

SOCIOLOGY

THE HUMAN SCIENCE

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They pour out of Vietnam by the tens of thousands, sacrificing their homes and businesses, their fields and gardens and familiar places, and paying bribes in gold just for a chance to flee. The alternative is to be shipped to "new economic zones." What are such zones—forced labor camps? Prisons? Death traps? No one knows. There are only rumors. But the overcrowded and barely seaworthy boats they board are preferable, even though rumor has it that thousands perish at sea. Some other country would be a better alternative, but what country? No Southeast Asian country wants them: they do not have the room, and they do not want these mainly Chinese foreigners. In fact, they must leave Vietnam mainly for being ethnically Chinese—a people who are different, hard to compete with, and who do not belong. So the boat people crowd into filthy, disease-ridden, miserable refugee camps while they wait for acceptance and for the meager aid needed to keep them alive. (Butler et al., 1979)

The boat people form one chapter in a very ancient story of exile, persecution, and death, a story whose other chapters describe Jews, blacks, Armenians, Kurds, Hindus, Pakistanis, American Indians—people who are different. Many are victims in age-old struggles and rivalries, as are the Chinese minorities of Southeast Asia and the Cambodian

exiles. Some are victims of the desire of others for their land, as are the American Indians. Whatever the source of the trouble, the innocent suffer. The group is stereotyped, vilified, exploited, and treated as something not quite human.

MINORITIES: RACIAL AND ETHNIC

Although the word *minority* can mean *less than half*, as in *minority political party* or *minority opinion*, we use the word here in a special sense. *Minorities* are groups of people, identifiable by biological or cultural traits, who are in a subordinate position, often the victims of hostility and unfairness. Here we will primarily consider racial and ethnic minorities. *Race* refers to inherited physical differences in groups of people of different geographical origins, such as Africa, Europe, or East Asia. In America, the Chinese or Filipinos are racial minorities. *Ethnic* minorities (more fully defined below) are groups such as Polish-Americans or Orthodox Jews whose culture differs from that of the majority. Although we will concentrate on racial and ethnic minorities, other groups receive minority treat-

ment to varying degrees—women, the physically and mentally handicapped, the aged, and homosexuals, to name a few. Minority treatment is sometimes accorded groups who are even a numerical majority, like the blacks of South Africa or women in nearly all countries. The important point about minority status is its position of subordination; majority status implies dominance or a position of superordination. Minority status is worldwide, but its impact changes from society to society.

Race and Racism

Most anthropologists and sociologists believe that the only social importance of race rests in people's attitudes toward it. *Racism* is the belief that race is very important in determining people's abilities and that people should be treated as inferiors or superiors on the basis of race. Racism moved the Nazis to slaughter 6 million "racially inferior" Jews. Racism has engendered inequalities in jobs, education, housing, and income, and it has led to slavery, colonialism, extermination. Jean Paul Sartre (1963) summed up the prevailing attitude of the colonialist racist: "Not so long ago, the earth numbered two thousand million inhabitants—five hundred million men and women and one thousand five hundred million *natives*." One great change of this century has been the increasing insistence on equality by the "natives."

Even when people in a society no longer subscribe to racism, the society may still contain *institutional racism*, racism within the institutional structure of the society. The absence of black quarterbacks from American professional football and American Indians from corporate boards of directors are instances of institutional racism. These structures include not only government, economics, and organized religion, but also lesser organizations and procedures that are widely accepted, sys-

tematized, and relatively unchanging. Long after a society such as ours ostensibly rejects racism, it will continue to display customs and procedures that developed in the context of dominant versus subordinate race. Housing remains largely segregated. Schools, even if integrated, are mainly run by white boards of education. Most corporations have white directors. Top social clubs, law offices, political inner circles, and social registers are overwhelmingly white. Even most churches are segregated. Sunday has been called the most segregated day of the week. Institutional racism grows less from evil conniving than from the inertia and resistance to change of social institutions in a society that has long been racist.

Biologists tell us that race probably reflects some physical adaptation to the environment. It is believed, but not yet proved conclusively, that the Eskimos have a greater inborn resistance to cold; that desert peoples such as the Berbers have a high tolerance for dry heat; and that people whose ancestors have lived in the tropics show greater adaptation to hot, moist conditions (Baker, 1958). However, these physical differences between people are slight, and it is much more important to note that each race can live in the other's environment. An Arab could work in Alaska, and an Eskimo who moved to Mecca would adjust physically.

The similarities among races vastly outweigh the differences. All human beings belong to the same species, *Homo sapiens*. All are culture builders, all have intelligence and imagination, all tell stories and dream dreams, sing songs, and create art. All can be kind or cruel. No race has a monopoly on good or bad qualities, talents, or behaviors.

Groups show certain genetic differences. Sickle-cell anemia is a disease in which red blood cells have trouble carrying oxygen through the body. It occurs among certain



Ethnic celebrations, such as this scene opening the year 4678 in the Chinese calendar, serve several functions. They preserve ethnic traditions, instill ethnic pride, add variety to American life, and are an occasion for joy. (Marc Solomon/The Image Bank, Inc.)

black Africans and Afro-Americans. A similar genetic disease, thalassemia, is found among whites, especially those of Mediterranean descent (McKusick, 1967). Tay-Sachs disease is most frequent among non-European Jews, and a blood condition known as *porphyria* is found among people of Dutch descent living in South Africa. Such racial and genetic factors are important in medicine; otherwise, they are unimportant. They tell us nothing about intelligence, character, or talents.

Even so, in any particular society, one race or ethnic group may be considered superior or inferior. The way members of a race are treated will influence the development of

their intelligence, their character, and their talents. Social experience can help decide whether their gifts will be developed or remain unused. These are the realities that make the study of racial and ethnic groups necessary.

The Meaning of Ethnicity

Ethnic is a term related to culture. An *ethnic group* is a group whose culture is different enough in beliefs, values, and customs that its members feel an ingroup identity which sets them apart from others. Algerians in France and Italian-Americans are ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are particularly important as

they relate to unequal treatment and to the feelings people hold about ethnicity. Members of white ethnic groups from some parts of Europe have had a great deal of trouble being fully accepted in the United States. Michael Novak (1972), a writer of Slovak descent, feels that American WASPs (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants) hold negative attitudes toward Poles, Italians, Greeks, and Slavs. He uses the term *unmeltable ethnics* to describe such groups. His term stems from the earlier characterization of American society as a “great melting pot” in which immigrants lose their ethnic identity and all blend together. The “unmeltables” he says, have not blended as easily as people from northwestern Europe and are not accepted as easily.

Jewish people are considered a separate ethnic group because of their unique cultural history and because their religion differs from that of the Christian majority. Other religious groups have also been given special status. Before the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960, people assumed that no Catholic could ever become President of the United States. The majority culture had ascribed a separate and distinct ethnic identity to Catholics based on their religion alone.

