolic boundaries” in very different contexts—European immigration in the former and US immigration and the creation of whiteness in the latter—to demonstrate how majority groups construct divisions between “us and them” to protect resources and how those divisions in turn shape identity. A comparative study of anti-racism coordinated by Michèle Lamont and colleagues in Brazil, Canada, France, Israel, and the US reveals the “de-stigmatization strategies” that marginalized groups use to negotiate their luminal status in new countries. Jennifer Lee studied stores owned by Korean or Jewish merchants in Harlem and found that immigration, conflict, assimilation, and socio-economic mobility all hinged on the resource of “cultural brokers”—black employees (usually black immigrants from Africa or the Caribbean) who help storeowners understand many of the nuances of the various inner-city black worldviews.

Another area in which cultural sociology is proving fruitful is in the study of racial & ethnic
discrimination. For example, Joe Feagin’s latest work on “White Racial Framing” explicitly looks at the dominate framework of North America as a system of meaning in which taken-for-granted rules, scripts, and emotions all valorize certain performances of white racial identity as both moral and superior. Contra the aforementioned “culture of poverty,” Prudence Carter examines the distinctions between low-income African American and Latino students and the cultural practices used in everyday public schooling. She finds that the most successful students are “cultural straddlers”—those who navigate the informal rules of their peer group that provide solidarity and ties of fictive kinship, and those rules of the school that grant formal access to resources. Directly confronting the notion that these dynamics might be secondary to material resources, Carter (2005: vii) writes, “For many African American and Latino youths, their ethno-racial cultures are important sources of strength and are not merely reactive or adaptive by-products of their positions in a stratified opportunity structure [my emphasis].” Moreover, Laura Edles (2002: 101) goes so far as to suggest that racism is the domain of cultural sociology since it is essentially a “system of meaning”:

[Racism is a] … specific kind of racialized system of meaning … in which (implicitly or explicitly) physical ‘racial’ differences between groups are assumed to reflect internal (moral, personality, intellectual) differences, and that these differences are organized both biologically and hierarchically … systems of meaning suppose that on the basis of genetic inheritance, some groups are innately superior to others.

A third meeting ground for cultural sociology and race & ethnicity is that of the framework of social constructivism whereby race is the dependent variable. Along these lines, exploring how race is constructed through the mundane practices of everyday life, and how it is connected to patterns of discrimination and domination, are in and of themselves cultural approaches. Darnell Hunt’s work is particular emblematic of how racial identity is created in the micro-level processes of meaning construction and negotiation, what he calls “raced ways of seeing.” David Grazian’s wonderfully rich ethnographic work in Chicago blues and jazz clubs reminds us that patrons’ choices of musical nightlife are not simply about aesthetic dispositions, but are racially guided. Grazian (2003: 20) writes:

…it became clear that these overwhelmingly white audiences still expected to be entertained by black singers and musicians, and most club owners catered to this desire by exclusively booking black bands … the performances of these black musicians came to resemble latter-day minstrel shows, a melange of cartoonlike stock caricatures sprinkled with racially charged jokes and sexual put-ons of varying degrees of taste. This identification of blackness qua authentic culture also drove white out-of-towners and college students to black neighborhood bars … where they could consume the authenticity represented by the ghetto, just as slumming socialites flocked to Chicago’s black and tan jazz cabarets during the 1920s to release themselves from the bourgeois constraints of Victorian prudishness and sobriety.

In my own cultural analysis of white masculinity viz-à-viz a comparison of white nationalists and white antiracists (Hughey 2009), I found that members of both groups relied on strikingly similar cultural scripts to construct a sense of the white “self” and non-white “other.” For example, both groups understood whiteness as dull, empty, lacking, and meaningless, yet ironically superior. In so doing, they both sought out relationships with people and objects symbolically coded as black, Native, Latin@, and Asian in order to attain a sense of racial meaning for themselves. Through these everyday practices, white identity was concurrently reproduced, despite their supposed po-
itical affiliation or structural positioning, alongside racist, reactionary, and essentialist practices of exoticism, paternalism, supremacy, and tokenism.

