

Letters

THE SEMIANNUAL NEWSLETTER OF THE ROBERT PENN WARREN CENTER FOR THE HUMANITIES
 VOL. 7, NO. 2 • SPRING 1999 • VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Exploring Saturn

Sharryn Kasmir, assistant professor of anthropology at Hofstra University, is the William S. Vaughn Visiting Fellow and visiting assistant professor of anthropology. She is the author of *The 'Myth' of Mondragón: Cooperatives, Politics and Working Class Life in a Basque Town* (SUNY Press 1996). She participates in this year's Fellows Program, "Inventing Work," and researches the revision of work at the Saturn Corporation in Spring Hill, Tennessee. She recently discussed her research with *Letters*.

LETTERS: What makes the new forms of work at Saturn important to study?

KASMIR: I am interested in how new forms of work at Saturn remake workers, how they make new working-class subjects. If we think about the production of work-based subjects over time, surely it is a continuous process, but surely there are also particular moments, historical conjunctures, in which we see more dramatic transformations. Early nineteenth-century industrialism presented such a moment, when work, how people thought about work, how people thought of their own identities vis-à-vis work, and how they became social and political agents in relation to work all changed. The meaning of work changed in the broadest sense. I think we live in such an epoch. We are living



In 1985, when General Motors announced its search for a site for Saturn, states and municipalities competed for the facility, which was to be the largest single industrial investment in U.S. history. Several governors appeared with GM CEO Roger Smith on the Phil Donahue show to pitch their states. Comic artist Dick Kulpa, former alderman of Loves Park, Illinois, sent the "It's Loves Park!" comic to GM. After receiving it, GM sent him head shots of company executives, from which he drew characters in "Race for Saturn," a four-page comic book. This comic satirizes the unrealistic claims made by competitors for the Saturn plant and positions Loves Park and its superhero mayor as making a more modest but reasonable offer. This and other texts from the period are reminders of the ravages of de-industrialization on historic industrial centers and indicate the array of cultural productions that surrounded the Saturn project. GM's participation with these productions suggests that the corporation used the state- and local-level ferment around the project to its advantage. In the summer of 1985, when GM announced its choice of Spring Hill, a novelty song entitled "Saturn" was released by a country music promoter.

—Sharryn Kasmir

common enough in a culture that narrated a response to the workers who built her cars and who finished the car for her photo in the glow of the moment, to let her know she received her letter, and to sign a poster, which she signed in reply. The cartoon suggested that Saturn's redefinition of work created a new subject identified with the project. In the end, it suggested that Saturn's workers were not alienated from the products of their labor but claimed that this freedom gave them a close relationship with consumers.

The commercial sign that Saturn presented the contradictions of capitalism and the worker, showing the speed of the assembly line and the worker, and promise of those contradictions. Saturn is positioned as the resolution of those contradictions. Saturn configures work and the workers for the culture as a symbol of the resolution of those contradictions of capitalism. Saturn is made to be a resolution. The struggle of advertisement operates kinds of myths and stories. It tells the story of cultural contradictions that divide.

While I was there with the workers, work, and

at Saturn. In many ways, Saturn is at the forefront of this process. It was one of the early commercials in which a school-

We are living through and creating a shift in the material conditions of work

forms of industrial organization, here came a commercial that constructed an image of a new workforce. The commercial also invited viewers to think and even care about the work process. In the back of my mind, I thought that Saturn would make a great next project.

LETTERS: Are you interested more in the production or the marketing of Saturn?

KASMIR: In both—they are tied together for me by the notion of subjectivity. Workers as subjects are configured in advertising, on the shop floor within the corporation, in management and public relations discourses within the corporation, and in union discourses. As an anthropologist, particularly one who tries to combine the political-economic and symbolic traditions of my discipline, I am interested in all of these.

LETTERS: What makes work at Saturn unusual?