In some cases, groups differ from the American majority both racially and ethnically. This is true of American Indians except for a handful who have moved fully into American industrial-urban society. To some extent, the same is true of Chicanos. Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian people, who have entered the United States with distinctive cultures of their own. Their cultures, like those of Novak’s unmeltable ethnics, change slowly. Black people, who first came to America as slaves, were so wholly cut off from their African cultural roots that they can hardly be called ethnic groups. Although they have developed subcultural differences of their own,

these differences are within the American mainstream.

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION: AN INTERACTIONIST VIEW

An interactionist view of social behavior shows how societies through symbols and attitudes maintain racism and unequal treatment of minorities. We see how racism can be perpetuated indirectly, not through gross crime or direct aggression, but through unconscious prejudice and unexamined stereotype, basic elements of culture. Language is a strong conveyor of racial and ethnic symbols. Some terms are deliberately pejorative (“nigger,” “gook,” “dirty foreigner,” for example); others associate black with evil and dirt (“black-hearted villain” in a black hat, “blackguard,” and “blackened reputation”) and associate white with good, as in Kipling’s *Gunga Din*:

For all his dirty hide,
He was white, clean white inside.

Oral and written songs, myths, tales, and sayings, games, television and other media, advertisements, and art help to create and perpetuate stereotypes.

Prejudice is the negative prejudgment of an entire group, usually a racial or ethnic group. But groups like teenagers, “crazy people,” “commies,” and others are also victims of prejudice. People often hold prejudices toward racial or ethnic groups they have never even seen—Chinese children learned about the aggressive, big-nosed “roundeyes” before the diplomatic thaw between East and West in the 1970s, and many Americans “knew” that Vietnamese were sneaky, cunning, untrustworthy, and dirty. *Discrimination*

is a system of unequal treatment toward the object of prejudice. It seems logical that prejudice would produce discrimination, but the reverse also holds true. Discrimination can encourage prejudice, and for several reasons. One reason is *observed social reality*, a term that describes what one class sees when it looks at another. The upper classes observe the lower classes at menial work, as poorly dressed and schooled, and they take these conditions to be the result of stupidity and laziness. If particular minority groups occupy lower-class positions, it is easy to see them as social inferiors and, therefore, to "blame the victim." A second reason why discrimination produces prejudice is that these attitudes become habitual and institutionalized. Alexis de Tocqueville, an astute observer of American life in the 1830s, found this to be the basis of white prejudice against blacks, both in the slave states and in the free states. In the free states, according to de Tocqueville, prejudice was even stronger than in the slave states. Part of the reason, he concludes, was a cultural habit of dominance which implants feelings of superiority regardless of realities.

There is a natural prejudice which prompts men to despise whomsoever has been their inferior long after he is become their equal; and the real inequality which is produced by fortune or by law, is always succeeded by an imaginary inequality which is implanted in the manners and folkways of the people. (1974, p. 479)

Another principle explains the link between discrimination and prejudice. If we find ourselves deliberately hurting another person through discriminatory acts, we feel forced to *rationalize*, that is, to find socially acceptable and plausible explanations, but not the true ones (Festinger, 1962). The mental process runs more or less as follows: "I am a good person, but I have deliberately injured another human being. However, I would not

have done so if he had been a good, normal person. He belongs to an inferior breed and therefore deserves what he gets. Besides, if you don't let him know who's boss, he'll take advantage of you."

Thus, discrimination leads to prejudice in at least three ways: (1) It contributes to the creation of an observed reality that reinforces prejudice; (2) it becomes a firmly rooted social habit that supports prejudice; and (3) it may require a kind of rationalization that encourages prejudice. All these points of view help to explain an ongoing process, but they do not tell us how prejudice starts. We can prejudice people without discriminating against them. Although the discrimination-prejudice cycle is important to understand, if we are to figure out why people treat each other as they do, we should consider other explanations.

Stereotyping and Prejudice

Stereotypes are standardized and oversimplified descriptions applied to groups of people: teenagers are irresponsible, Jews are greedy. Occasionally they are derived from limited experience, as when a person knows one Armenian and decides that all Armenians are just like the one he or she knows. Often stereotypes are based on indirect experience, contradictory information, or no information at all. Blacks were once stereotyped *simultaneously* as good-natured people and savages. Stereotypes are imbedded in cultures. Old folktales create and keep stereotypes alive (Gypsies are mysterious and dangerous); so do jokes, slurs, and biased historical accounts. Stereotypes can even find their way into great literature, as with Shakespeare's portrayal of Shylock, a Jewish moneylender in *The Merchant of Venice*. Stereotypes pervade every culture; we learn them unconsciously. We "know" that the Scotch are shrewd but stingy

and the Irish are hot-tempered. Blacks have rhythm; old people have terrible memories; athletes are stupid, but intellectuals are impractical. All Italians are gangsters, and Mexicans are either bloodthirsty bandits or stupid, amiable sidekicks.

Following the lead provided by the Jewish Anti-Defamation League, leaders of a number of racial and ethnic groups have recently fought back against the influence of these stereotypes. Thomas M. Martinez, a Mexican-American, objects to the way his people have been stereotyped in television advertisements:

Exaggerated Mexican racial and cultural characteristics, together with some outright misconceptions concerning their style of life, symbolically suggest to the audience that such people are comical, lazy, thieving, who want what Anglos can have by virtue of their superior taste and culture. (1972, p. 95)

Thanks to protests by Martinez and others, there are now fewer advertisements that are objectionable to Mexican Americans.

Prejudice and Social Distance

Unless adults or other children teach them to discriminate, children of different races and ethnic groups play together and get along as well as they would if they all belonged to the same group. When children grow older, they can acquire prejudices from parents and/or their peer group. Then cultural attitudes will probably prevent them from making friends with people who are "different," especially when dating or thinking of marriage.

During the period of slavery in the American South, relations between masters and household slaves were often quite close. But a social distance clearly defined the master as boss and the slave as subordinate. Long after slavery had ended, social distance remained

as part of the Southern cultural tradition. *Social distance* means the degree to which people are accepted or rejected in social relationships. If we feel a great social distance between ourselves and members of another group, we often try to exclude them from our neighborhoods, parties, or clubs. To this day, considerable social distance remains in American culture. An interesting case arose when Griffin Bell, in order to become United States Attorney General in the Carter administration, resigned from the exclusive Driving Club of Atlanta, Georgia. Rule 18 of the club had always allowed full membership privileges (although not actual membership) to the mayor of Atlanta. The rule was revised in 1970, when Atlanta elected its first Jewish mayor, and the revised rule held when Atlanta elected a black mayor, Maynard Jackson, in 1973. No longer does the mayor of Atlanta have automatic membership privileges in the Driving Club. The bad publicity, however, should not go exclusively to Atlanta. Many other cities have similar clubs that maintain a wide social distance from Jews, blacks, and various other minority groups (Birmingham, 1977, pp. 68-69).