**Future directions**

In constructing this essay, I owe a particular debt to John D. Skrentny’s work “Culture and Race/Ethnicity: Bolder, Deeper, and Broader (2008). I refer the reader to this excellent work. And without giving it all away, I draw briefly from his schematic frame. First, cultural analysis should be **bolder**: more explicit analysis is needed in the description of processes of acculturation between and across culturally-constructed boundaries (e.g.; Alba 2005). Moreover, cultural sociology should more clearly define the sources of ethnic & racial cultures, explicitly compare those with the mainstream, and question the supposed “neutrality” of white or American cultures. **Deeper** analysis should probe the subjective meanings, patterned repertoires, and distinctive practices that might profoundly shape racial and ethnic experience in relation to material success, life-chances, and domination. As Skrentny (2008: 69) writes, “This is the key contribution of cultural sociology: showing how culture shapes interests.” Mapping the inter- and intra-racial group variation in existential worldviews could do a great deal to empirically delineate how culture acts as a roadmap for the navigation of everyday life, providing different racial groups with commonsensed options. Lastly, a **broader** approach to the intersection of race & ethnicity means transcending the focus on North America and taking a truly global tack. Involving new media, patterns of global domination via Americanization and resistance, and intersections with sex, gender, class, and age, is imperative if the study of race & ethnicity is to remain a vibrant part of the core of the sociological enterprise.

**Concluding with culture**

It is my hope this brief essay serves to help readers decouple culture from its prior linkage with conservative political arguments, amorphous definitions as a nebulous set of inner beliefs in the black box of the human mind, or culture as a secondary force to the more “real” forces of social structures. Moreover, I hope I have shown that the meeting of culture and race & ethnicity is already underway, and that what we need now, is more explicit discussions of where to go from here. After all, in returning to the tone set at the beginning of this essay, it is my hope that cultural analysis can not only help us interpret the racialized world, but change it.

For a list of references please contact the author.
In an effort to emphasize the connection between the work that we do, as scholars of race and ethnicity, and the communities in which we do our work, Remarks will include a section which focuses on community. This section will highlight the work of public sociologists, engaged community activists, and community organizations that strive to create a more racially just society; in the United States and globally. This section will be managed by Dr. Joyce Bell, Department of Sociology, University of Georgia. If you have ideas for this section you can contact Dr. Bell at jmbell@uga.edu.

Umoja Percussion Unit is a percussion group which has it’s roots in African traditions of drumming and spirituality. In 1984, a group of five young African American men, all interested in music, and especially influenced by the spiritual aspects of drumming in West African traditions, came together to perform at Central High School’s Black History Month Performance in St. Paul, MN. This performance was the beginning of a nearly 25 year local legacy of African and African American inspired percussion in the St. Paul and Minneapolis communities.

The members of Umoja include Kemet Imhotep, Dariell Bland, Tirell Bland, Tony Logan Jr., and Garland Jackson. As young African American men coming of age in the 1980s, an era of deep structural economic isolation for Black communities and a decade of soaring incarceration rates for Black men resulting from the economic and criminal justice policies of the Reagan administration and the introduction of crack cocaine, Imhotep, the Bland brothers, Logan and Jackson determined that they were going to use their musical talent to bring themselves and their community a positive outlet for their frustrations with structural racism. They selected the name Umoja in this spirit because it is the Swahili word for “unity,” which was, and remains today the guiding principle of their group.

After their performance at Central, an inner-city high school in St. Paul, they were an instant hit. They were requested to perform at events from community festivals, to drill team competitions. In fact, they became one of the most influential percussion groups in the area for drill team competitions because of the extremely sophisticated and exciting beats they created for these competitions.

In 1988, a classmate and friend of the members of Umoja was gunned down in St. Paul and killed. The entire African American community in St. Paul was in shock by this violent murder, one that signaled to the community that the problems of urban Black communities across the country had come to root in the city of St. Paul. Administrators at Central High School responded by organizing a memorial, and at the end of the memorial Umoja played. All the young men wore red, green and black shirts that said “In Memory of Jeff M. Moore.” Their performance turned what had been a very sad and somber occasion into one that was filled with energy and the desire to pull together as a community to make positive social change.

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Since the 1980s Umoja has been an integral part of the African American communities in St. Paul and Minneapolis. Over the past 25 years they have continued to bring a positive energy to the community through their performances. It is a testimony to the power of the energy and spirit of the group that they have continued to play together for all these years. “Our blessing is that we’re still together. We’re still blessed to be together because of our name, and we’re still blessed to be together because we love playing with each other. That’s our power, that we love playing with each other” says unit member Kemet Imhotep.

Umoja’s current goal is to get to the Apollo theater and perform at amateur night so that they can showcase their talent and energy for the entire U.S.. They are also available for performances at educational institutions and/or community events. If you would like to invite Umoja to your event, or would like more information about Umoja, you can contact Kemet Imhotep at 651-675-8622.
## Section Sessions 2010 ASA

Below are the section sessions for the 2010 American Sociological Association Annual Meetings which will be held in Atlanta, Georgia. We hope you will submit your work and join us in Atlanta!