KASMIR: The model of the Saturn plant is closely related to co-determination in Europe, especially as practiced in Germany and Sweden. There is union representation at every level of decision-making within the plant. Every council or planning body in the factory has United Automobile Workers (UAW) representatives. This responds to periodic movements within the U.S. labor movement calling for workplace democracy. There are fewer job categories at Saturn than in other industrial workplaces, so there is a flatter hierarchy. I imagine this would change how blue-collar and white-collar workers view their employment. The cooperative labor-management accord at Saturn changes the way managers do their jobs and how they envision labor-management relations.

production process, and the next person in line does his or her task, and so on. In recent efforts to restructure factory work, in what is often called the post-Fordist regime, workers work in teams. A team is responsible for a set of tasks or a segment of a production process, and it manages and monitors itself. A team sends its part of the process or the product it has made to the next team, which it considers a customer. It has to meet the demands of that customer in terms of quality, price, and product, in ways that bring market forces and business mindedness to the shop floor. This team- and quality-centered production and emphasis on intra-corporation entrepreneurialism not only characterizes Saturn, but it makes Saturn, in a sense, quintessentially post-Fordist.

LETTERS: Teamwork and quality have positive connotations, but they seem like they could add a lot of pressure for workers.

KASMIR: This is an empirical question for the particular case of Saturn, and I do not know yet. But there are critiques of total quality management and teamwork from union perspectives that have a lot to say about the pressures that accompany these aspects of post-Fordist production.

For example, a team is a self-managing unit that has to set quality and production goals for itself within the guidelines of what the factory needs to produce and the quality standards it needs to meet. There is pressure for workers to stand by their teammates and to achieve the team's goals. On the one hand, teamwork is positive, because it creates opportunities for camaraderie. On the other hand, critics say it creates a managerial function among the workers—some workers man-

Teams, by their very definition, cross standard job descriptions. A lot of the power of unions stems from the fact that unions regulate jobs. So if you are a machinist class 1, you do a given job. If you are a machinist class 2, you do another job. You do *not* do both jobs. For proponents of the team concept, this is a welcome replacement for outmoded union bureaucracy. For critics, a team breaks down the job classifications that have traditionally been what unions have policed on a shop floor; so team-based production looks like an attack on an important source of union power.

A focus on quality also creates stress. A problem in quality is a team's problem, not management's problem. This responsibility makes team members' jobs much more difficult. One criticism is that signs of increased stress, like high blood pressure and anxiety, are evident in total quality plants. But supporters say that this kind of production offers a lot more job content, while work in a standard assembly line is dull, repetitive, and alienating. For every case study that shows that total quality management and teamwork are good for workers, there is a case that shows they are bad for workers. The jury is still out.

LETTERS: How does Saturn's type of production affect subjectivity?

KASMIR: I am investigating whether Saturn workers' subjectivity is affected because they work differently, have a different union contract, have moved to a new area of the country, and have thereby been uprooted from friends, kin, and older forms of industrial culture. Social theory that looks at how work relates to identity, class, and community

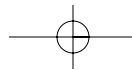


Sharryn Kasmir

The South is considered older kinds of labor modes of industrial working-class culture. South change workers think they world, how they act, understand them, and understand themselves are really the 1 project.

In Spring Hill, there has been a chaotic political leadership. The town itself has been transformed since GM announced that would locate in Hill/Columbia area. boom in real estate followed by kind of a was a flurry of development plans, with less development anticipated. I expect social relationships have changed as a result of the influx of thousands of workers and the rapid growth.

One of the things interesting and different about is that the UAW-Saturn specified that Saturn GM workers. Local



For me, fieldwork is a compelling, intimate, and rigorous way of knowing.

than their share of layoffs and plant closings. The UAW saw Saturn as an opportunity to recoup some of the jobs that had been lost in GM. Thousands of workers moved to Spring Hill, which was a very small town, and the surrounding area, mostly from northern cities. Recently in *The Tennessean*, there was an article about the North/South cultural conflicts that were present early on when the workers first began to come to Saturn. Much of that has died down, but I want to document, ethnohistorically, the transformation of the local area.

LETTERS: What are you learning about Saturn's marketing?

KASMIR: Extensive popular and business literature has focussed on the phenomenon of creating the Saturn brand, a process that includes everything from advertising to choosing the styles of cars. This literature suggests that Saturn is remarkable for how quickly it won brand recognition and how well people remember key features of the brand. The advertising is working. When I talk about the project, people respond positively. They are interested because they know about Saturn from the advertisements.

From talking to people in New York (where I come from) and Nashville, I have consistently found that people have a favorite commercial and can describe its narrative. They remember the characters in the commercial and sometimes have some strong emotions about it. I do not know if the specific technique of representing workers has been an effective sales strategy, but certainly the sum total of the advertising campaigns has been effective. The popularity of the commercials is one of the ways Saturn's impact is greater than its local effect in

ments' representation of work and workers.