Prejudiced attitudes may also grow from direct interaction between members of different groups. If all the interaction is between one group in a superior position and another group in an inferior position, then it is sure to become stereotyped. It makes prejudice stronger, and a vicious circle is begun. Unfavorable stereotyping leads to prejudice, which in turn leads to discrimination, which leads back to unfavorable stereotyping. Economic stratification is linked to prejudice this way. The logic runs: Keep minorities "in their place" to avoid competition; then, stigmatize them as ignorant, shiftless, and lazy to justify keeping them "in their place." Laws to discourage discriminatory educational, hiring, and advertising practices have the effect of



Although it is true that many Mexican workers enter the United States illegally, it is hardly fair to scapegoat them as a cause of unemployment or welfare problems. They take jobs so undesirable that most American citizens would not accept them, and they return to Mexico at the end of the work season. While they are stereotyped as ignorant and incapable, anthropological studies have found them to be among the most "aggressive, optimistic, and socially mobile individuals in their society," making any sacrifice to help their families. (Herrera-Sobeck, 1978) (Alex Webb/Magnum)

breaking this vicious circle. The term *in their place* loses its meaning if minority-group persons are seen occupying a wide range of roles, high as well as low.

RACIAL AND ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

As we have seen, a functional view of social institutions and policies can be purely analytical in terms of outcomes and not judgmental. But what are the manifest and latent functions of discrimination?

Manifest Functions

Basically, the manifest, or obvious, function of unequal treatment of minorities has been to enhance the position of the dominant race and/or ethnic group. Slavery was a well-paying institution from the viewpoint of the dominant Southern land-owning class and continued to pay well until the Civil War (Fogel and Engerman, 1974). Whites reaped high dividends from killing American Indians or driving them off the land. Colonialism let the powerful exploit the labor and resources of underdeveloped societies. Hir-

ing policies that discriminate against minority groups and women favor white males, especially those of Northern European descent.

Many minority peoples have become scapegoats for their rulers. *Scapegoating* consists of blaming certain people (nearly always minorities) for the ills of society. Hitler was successful in convincing his followers that Germany did not really lose World War I on the battlefield but was stabbed in the back by Jews and communists who encouraged a peace treaty. In czarist Russia, the government encouraged Russians to attack (by pogroms) the Jews in times of discontent. In parts of Europe in the top half of the fourteenth century, Jews were blamed for causing the Black Death. In the American Southwest, some people now scapegoat Mexican immigrants.

Latent Functions

A number of latent, or little-noticed, functions of discrimination often work against the discriminating society. Slavery produced a class of poor whites, often unemployed because they could not compete with the slave system. Colonialism left a legacy of hatred for the Western world that has played into the hands of both communists and extreme nationalists. The importation of cheap labor changed the racial and ethnic composition of the United States, a displeasing fact to racists, many of whom originally profited by cheap labor. Discrimination has also produced enough internal hostility to lead to frequent riots and disorders.

MINORITY TREATMENT IN CONFLICT PERSPECTIVE

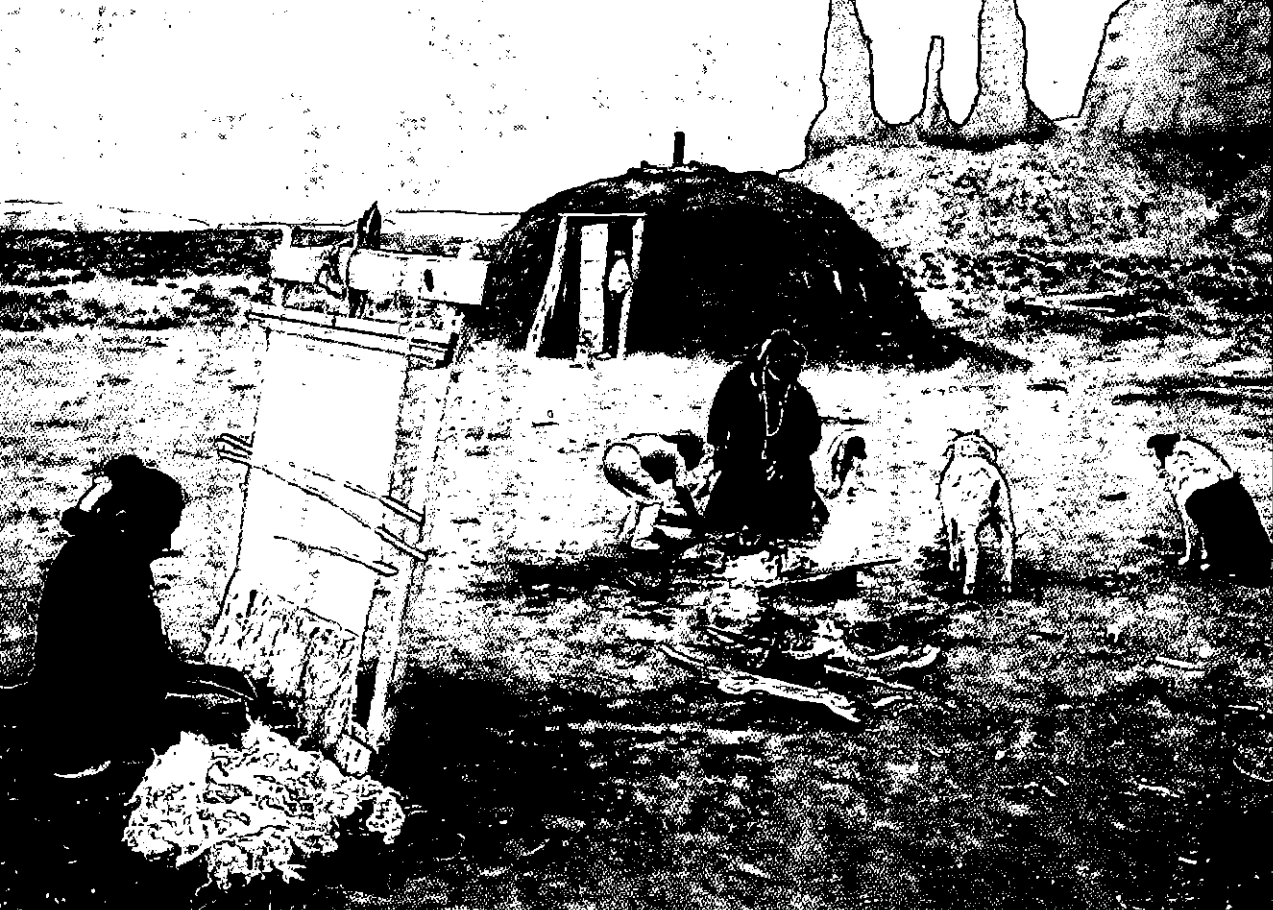
Conflict and competition are basic reasons for prejudice and discrimination. When two countries are locked in war, their hatred of

each other rises until each sees the other as evil. When a minority group within a country sympathizes with the enemy, that group may be hated even more than the enemy. Such was the case with Ireland. The Irish, subject to English rule in the 1600s, conspired with Spain and later with France against England. Fear and suspicion added greatly to the already prejudiced attitudes of the Irish and the English toward each other.