1. A Global Look at Race, Immigration and Citizenship, Erica Chito Childs, echitoch@hunter.cuny.edu
2. Methods, Logic and Race, David Embrick, dembric@luc.edu
3. Race, Genetics, and the Genome Project, Tyrone Forman, tforman@emory.edu
4. Regional Spotlight on Race in Atlanta and the South, Earl Wright, wrighte@TSU.EDU
5. Race and New Media, Jesse Daniels, jdaniels@hunter.cuny.edu
6. Roundtables, Kristin McDonough, kmcdinnych@gmail.com and Stephanie Laudone, laudone@fordham.edu

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## Call for Papers for an ESS Session on Women, Wages, and Poverty

We are soliciting presenters for an interesting and timely session that we are organizing for the 2010 Eastern Sociological Association Meetings to be co-sponsored by the Committee on the Status of Women and the Committee on the Status of Minorities. This paper session, entitled “Women, Wages, and Poverty,” will feature research concerning the effects of the ongoing economic crisis on women, both globally and in the U.S. We will accept papers from a variety of substantive areas.

Please send us your paper ideas by submitting the title of your manuscript, a short abstract, and your contact information electronically to Meghan Ashlin Rich at richm2@scranton.edu by October 10, 2009.

The ESS Annual Meeting is scheduled for March 18-21, 2010 and is being held at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The theme for the 2010 meeting is “Economic Crisis and New Social Realities.” The web address for the ESS call for papers can be found at [http://www.essnet.org/AnnualMeeting_Call.aspx](http://www.essnet.org/AnnualMeeting_Call.aspx).

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## Call For Submissions: Critical Criminology & Justice Studies Mini-

CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY & JUSTICE STUDIES MINI-CONFERENCE: Conference Theme: Gender & Race/Ethnicity FEBRUARY 4, 2010 8:30am-4pm ALA MOANA HOTEL -- HONOLULU, HAWAI’I

Criminology & Justice Studies in the Department of Sociology at California State University San Marcos and San Diego State University School of Public Affairs will host a critical criminology & justice studies mini-conference Thursday, February 4, 2010, at the Ala Moana Hotel in Honolulu, Hawai’i. This day-long event is the second in a conference series viewed as a grassroots effort to cultivate a critical criminology and justice studies collective in the western region of North America. This year’s program focuses on gender and race/ethnicity concerns, broadly examined, from critical and justice-centered perspectives. Email abstracts (300 words or less) to k Glover@csusm.edu by November 13, 2009. Please include full contact information and university/organization affiliation with your email submission.
FROM THE EDITOR

I want to take a moment to thank out-going SREM Chair Emily Noelle Ignacio for all of her help and groups of African Americans and Latinos to work together on issues of mutual concern in their local communities, and assess their progress and prospects. Copies of this report can be downloaded from the Southern Regional Council website: http://www.southernchanges.blogspot.com/ or hard copies of the report (while they last) or electronic copies are available from Prof. Charles Jaret (Georgia State University) on request, at cjaret@gsu.edu

Announcements:


- The Southern Regional Council published a report in September, titled "Building Black-Brown Coalitions in the Southeast: Four African American-Latino Collaborations," written by Joel Alvarado and Charles Jaret. This report provides four case studies that explore how small groups of African Americans and Latinos have begun to work together on issues of mutual concern in their local communities, and assesses their progress and prospects. Copies of this report can be downloaded from the Southern Regional Council website: http://www.southernchanges.blogspot.com/ or hard copies of the report (while they last) or electronic copies are available from Prof. Charles Jaret (Georgia State University) on request, at cjaret@gsu.edu

As always, I also want to encourage everyone to participate in our newsletter this year. In this issue we have an essay by SREM member Matthew Huey. Hopefully this will inspire others to include their thoughts in either essay or opinion pieces. Also, don’t be shy about sending me information about your publications!! This gives us a chance to both feature the fabulous work of our members, and keep in touch with one another about what we are working on. For now we will continue Remarks with 3 issues per year, October, February, and July but if I get inundated with content, we can increase that! So please don’t hesitate to contact me if you have ideas or submissions for Remarks!

— Wendy Leo Moore

Remarks is edited by Wendy Leo Moore

If you have comments, concerns, or ideas for future issues, please contact Wendy at wlmoore@tamu.edu