LETTERS: Could you explain how anthropology affects your approach as a scholar to this project?

KASMIR: Anthropology wants to be able to say that it is a discipline that studies the human condition in all its physical and cultural manifestations. Given that industrial, advanced industrial, and post-industrial societies are parts of the human condition, anthropologists want to be able to say these are parts of our purview. Yet as a discipline, we are still enamored with the "exotic." I push on this boundary of the discipline.

One of the things that distinguishes anthropologists from sociologists and urban geographers is our methodology. We do prolonged fieldwork in a setting where we live, and try to take on the habits of an ordinary life there to the degree that this is possible. Something about that experience transforms one's way of knowing. For me, fieldwork is a compelling, intimate, and rigorous way of knowing.

I also draw on cultural studies, sociology, and political theory. I am learning a lot more about literary studies in the Fellows Program, which enriches my analysis of the images and texts that I find in the advertising, managerial, and academic writing about Saturn.

LETTERS: How does this project relate to your first book, which examined production in the Basque region in Spain?

KASMIR: My Basque research was an ethnographic study of a world-famous system of industrial organization called the Mondragón cooperative system. It was considered an alternative model to standard capitalism. It was one of the most, if not the most discussed

owned the factories. The system seemed to solve what in the 1970s and 1980s were considered the crises of capitalism, such as de-industrialization, worker alienation, and lack of worker participation.

I began to think about the ways in which, in the '80s in particular, unions were looked upon in academia and the media as stodgy, part of the past, incapable of representing workers' interests, and unable to respond to the pressures of world competition. People discussed the Mondragón cooperatives in large part as an alternative to unions and as offering private ownership to the working class. I began to look at the Mondragón model as an ideology of post-Fordist capitalism.

I was also interested in the relationship between forms of work and national identity. That was a minor theme in my last book, and is a theme that I want to develop in this project. One of the earliest and most repeated stories told about Saturn is that it would save U.S. industry, be a model for U.S. industrial revival, and show that U.S. auto manufacturers were able to compete with the Japanese. Saturn was announced in the '80s when Japanese imports became an important part of the car market. Patriotism, Americanism, and an "American identity" were framed and mobilized within the Saturn concept in really interesting ways that run parallel to the way in which Basque identity and nationalism were mobilized in the Mondragón cooperative setting.

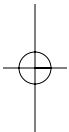
Saturn and its cars were supposed to symbolize a new way of doing things and were positioned as the hope of U.S. industry. The name "Saturn" was taken from NASA's Apollo program, which was supposed to conjure up an image of U.S. competition with the

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Jumping the Dragon Gate: Storytellers and the Creation of the Shanghai Identity

Laura A. McDaniel, assistant professor of history, participates in the 1998/99 Fellows Program, "Inventing Work." She describes her current research in the following article.

In 1875, a local Shanghai pictorial newspaper ran an article about the prevalence of storytelling beggars in the Chinese part of the city. The article described these beggars in the following manner: "These pitiful creatures are usually driven to this lowly profession by disability, but this is not their only problem. They are hungry and diseased, and most of them are so filthy and covered with scabs that you can't bear to look at them." Crowds of gawkers were attracted to these beggars by lurid curiosity, and once a sizeable number of people had gathered round, the beggar would pull out a small stringed instrument and sing a portion of a well-known epic tale. When he had finished his tale, the beggar would walk around to each of his listeners, holding out his cupped hands to solicit donations.

This newspaper article and countless others like it give us an indication of the abjectness of storytellers in late imperial China. Virtual beggars by trade, often driven to their profession by disabilities, criminal records, or homelessness, they faced perpetual poverty and discrimination. In the official hierarchy of professions, storytellers ranked even lower than prostitutes in terms of social and political status. Their itinerancy made it difficult for them to marry, settle down, or even find a steady source of income; as a result, they were considered threatening to the social order, and they had little, if any, access to tradi-

Bubbling Well Road in his shiny new Austin motorcar and pulling to a stop outside the glamorous Ciro's Dance Hall, where upwards of 500 fans awaited his performance of the now-famous story "Fate in Tears and Laughter." The son and grandson of storytellers who had traveled an itinerant circuit and begged for a living, Xue could certainly say that his profession had undergone an enormous transformation since his father had taken up storytelling forty years earlier.