When a minority group is an economic or political threat to the majority, hostility between them grows stronger. Foreigners or other minority-group members are hated most when jobs are scarce and the majority is feeling the pinch. This theory of prejudice is called the *frustration-aggression theory*. It holds that aggression is always caused by frustration, or the blocking of people's paths toward their goal. In the United States, from 1882 to the 1920s, the lynching of blacks rose whenever the price of cotton fell. In this case, the economic reasons for racial violence were indirect. Black people did not cause the cotton prices to fall or take jobs away from whites. But poverty increased the frustrations of whites, which led to aggression. The blacks were a handy target for white aggression. However, more direct competition for jobs is also an excuse for violence. In the United States in the nineteenth century, the Chinese were attacked because they agreed to work for very low wages.

The Split-Labor-Market Theory of Racial Antagonism

Edna Bonacich (1972) has tried to explain ethnic and racial antagonism in terms of a split labor market. A *split labor market* is a condition that arises when minority groups are hired for lower pay than the majority group will accept. A split labor market also arises when minority-group members are the only



According to a Federal Trade Commission report, trading posts on Navajo reservations pay weavers only a fraction of the market value for their handwoven rugs, and pawn shops "lose" pawned jewelry. Those who do railroad and construction work are employed in a split labor market. Most Navajos are given menial jobs, but "Those that enjoy positions of responsibility are compensated at a lower rate than comparable white employees." (Report to the Federal Trade Commission, 1973) (Dennis Stock/Magnum)

people who hold certain menial jobs. When a split labor market exists, members of majority groups are kept out of particular jobs and, at the same time, begin to look down on out-group members who hold those jobs.

In the South, in the days of slavery, there were few jobs for poor whites. They could not work without pay, as the slaves were forced to do. At the same time, they did not want to do the same type of work as the slaves, because they felt superior to them. To do slave labor is to lose status as a free person. Thus, although the slaves seemed to be outside a com-

petitive labor market, they actually provided a threat to that market.

Even after slavery ended, for decades black people worked almost exclusively at jobs with little pay or prestige—shining shoes; serving as porters, maids, or janitors; sharecropping; and digging ditches. Such jobs became stereotyped as black jobs, and many poor whites refused to hold them.

In the Southwest, where much of the "stoop labor" in agriculture has been done by immigrants from Mexico or by Mexican-Americans, field jobs tend to be regarded as

“Mexican” or “Chicano” jobs. It could be argued, of course, that Anglo-Americans once did all kinds of fieldwork themselves. However, when larger farms and hired labor become the standard, cheap labor (Mexican or Mexican-American) drives more expensive labor (Anglo-American) out of the market. It is quite likely that the racial stereotyping of jobs is just as effective as low pay in driving out the majority group. Similarly, until very recently, whenever jobs were stereotyped as belonging to women, those jobs lost status and men withdrew from the competition.

The split-labor-market theory applies best to certain minority groups in American history. Blacks and Chicanos are the most prominent, but at times poor white ethnics from Southern and Eastern Europe have worked in the mines, while the Chinese at one time had a virtual monopoly on railroad work. Some American Indians were brought into the split labor market after having been deprived of their best lands. Navajos, for example, have been hired at jobs considered inferior by many others or are hired at better jobs for less pay than their white co-workers receive. Their art objects, representing hundred of hours of work, are sold at prices so low that majority-group labor could not possibly compete.

Antagonism against minority groups may also be aimed at people who are not at the bottom of the economic scale in the countries to which they have migrated. In the United States, Jews, the Chinese, and migrants from India have filled a middleman position.

Ethnic Groups in the Middleman Position

The term *marginal adaptation* is used to describe the way in which people who live on the border between two cultures find a niche for themselves in the dominant culture. For

certain groups, marginal adaptation consisted of a middleman position. The middleman is one who buys goods from a supplier and then sells them to the public or one who transports goods from a source to other suppliers. Moneylending and pawnbroking are occupations of a similar type. Bonacich (1973) notes that these types of businesses are those that are easily liquidated if necessary. Many groups of migrants have not meant to be permanent settlers but have dreamed of returning home or of finding a homeland of their own.

Although members of these ethnic groups may see themselves as only temporary residents, many of them do settle down and begin to form a middle class in the adopted land. In medieval Spain, the Jews and Moors formed such a group. They were forced to leave in the late fifteenth century, one reason for the slow development of the middle class in that country. Throughout medieval Europe, the Catholic Church had outlawed usury (the charging of interest on money) as an occupation for Christians. Because at the same time, Jews were not allowed to own land, they were forced into such fields as trade, banking, and moneylending. In much of Europe, Jews dreamed of returning to a homeland of their own. Some stayed on in foreign lands long enough to identify with them very strongly. Some became prominent: the British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli and, later, the French Premier Pierre Mendès-France are examples. Nevertheless, many Jews feel that their future is uncertain. “Anything Jewish is always apprehensive,” says Bertram Gold (Karnow, 1974, p. 12), executive vice-president of the American Jewish Committee. Jews have come to know permanence of residence, devotion to the countries they inhabit, and great academic and professional success. But they have never had absolute certainty that their world will not some-

how collapse if the majority group should decide to attack them.

The Chinese have filled the middleman and business roles in much of Southeast Asia. Like the Jews, they have known hostility, lost lives and property, and been driven out of their homes in Indonesia and Vietnam by the hundreds of thousands.

Many of these middleman occupations antagonize people of the host country. To make a living as a middleman, one must buy as

American Indians unite to demonstrate a reawakened pride in group identity and to increase their demands for justice. (Chie Nishio/Nancy Palmer Photo Agency)



cheaply as possible and sell for as much as possible. As a result, both the wholesale supplier and the buyer of goods see the middleman as shrewd and devious. A middleman who does well may put aside enough money to make loans, but this activity does not make the middleman more popular in the new community. Occasionally the ethnic group turns instead to the professions, as some Jews and Chinese have done. These occupations do not cause as much resentment as the middleman positions, and they have probably helped to reduce ethnic antagonism in the United States. The reasons for changing attitudes toward minorities, however, are much more complex, and the new attitudes are often confused and contradictory.

REACTIONS TO DISCRIMINATION

Members of minority groups can adjust in many ways to their subordinate status and to discriminatory treatment. In extreme cases, they may feel self-hatred and accept for themselves the hostile view of the majority. Self-hatred probably motivated much of the skin-bleaching and painful hair-straightening among American blacks. Some members of minority groups react by vigorous self-improvement efforts, working harder in order to prove themselves. Jesse Jackson, a prominent black leader, speaks to groups all over the country to encourage self-improvement. In the past, especially for blacks and women, job discrimination has made even the greatest effort of dubious value.

Protests of various kinds form another possible reaction against discrimination. Protests can be nonviolent, as were those by the followers of Martin Luther King, or they can be violent, as were the urban riots of the 1960s. Another reaction is marginal adaptation,

which we discussed above. Booker T. Washington hoped that blacks could marginally adapt by filling skilled technical jobs because he saw little chance that whites would let them take top positions in law, management, or politics.

One increasingly common reaction to discrimination by minority groups in the United States and abroad is an intensified group loyalty. Like *nativism*, *intensified group loyalty* implies a strong attempt to preserve one's native culture. Some racial and ethnic group leaders are dubious about fidelity to native culture. (Does nativism mean Navajos should always live in smoky hogans and never leave the reservation?) But all strongly believe in group loyalty.

American Indians: Intensified Loyalty

American Indians traditionally used spiritual means to bring about cultural revival. Western tribes during the 1870s performed the Ghost Dance so that the lands stolen by the whites would be returned. The Indians' hopes were dashed when American cavalry, suspicious of what was happening and furious because of Custer's defeat, attacked the Indians at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. They killed more than 300 men, women, and children, in the final massacre of the Western Plains.

Among American Indians today, intensification takes two directions. First, many reservation chiefs and other officeholders do not want to see their people become lost in the white world but to remain loyal to their own tribes and leaders. Second, the modern and more radical American Indian Movement (A.I.M.) also calls for heightening Indians' awareness of themselves as people, but as a united people. A.I.M. appeals to Indians and part-Indians of all tribes, including those liv-

ing on reservations and those living in the cities, to unite in an effort to preserve Indian lands and to find methods to raise themselves out of poverty. The approach stresses ethnic and racial identity over tribal identity. As we will see below, American blacks have also reacted to domination with intensified loyalty to their heritage. So have Mexican-Americans.

Chicano Identity

Fernando Peñalosa lists several changes in Chicano attitudes in recent years, all showing an intensification of loyalty (Peñalosa, 1972). The sense of Chicano community is stronger than in the past, *la raza* ("the race") has become a cause to fight for, and achieving group goals seems possible. There is a renewed interest in the history and culture of Mexico—although this interest had never entirely died—and barrio art, music, and drama have been revived on a larger scale. Chicanos are trying to influence institutions most important to them, especially schools. Finally, Chicano sociologists and other scholars are becoming interested in studying their own people and are increasingly critical of outsiders' studies of Chicanos. More Chicanos now view education as the major path to upward mobility. These changes have largely come about for two reasons. Chicanos have seen the recent gains of American blacks, and Chicanos are now predominately urban, which provides better opportunities for interaction. Eventually, the younger generations tend to drop the use of Spanish, but they do not lose their ethnic identity. Indeed, many feel placed in a color-caste position, and this increases the tendency to band together (Lopez, 1978). Finally, there is a growing optimism in the Chicano community. Hope for the future can be as strong an incentive as threat in drawing people together for a common cause.

Loyalty in the Black Community

Blacks are the only American minority group to have been brought here entirely against their will, to have been enslaved, and to have had their original culture almost totally and deliberately stamped out. The prevailing attitude of black Americans is and has been in favor of desegregation. Despite many statements from whites that blacks actually seek self-segregation, over two-thirds of blacks strongly support desegregation (Campbell, 1971). However, this does not mean a desire to imitate whites or to judge all things by white standards. The civil rights movement of the 1960s reawakened an interest in African culture and caused a decline in styles that copy whites. Black leadership has passed into the hands of blacks rather than being dominated by white liberals, as in the early days of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The radical leaders of the 1960s never gained majority following, but they brought about an important change in the black self-concept, summed up in the slogan "Black Is Beautiful." Such euphemisms as "colored" were dropped, and "black" became the preferred name for a people who had found pride in their identity.

Segregation persists, especially in housing. Black unemployment rates in ghettos run three or four times as high as unemployment rates for whites. For many of those to whom life has been only a series of frustrations, finding a new identity is more important than joining an integrated society. One religious movement, the Black Muslims, now called *Nation of Islam in the West*, has spoken especially strongly not only of black equality but of black superiority. (See the insert "Things Begin To Add Up: The Conversion of Amos X.")

The overwhelming majority of black

Americans do not share the view found in the earlier days of the Muslim movement that all American culture must be rejected. Intensification of racial pride for most blacks does not call for separatism. Instead, it involves an ideal of personal and group pride: blacks as an equal group in a pluralistic society. Most blacks wish to gain better-paying and more prestigious jobs, but they have not sacrificed group identity and loyalty for the sake of moving up. Even though substantial progress has been made, most blacks remain relatively poor.

A Decline in Significance of Racial Identity?

Unity and strong racial identification have aided the cause of blacks and other racial minority groups. Yet some black leaders fear that these feelings may be on the wane. One possible cause may be a lack of dramatic issues such as the famous integration marches in Selma and Birmingham in the days of Martin Luther King. Also, because considerable progress has been made, whites are less apt to join blacks in protest than they did in the 1960s (Randolph, 1980). Another problem is that as more blacks move into the middle classes, they tend to think along social-class rather than racial lines (Wilson, 1979).

Renewed Ethnic Identity

Americans show the same contradictory attitudes toward ethnic minorities as they do toward blacks. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Americans were very hostile toward foreigners who could not or would not be assimilated. The majority believed that America was a great "melting pot" and that all immigrants should



This group devoted to black brotherhood, with its slogan "Serve, Protect, Share," illustrates an intensification of loyalty to racial tradition. (Kleinberg/Liaison)

give up their ethnic identities as soon as possible. Further, to be like everyone else was to have "made good."

In 1945, W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole (pp. 285–296) published a study on how long it has taken various immigrant groups to assimilate into American society. To a great extent, this study is a profile of ethnic, racial, and religious prejudice. Protestants were more quickly accepted than Catholics, and Catholics were accepted sooner than non-Christians. Warner and Srole discovered that the more "foreign" people looked—the less they conformed to the WASP stereotype—the longer it took them to be accepted and assimilated.

The 1960s and 1970s overturned the melting pot with a resurgence of ethnic pride. "Black is Beautiful," "Viva la Raza," and "Red Power" became popular slogans. Michael

Novak complains that his people and those from Eastern Europe are *hyphenated Americans*, they are Polish-Americans, Slovak-Americans, and Czech-Americans but never simply Americans.