The astonishing leap in social status among Shanghai-era storytellers exemplified by Xue Xiaoqing and many others is inextricably linked with immigration to Shanghai, with the development of the city of Shanghai itself, and with the emergence and conscious creation of a modern urban identity specifically associated with Shanghai. Historians of China have long accepted the classification of all urban immigration as "sojourning," under the assumption that this kind of relocation did not involve a fundamental change in identity. However, my research on Shanghai-area storytellers indicates not only that urban identities did exist, but that they were an essential feature of the social mobility I have just described.

Until the late nineteenth century, Shanghai and its surrounding hinterlands formed something of a continuum. In terms of how this city figured in the eyes of storytellers, Shanghai was just another market town on the circuit traveled by itinerant performers in Zhejiang and Jiangsu. Whether they were in Shanghai or in a small village in rural Jiangsu, storytellers tended during this period to give



Ciro's Dance Hall, one of Shanghai's most prestigious venues for daytime and early evening storytelling performances

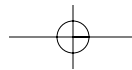
transformation that it dwarfed the other cities and towns in the region, and provided storytellers with new physical and cultural spaces in which to establish more respectable reputations.

Shanghai's earliest storytelling venues, all located in the oldest section of town (called the "Chinese City"), were actually teahouses with the bare minimum in terms of furnishings and amenities. In this sense, performing at a teahouse in Shanghai in the late nineteenth century was no different from performing at a teahouse in any of the other cities and towns in Zhejiang and Jiangsu at this time. It was at the turn of the century that the storytelling venues of Shanghai began to move into the more modern "foreign concession" areas and to distinguish themselves from the other storytelling venues in the region. First, there was an explosion in terms of numbers: the last thirty years of the nineteenth century

and towns in. These new story-tellers were important social mobility tellers in other. They enabled work for fixed than for the sm they received fi audiences, and to improve the tus of these per-

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Electricity enabled house owners to ligh lishments well past introducing not just t for additional storyte mances every day, I whole concept of Sha "city that never sle cheng), and all of the j tural resonances that In some of the highes telling houses, electr lowed for amenities fans and even primiti tioning, convenience by performers and t ingly wealthy clientele new technologies attr: class patrons and just vent of higher admi. storytelling houses; as rytellers working in th ments earned more enjoyed the increased ciated with catering audiences. Finally, ad chitecture allowed fo



The distinction between guild “insiders” and “outsiders” was starkly apparent

hai's foreign concession areas was simply considered more comfortable, more profitable, and more prestigious. “Of course I preferred working in the foreign concessions,” insisted one storyteller I interviewed. “Storytelling houses in the foreign-concession areas were just better than the ones outside of Shanghai or in the Chinese City. Everything about them just seemed cleaner, more elegant, more cultured. My heavens, even the tea tasted better! The tea you got in the Chinese City in those days was cloudy, and it had a strange taste.”

By the 1930s, Shanghai had come to represent the pinnacle of the storytelling world, and only those storytellers who were able to consistently find work in the privileged urban spaces of Shanghai were considered truly successful in this profession. The storyteller Tang Gengliang phrased this situation in the following way: “In the old days [i.e., before 1949], when you learned the storytelling art, first you studied with your master, then you worked on your own, traveling the itinerant circuit, and finally you came to Shanghai—if you could do this, then it was a sign that you had really perfected your art and had become a star.”



By the 1930s, the expression “jumping the dragon gate” had entered into the lexicon of storytellers and, indeed, into the popular imagination. To “jump the dragon gate” (*tiao long men*) was, in the jargon of storytellers, to land a job in one of the storytelling venues of Shanghai's foreign concessions. Storytellers had a particular fondness for self-comparison to scholars, and so it is interesting to note that this expression has its origins in popular lore about the imperial examination system. A popular Chinese proverb speaks of the ability of a common carp to “jump the dragon gate” and transform himself into a dragon (*liyu tiao long men*) as an allegory for commoners who succeed in the imperial examinations. To “jump the dragon gate,” then, was to catch the golden ring of success and fame. For storytellers in the Zhejiang-Jiangsu area, this could be achieved only in Shanghai's foreign concessions.