New Reasons for Ethnicity

Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (1974) have tried to find out why more people stress their ethnic identities now than in the past. Glazer and Moynihan linked this recent interest to government programs and policies that aid minority groups. If special consideration is given to blacks, then white ethnics who are not much better off—Poles, Slovaks, Italians, Greeks, and Rumanians, for example—also want their share. Culture and religion remain important for ethnic identity, but there is a new stress on economic is-

Things begin to add up: The conversion of Amos X

JOHN HOWARD

Amos X grew up in an all-Negro town in Oklahoma and attended a Negro college. Because of this, he had almost no contact with whites during his formative years.

After graduating from college, Amos joined the Marines. There he began to "see how they [the whites] really felt" about him; by the end of his tour, he had concluded that "the white man is the greatest liar, the greatest cheat, the greatest hypocrite on earth." Alienated and disillusioned, he turned to professional gambling. Then, in an attempt at a more conventional way of life, he married and took a job teaching school.

I taught English. Now I'm no expert in the slave master's language, but I knew the way those kids talked after being in school for eight or nine years was ridiculous. They said things like "men's" for "men." I drilled them and pretty soon some of them at least in class began to sound like they had been inside a school. Now the principal taught a senior class in English and his kids talked as bad as mine. When I began to straighten out his kids also he felt I was criticizing him. . . . That little black man was afraid of the [white] superintendent and all those teachers were afraid. They had a little more than other so-called Negroes and didn't give a damn about those black children they were teaching. Those were the wages of honesty. It's one thing to want do do an honest job and another thing to be able to.

With the collapse of his career as a public school teacher and the breakup of his marriage, Amos went to California, where he was introduced to the Muslim movement.

I first heard of them [the Muslims] in 1961. There was a debate here between a Muslim and a Christian minister. The Muslim said all the things about Christianity I had been thinking but had never heard anyone say before. He tore the minister up.

Finding an organization that aggressively rejected the white man and the white man's religion, Amos found his own point of view crystallized. He joined without hesitation.

John Howard, "The Making of a Black Muslim." Published by permission of Transaction, Inc., from *TRANSACTION*, vol. 4, no. 2, copyright © 1966 by Transaction, Inc.

sues and on opportunities in school and on the job.

Government policies such as hiring quotas are aimed at helping minority groups economically and making them part of mainstream America. However, if racial and ethnic groups organize to gain and continue these policies, the latent function may be to

increase their loyalty to the group. This pattern of increased ethnic identification is not unique to the United States. It is growing in all multinational states, especially where people feel excluded from government services and social opportunities. Israel has the problem of Oriental as well as European Jews. Yugoslavia must try to promote Ser-

bians and Montenegrans as well as Croatians. Western European countries have to cope with new ethnic groups—Algerians in France, Turkish and Italian laborers in Germany, and Pakistanis and Indians in England.

The desire to join ethnic organizations and to maintain an ethnic identity does not stem wholly from economic concerns, as Glaser and Moynihan have noted. People want to feel a sense of identity with a particular culture—its legends, folk art, and festivals. They need a sense of belonging in a world that seems too large and impersonal. Ethnic-group affiliation, according to Michael Novak, fills these needs: “Whereas the Anglo-Saxon model appears to be a system of atomic individuals and high mobility, our model has tended to stress communities of our own, attachment to family and relatives, stability, and roots” (1971).

SOCIAL CHANGE AND GROUP RELATIONS

Largely because of organization and protests and the political decisions that followed, very great changes have come about in race and ethnic relations in the United States. Although such groups as blacks, Chicanos, and American Indians remain vastly overrepresented among the poor, their educational standards and political participation have increased. Attitudes toward black Americans have undergone a remarkable change.

Contrasting Attitudes toward Blacks

In 1937, the black novelist Richard Wright described his experiences in making deliveries for a hotel in Jackson, Mississippi. Each story provides a shocking example of racism. The insert “Uncle Tom’s Children” illustrates



“Are we ethnic?”

(Drawing by Hamilton; © 1972 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.)

the inferior position of black people at that time and place.

The old attitudes that forced blacks into silent submission and humiliation are changing. A Gallup poll conducted in 1978 shows a marked drop in racial bias among Americans (Gallup, 1978). The change regarding school integration is most marked among southern whites. In 1963, only 28 percent of southern white parents were willing to send their children to schools in which half the children were black; by 1978, the percentage had climbed to 79. Throughout the nation, 77 percent of whites said they would have no objection to voting for a well-qualified black man for president. Attitudes toward black neighbors still show feelings of social distance, although the feelings are now less marked. Whereas in 1963, 45 percent of whites said they would move if they had black neighbors of their own educational and income level, in 1978, only 16 percent said they would do so. In 1978, 54 percent opposed marriages between blacks and whites; in 1969 the figure was 72 percent.

Uncle Tom's children RICHARD WRIGHT

One of the bellboys was caught in bed with a white prostitute. He was castrated and run out of town. Immediately after this all the bellboys and hallboys were called together and warned. We were given to understand that the boy who had been castrated was a "mighty lucky bastard." We were impressed with the fact that next time the management of the hotel would not be responsible for the lives of "trouble makin' niggers."

One night, just as I was about to go home, I met one of the Negro maids. She lived in my direction, and we fell in to walk part of the way home together. As we passed the white watchman, he slapped the maid on her buttock. I turned around, amazed. The watchman looked at me with a long, hard fixed-under stare. Suddenly he pulled his gun and asked:

"Nigger, don't you like it?"

I hesitated.

"I asked yuh don't yuh like it?" he said again, stepping forward.

"Yes sir," I mumbled.

"Talk like it, then!"

"Oh yes sir!" I said with as much heartiness as I could muster.

Outside I walked ahead of the girl, ashamed to face her. She caught up with me and said:

"Don't be a fool; yuh couldn't help it!"

This watchman boasted of having killed two Negroes in self-defense.

Yet, in spite of all this, the life of the hotel ran with amazing smoothness. It would have been impossible for a stranger to detect anything. The maids, the bellboys, and the hallboys were all smiles. They had to be.

From "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow," in *Uncle Tom's Children*, by Richard Wright, Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1937.

Such episodes show the institutionalized racism that followed the days of slavery, when abuse and humiliation had to be accepted without a show of hostility. This situation is also shown vividly in Alex Haley's biographical-historical work, Roots (1976).

Attitudes toward housing are inconsistent. Approximately 68 percent of whites agreed that unfair housing practices are used against blacks and that black people have the right to protest as long as demonstrations are orderly (*Society*, 1972). However, about half the whites opposed laws to prevent racial discrimination in housing. Whites who are regular churchgoers seem to stiffen in their opposition to violence against blacks, but they are no more sympathetic to black causes or more

willing to mingle socially with blacks than are other whites.