Those storytellers who did “jump the dragon gate” worked very hard to shore up their newfound status through affiliation with highly territorial storytellers' guilds. These guilds emerged at the turn of the century as one of the most important factors in creating a class of “professional,” elite, well-paid storytellers with clear urban affiliations and in distinguishing this group from their untrained, poor, itinerant, rural-based counterparts. The distinction between guild “insiders” and “outsiders” was starkly apparent to performers and spec-

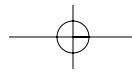
telling houses. Guild leaders paid heavy dues to storytelling-house owners in order to lay claim to these establishments, and these monopolies were reinforced with bribes, extortion, and physical violence. The simple truth is that if you were not a member of one of two storytellers' guilds in Republican-era Shanghai, you had no chance of finding employment in any of Shanghai's 500-plus storytelling houses.

One gained entrée into a reputable storytellers' guild by completing a long apprenticeship with a senior member of that guild. But in order to promote the impression that storytelling was a professionalized, elite line of work that was not open to street riff-raff, many storytelling masters made a show of being exceedingly choosy about potential students. What seems to be the case is that every storyteller who attained any degree of fame in late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Shanghai became apprenticed to his or her teacher through connections with friends or family. The hearty disapproval of “outsiders” to this system is evident from an article that appeared in a storytelling newspaper called *Robinson* in 1943. The author of this article complained that the storyteller Xu Hansheng randomly accepted untrained itinerant storytellers as his “apprentices” in exchange for payment, and allowed them to advertise themselves as his students (and thus as guild members) without actually giving them any training. Most successful storytellers frowned upon such practices, in large part because they deprived Shanghai's storytelling guilds of the financial rewards and quality-control privileges inherent in the apprentice-

throwing him out!” distress over the desecration of the storytelling profession, however, because of Shanghai-area storytellers not originally from Shanghai thus overwhelmingly “country bumpkins” in a geographic sense. bona fide guild members being labeled as “country bumpkins” was that they submitted their work to a process meant to refine them in the intricate, educated-looking world of Shanghai. The implicit argument was that the difference between their country counterparts and their refined, cultured, “urban” counterparts was that they were not refined, cultured, “urban” storytellers.

One aspect of maintaining a refined, cultured, “urban” reputation was refraining from clearing one's throat. While such habits were common among itinerant storytellers and performed in the din of the outdoor spaces of Shanghai, frowned upon in the more refined storytelling venues of the foreign concessions. In 1933 a based storyteller wrote to one of the directors of a storytelling fan newspaper in Shanghai to complain about the low standards of comic performance among storytellers in a small town outside Shanghai where he had just made a trip the previous week. He and his audience members cleared their throats incessantly,” he lamented. “I was disgusted and embarrassed by such an uncultured performance. I couldn't wait to get back to [Shanghai], where people are refined.”

The professional boundaries between guild-affiliated



In the 1930s and 1940s, storytellers were “nobodies.” Shanghai was what made them “somebodies.”

of employment opportunities, storytellers further demarcated the distinction between “urban” and “rural” people by playing on this dichotomy in the content of their stories. The image of Shanghai that appeared in the stories and songs of most storytellers in this region was one of opulence and modernity, as in the following song by Wang Gengxiang:

The *ten-li* foreign enclave is extravagant,
Featuring only the best in clothing, food,
housing and transportation.

Families live in high-rise apartment
buildings,

And drive automobiles when they go out.
Most comfortable of all are the rich
young mistresses of these families:

[They are] modern girls who consider
shark's fin and sea cucumber to be just
ordinary dishes,

And they do nothing all day but dress up
in the latest fashions.

The stereotypical Shanghainese man brought to life in the stories of the 1930s and 1940s was wealthy, modern, fashionable, and heavily influenced by foreign trends. He usually owned an automobile, which could be used at a moment's notice for a quick shopping spree on Nanjing Road (the main thoroughfare). He lived in an opulent foreign-style mansion and dined on delicacies every day, and his wives and daughters paraded up and down the wide avenues of Shanghai's foreign concessions dressed in the latest fashions, their high heels making distinctive clicking sounds on the pavement and the smell of expensive perfume wafting through the air behind them.

Of course, such images were far from being descriptive of the reality that everyone experienced in Shanghai, but they were presented to the listener as a Chinese version of the “American dream” qualities



Teahouses such as this were popular venues for storytelling in Shanghai.

also as something that was within reach for newcomers to the city. One of the most amusing stories that promoted the Shanghai identity as glamorous but within the grasp of the “little people” was the story of “The Little Nun Who Came Down the Mountain,” by Zhu Yaoxiang and Zhao Jiaqiu. The story of the little Buddhist nun who abandoned life at her convent on the hill to indulge her desire for sex had been a popular and well-known one for years. But Zhu and Zhao gave this story a new twist: in their version of the story, the little nun is overcome not by sexual desire but by a yearning to shop and to be like Shanghai's “modern girls.” “Where can I indulge my desire to wear powder and blusher?” the little nun wonders. “Where can I adorn myself in silk and satin? The more I think about it,” she sighs, “the more my heart aches!” In the end, the little nun leaves her convent and comes to Shanghai to indulge herself in makeup and expensive clothes. Incidentally, she also finds herself a husband there.