Housing: Persistent Patterns

More black people live in integrated communities than in the past, but our overall urban pattern remains distinctly segregated and appears not to be changing appreciably. One obvious reason is economic. Because black people are, on the average, not as well off as

whites, they must seek housing in the poorer parts of town. Another reason is that many whites still make blacks feel uncomfortable in their neighborhoods. An even more important reason, according to an investigation by Dianna Pearce, is real estate policy (1979). Using an experimental method of investigation, Pearce had white and black couples, all equally attractive in appearance, occupation, and income, apply at real estate offices in Detroit and one of its fashionable suburbs for help in finding a house. In all cases, whites were treated courteously and shown homes of the type they desired. In a few cases, blacks received no reply to inquiries; when they did, they were consistently steered to homes which were of lesser value than they had requested and located in or adjacent to black neighborhoods. Such action violates the National Association of Real Estate Boards' policy; but Pearce concludes that there is, nevertheless, a consensus among realtors on what can be called *institutional racism* in housing policies in most major American cities.

The Educational Outlook

The number of black people completing high school has steadily increased in the last twenty years. In 1974, for the first time in American history, the percentage of blacks entering college equaled the percentage of blacks in the total American population, although they often entered community colleges with the intent of completing only one or two years. Chicanos have had a higher dropout rate from school than either blacks or whites, but a fairly drastic change had taken place by the mid-1970s. As a general rule, education for minority groups has paid off, but not as well as for white males. Even a college-educated black earns an average of only 78 percent as much as a similarly educated white.

Figures for college education in the late

1970s are not as encouraging as they were earlier. A California study, which is said to mirror a national trend, showed a 20 percent decline in the number of black students at the University of California campuses between 1974 and 1979 (Torvik, 1979). The causes are not known with certainty, but rising costs of a college education undoubtedly enter the picture. Some black students contend that the Bakke case has had an impact.

The Bakke case and reverse discrimination For many years some white Americans had complained about *reverse discrimination*. This is the policy of allowing a certain percentage of minority people into positions for which there are many applicants, with the effect of excluding whites who have equally good, or even better, qualifications. In 1978, the issue came before the Supreme Court of the United States in the form of a complaint against the medical school of the University of California at Davis, filed by Allan Bakke, a white student. Bakke charged that he had been turned down for an opening in the medical school because the school policy gave special consideration to black candidates for admission. In a split decision, the Supreme Court ordered Bakke admitted, ruled against numerical admission quotas based on race, but left open the possibility of special considerations for applicants on other grounds, such as economic hardship. The case did not end affirmative-action programs (programs to give special help to members of minority groups) but made them more difficult to implement than before.

The Weber case In June 1979, the Supreme Court rendered a very different decision that was seen as a victory for civil rights advocates. Brian Weber, a white, argued that he had been rejected by an industry training program on the basis of reverse discrimination.

The Louisiana steel mill he worked for had instituted a training program designed to increase the number of blacks in skilled jobs and thereby reverse an old hiring pattern that had discriminated against them. The Supreme Court, in a five-to-two decision, ruled against Weber, saying that private companies could voluntarily institute policies to redress racial imbalances.

The two decisions, like so much that occurs in race relations, seem somewhat contradictory. The decision in the Bakke case may have the effect of making admission to graduate school more difficult for blacks; the decision in the Weber case should help them to obtain skilled jobs. Some might argue that the Court favors blacks in skilled jobs but not among the educational elite. Others might make the legal distinction that the Bakke case involved a public institution, the Weber case a private corporation. Both cases, however, grow out of a long tradition of institutional racism.

Integration of schools: The busing issue

Thomas Pettigrew, reviewing opinion polls in the early 1970s, found that a large majority of white parents favored *integration of schools* (Pettigrew, 1975) (as did Gallup in 1978), but 75 percent opposed busing schoolchildren for the sake of integration. Pettigrew's explanation is that although most whites are no longer racists, they are not sufficiently dedicated to racial equality to put up with major inconveniences for its sake. Surveys of the effects of integration are inconsistent, but Pettigrew concludes that as long as integration is brought about without rousing strikes and ill will, it is moderately successful in improving the schoolwork of black children.

Proponents of busing point out that children are already bused considerable distances to avoid crowding of schools, and with

little complaint. Opponents argue that a trip by bus is long and tiring, and transportation is costly. Busing also flies in the face of a common American assumption that schools should be locally controlled, located in the neighborhood, and responsive to the wishes of the children's parents. Furthermore, busing has sometimes entrenched racism by accelerating a trend toward private or parochial schools, leaving public schools in some areas largely for the poor and the black.

Despite great strides in the integration of schools, especially in a number of Southern and Border states, the drive toward school integration has virtually reached a standstill (Trombley, 1979). Presidents Ford, Nixon, and Carter displayed no enthusiasm for enforcing school integration laws. Although the Supreme Court ruled in 1973 that Northern cities could be required to desegregate if they had engaged in intentional acts of segregation (the Swann case), it ruled the following year against a Detroit plan to desegregate by bringing the largely black inner-city schools into the same district as the suburban schools. Since then, Congress has forbidden the use of federal funds for the purpose of busing to achieve integration.

Race and Poverty

Statistics show that even today, when certain government policies work to equalize opportunity, being black means being poor. A few statistics will make the point clear. The contrast between the numbers of black and white people living at poverty levels is startling; see Table 7-1.

Unemployment figures tell the same story. Unemployment among blacks is 2.21 times as high as among whites. Unemployment among people with Spanish surnames is 1.71 times as high as among other whites.

Table 7-1 Percent of white and black people who live at poverty levels

	WHITE	BLACK
Male	7.6	30.1
Female	10.3	37.1
65 and over (female)	20.6	44.1
65 and over (male)	11.3	39.4
Children under 6	11.3	42.6

Source: *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1975 edition; copyright © Newspaper Enterprise Association, New York, 1974. P. 156.

In occupational categories, the same inequality is evident in the contrast between blacks, those with Spanish surnames, and other white Americans; see Table 7-2.

Americans with Spanish surnames include mainly people of Mexican descent as well as considerable numbers of Puerto Ricans and Cubans. Of the three groups, Cubans have the highest income and employment level. Figures for Chicanos are considerably lower,

Table 7-2 Percent of white, Spanish-surnamed, and black people in various occupational categories

OCCUPATION	WHITE	SPANISH-SURNAMED	BLACK
Professional	14.4	6.5	8.5
White collar (including professional)	49.8	28.9	28.6
Service	11.7	15.8	26.4
Farm	3.7	5.6	2.7
Other	10.6	19.0	20.1

Source: *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1975 edition; Copyright © Newspaper Enterprise Association, New York, 1974. P. 422.

and those for Puerto Ricans are the lowest.

A study by the Rand Corporation shows that black women have made rapid gains and earn wages virtually equal to those of white women. Pay for women is far below pay for men (see Chapter 8), but improvement for black women has been real. As of 1947, black women (mainly domestic employees) earned

Poverty can easily be a result of social environment and circumstances. To blame people for their poverty is described by most sociologists as "blaming the victim." (Paul Conklin/Monkmeyer)



only one-third as much as white women. Black men also increased their incomes, but more slowly relative to white men. At present rates of improvement, the Rand study estimates their pay will not equal that of white men for another 30 years (Timnick, 1978).