Another way in which the content of these stories helped to create the Shanghai identity was by explicitly defining what it meant to be “not Shanghainese.” In the

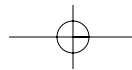
Jiangsu, then Jiangbei migrants were at the opposite end of the spectrum, the ultimate self-delusional losers. The caricature of the Jiangbei migrant was, of course, just as much an invention as the Shanghai dweller; but its existence helped to reinforce popular faith in the Shanghai identity. The Jiangbei migrant became the “Other” against which the Shanghai elite defined its own identity.

The Jiangbei migrant who appeared in the songs and stories of Shanghai's early twentieth-century storytellers was basically a buffoon. In contrast to the elite Shanghai dweller, dressed to the nines in the latest fashions, the Jiangbei migrant of popular songs and stories was inevitably shabbily dressed in clothing that identified him as a country bumpkin, and these modest clothes were often disheveled or covered with dirt. While the Shanghainese usually appeared in these stories and songs as real estate tycoons and ladies of leisure, Jiangbei migrants were most often incarnated as rickshaw pullers and coolies (two of the lowest professions in Republican-era Shanghai). While the typical Shanghai urbanite was savvy and sophisticated, the Jiangbei migrant was always a

ter], and the audience out laughing. It's not had said was particular but they were laughing at the stupid thin be character was bour

The link between the ability of storytellers and the invention and embrace of Shanghai identity is an important one. In the twentieth century, storytellers from Jiangsu and Zhejiang literally at the bottom of the social heap, without

to call their own. It was this time that Shanghai expanded and improved this growth in Shanghai created new possibilities among storytellers. Not these previously displaced people find steady employment in Shanghai's cityscape but a unique and more “modern” like plumbing, electric and interior decorations of this city took pride in improvements—and those who were lucky enough these new establishments time found themselves positioned to lay claim territory and this new “urban” identity. These enhanced the glamorous identity and the imagined cultural barrier between urbanites and rural the content of their stories shored up this claim to identity for themselves help of elaborate ritual structures, so that “urban storytellers” an exclusive club to which outsiders simply were not. Urban identities were among Shanghai storytellers because Shanghai was



Teaching the Holocaust

Beginning in the fall of 1999, the Warren Center will be home to a project entitled "The Holocaust, Genocide, and the Teaching of Ethical Values." The project, funded by the Zimmerman Foundation and the Tennessee Holocaust Commission, will develop guidelines for teaching at the secondary and post-secondary level about the Holocaust and other acts of genocide, as well as the teaching of ethical values that will help to prevent similar inhumane acts in the next century. With the Holocaust growing more distant in time from students early in the twenty-first century and the death of survivors and witnesses, the distinctiveness and relevance of the Holocaust may begin to lose its hold on educational priorities. With other acts of genocide con-

tinuing to occur in various parts of the world, the teaching of the Holocaust can provide an historical benchmark by which to judge genocidal acts and to develop both an early warning system and an ethos of prevention.

The project will be directed by Peter Haas, associate professor of religious studies and Jewish literature and thought, and Helmut Smith, associate professor of history. The seminar will include up to ten scholars from throughout the state of Tennessee who will be chosen by the project's advisory committee through a process of application. The participants will meet regularly during the 1999/2000 academic year. University Chaplain Emeritus Beverly Asbury will serve as a consultant to the project and as a liaison between the

Warren Center and the Tennessee Holocaust Commission. In addition, two high school teachers will join the seminar in order to provide necessary guidance regarding high school instructional materials. The seminar participants will also have funds available to bring in outside speakers and consultants who will add their expertise to the collective scholarly enterprise. The core group of scholars and teachers will establish basic principles for teaching about the Holocaust and other acts of genocide and recommend materials to be included in the curricula, whether secondary school or college.

During the summer of 2000, an intensive three-week seminar for high school teachers will be held at the Warren Center to continue developing curriculum materials for

the secondary school teachers from private middle Tennessee schools chosen to create the project based on the work of the colloquium. The summer workshop will be led by the consultants who have been chosen for the faculty colloquium. The summer workshop is an outgrowth of the project and a derbilit faculty seminar.

The collaborative work between the Warren Center and the Tennessee Holocaust Commission will provide the opportunity for a fruitful exchange among scholars and teachers across the state. This sustained intellectual exchange will result in important primary contributions related to teaching about the Holocaust and other acts of genocide.

Lecture on Southern Letters

On Friday, October 9 the Warren Center and the Tennessee Humanities Council jointly sponsored the inaugural Robert Penn Warren Lecture on Southern Letters. Held in conjunction with the Council's annual Southern Festival of Books, the premier lecture was presented by author Elizabeth Spencer and was attended by an audience of approximately 350 at the Crowne Plaza in downtown Nashville. Also that evening, the Southern Book Critics Circle presented the Southern Book Award for fiction to Charles Frazier for *Cold Mountain*, the Southern Book Award for non-fiction to Edward Ball for *Slaves in the Family*, and a Distinguished Achievement Award to the University of Georgia Press.

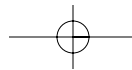
The Tennessee Humanities Council's Southern Festival of

largest literary festivals in the nation, I can say with ease that it is, by a good distance, the most elegantly organized and realized that I know of," said author Reynolds Price. The addition of a distinguished lecture named after one of the nation's finest literary figures adds luster to an already impressive public humanities event.

The inaugural speaker, Elizabeth Spencer, is a distinguished creative writer whose southern roots (she grew up in Carrollton, Mississippi) remain at the core of her writing. In her most recent book, *Landscapes of the Heart: A Memoir*, she recounts her experiences growing up in Mississippi and her subsequent moves to Italy, Canada, and back to the southern United States. In Ms. Spencer's lecture, as in her memoir, she recounted her friendships with Eugene Walt, Saul Bellow, John



Harry C. Howard Jr. and Kwame Anthony Appiah



Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities
Box 1534 Station B
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee 37235

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ety, and nervousness as a cultural theme. I want to understand how it shapes modern consciousness, people's subjectivity, and their feelings about who they are.

One of the most important transformations that we are undergoing is the way in which we understand time, our place in time, the availability of time to us, and what counts as valuable or wasteful uses of it. I think about this from a broad historical perspective. I think about the way in which the first industrial towns brought an industrial time clock to what had been a rural or agrarian sense of time, and what a dramatic cultural and personal shift that must have implied. I think we are right in the midst of that same caliber of shift. I think that in the last decade or two, we have been making a transition to a new

kind of time. In addition to the changes in the way that we work and the amount of time that we work, there have been technological innovations in computers and telecommunications that change the structure of time and its meaning to us.

These broad shifts in concepts of work and time have implications for Saturn where the corporate discourse constructs Saturn as a different kind of company. One of the ways in which Saturn is different is that it cultivates a family atmosphere. People I have spoken with in Spring Hill have said that Saturn does have that atmosphere and that people really do feel connected to their workplace. I want to know the extent of that connection, what it means for workers, and what it means for

life outside of the factory. Saturn workers are on a difficult work schedule. They are on rotating shifts, which have an impact on family scheduling and create a kind of "Saturn time" that differs from other kinds of time.

LETTERS: Have other corporations or companies tried to emulate Saturn?

KASMIR: Saturn's level of union participation in decision-making is pretty unusual. But the teamwork, just-in-time production, emphasis on quality, and mobilization of workers' emotions and intellects to improve production have become widespread. But what is becoming apparent, particularly during last summer's big GM strike, is that Saturn has not borne the kind of fruit one might have expected. In the transformation of GM's cor-

porate culture, the democracy, including management/labor accord participation in management have been less significant success of the Saturn name, image, customer and the way the department business. In a sense, mention has influenced more than Saturn's production of production.

What interests me is that there are theories of industrialism or post-industrialism who argue that sales and semiotics of sales and production are becoming prominent than production in the cultural and the meaning system. For me, this is an issue that I need to pursue research.

THE ROBERT PENN WARREN CENTER FOR THE HUMANITIES

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Letters is the semiannual newsletter of the Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities.

Statement of Purpose

Established under the sponsorship of the College of Arts and Science in 1987 and renamed the Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities in 1989, the Center promotes interdisciplinary research and study in the humanities, social sciences, and natural

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