Blaming the Victim

There are two ways of looking at the problems of depressed minority groups. One is to blame the group itself; the other is to look for causes within the larger society. Those who believe that all Americans have an equal chance to succeed tend to blame these groups for their own problems. White people once believed that blacks were not as intelligent as they. In recent years, this belief has declined, from 58 percent in 1942 to 22 percent in 1956, with little change since.

Many whites continue to hold blacks responsible for their disadvantaged social position. After extensive interviews with whites in fifteen American cities, Howard Schuman found that most of them blame blacks for their generally poorer jobs and living conditions (1969). Nineteen percent of Schuman's respondents said that poor living conditions were due to discrimination; another 19 percent that discrimination was partly responsible. But 54 percent said that the blacks themselves were responsible for their poverty. (Four percent said blacks were just as well off economically as whites, so the questions were pointless.)

If human behavior and life-styles are determined by environment, then to blame those who do not achieve is a matter of blaming the victims of unfavorable environments. It is quite easy for well-to-do Americans to imagine how they would improve conditions if they were born into very poor families, but they often do not understand how and why improvement is so difficult.

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN WORLD PERSPECTIVE

The description of the escape from Vietnam, with which this chapter started, is part of a horrifyingly long series of events in which we also see slavery, exile, extermination, castes, segregation, and attempts at *cultural genocide*—attempts to wipe out minority cultures and make their people conform to majority views and customs. A very few examples do exist of minority groups given full or nearly full equality. Among them are Switzerland with its Italian, French, and Germanic cultures and languages; Belgium with its Flemish and Walloon peoples; Finland with its Swedes, Finns, and Lapps.

In the modern world, race and ethnicity have developed two especially significant features—international migration and intensified efforts toward ethnic autonomy.

International Migration

Since World War II, there has been large-scale international migration of a new type. The countries of the European Common Market, especially France and Germany, imported laborers from Italy, Turkey, Greece, and Algeria, creating pockets of ethnicity in previously homogeneous areas. England has accepted many migrants from former colonies, especially from India and Africa, although the migrants have met with hostility and discrimination.

Migration patterns in the United States have also changed. Unequal immigration laws curtailed immigration from Asia (among other areas) between 1882 and 1943. The old bias in favor of Northern European whites began to slip from our immigration laws; an act of 1965 virtually ended discrimination against Asian immigrants. Chinese immigra-

tion now amounts to around 20,000 people per year; many are refugees and members of former intellectual or business classes in China (Sung, 1977). Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees have fled in great numbers to the United States and Canada; some have gone to France. Immigration from India, Korea, and the Philippines has also increased. The Philippines complain of a "brain drain" because so many doctors, nurses, and scientists have left for the United States (Pido, 1977). India has had a similar problem because most emigrants are well-educated and upper-class and find decent jobs in the United States (Saran, 1977). Many recent Arabic immigrants are also among the financially advantaged.

Poor immigrants can pose a serious labor problem. High unemployment rates in Mexico have caused many immigrants to cross illegally into the United States. In the late 1970s, the Department of Immigration and Naturalization estimated that at least 7 million illegal immigrants were living in the United States (Portes, 1977). Those with illegal status are in no position to organize or demand higher pay, which means that they constitute an underpaid labor force and, as we have noted, antagonize native American labor. Bradley Parlin charges that the employment situation is worsened by employment agencies which act as "gatekeepers" to maintain discriminatory hiring policies (1977). Such policies, he says, apply to both professional and unskilled laborers.

It is too early to see the eventual impact of all this new immigration on racial and ethnic relations in the United States, Canada, and Europe. However, the Department of Justice reported, as of 1979, a large increase in vandalism aimed at both blacks and foreigners (*Newsweek*, Oct. 1, 1979). Past experience indicates that unless communities, educational institutions, and various levels of government

pursue more enlightened social policies, discrimination and more protests lie ahead.

Reemerging Ethnicity on a World Scale

The world has long heard the outcries of nationalists: the Irish against the British in Northern Ireland, French Canadians for independence, Palestinians for a homeland. Abdul Said and Luiz Simmons (1975) name many other countries in which ethnic minorities are engaged in struggles for independence or autonomy: Cyprus, Iraq, Malaysia, Guyana, Uganda, and Nigeria are just a few. They also note that long-quiescent ethnic minorities have begun demanding local autonomy—the Scots are one example, the Basques of Spain another. In Africa, many movements for local autonomy will likely arise because many present national boundaries were drawn by Europeans for their own convenience and do not observe differences, even antagonisms, between tribes.

Said and Simmons argue that although many have considered the modern world as tending toward larger nation-states which hold people's loyalties, the reality is that "We are entering a new era marked by a fundamental shift in international politics in which the nation-state is no longer the ultimate community" (1977, p. 65). The "ultimate community," in their view, is the ethnic group. Even if you consider their view exaggerated, history shows that racial and ethnic determinism has led to the collapse of such political entities as the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Empire of the Ottoman Turks, and to the collapse of nearly all overseas colonial empires. Whatever the future holds, we cannot assume that ethnic differences are sure to disappear in a cultural blending within nation-states; neither can we assume that the era of racial and ethnic strife is past.

SUMMARY

Differences in race and culture produce serious problems and injustices throughout the world, as the flight of the ethnic Chinese from Vietnam illustrates. Throughout history similar exile has been the fate of many peoples whose race or culture has made them unacceptable to the powerful groups among whom they live.

Race refers to hereditary differences in such traits as skin color, eye color, or eye shape. Most anthropologists and sociologists believe that the concept is important only as it relates to discrimination and unequal treatment of people—a practice called *racism*. *Ethnic groups* are those which differ from the majority culturally. They are also frequently subjected to the same types of unequal treatment as are minority races.

In an interactionist view, prejudice and discrimination arise when certain groups are consistently seen and stereotyped in inferior positions. Discrimination keeps many minority ethnic and racial groups in inferior positions; the resulting social inferiority is interpreted as actual inferiority, further strengthening prejudice. Prejudice also creates *social distance*—the desire not to mingle too closely with discriminated-against groups.

Discrimination serves certain functions for the dominant groups of a society. Sometimes minority groups are convenient scapegoats. In the past, discrimination and racism were excuses for slavery and colonialism. To this day, they rationalize poor wages, unfair competition, and feelings of superiority among majority-group members. Discrimination, however, produces such latent functions as the creation of an unemployed class among the poor of the majority group, hatred of colonial powers and superordinate groups, riots, disorders, alienation, and increased levels of crime.

From the conflict perspective, discriminatory treatment is not only a possible cause for internal conflicts and disorders, but also the creator of constant tensions within a society. When minority groups are subjected to a split labor market (one in which they work only at inferior jobs and/or at lower pay than others), the result is increased hostility. The same hostility grows among minority groups whose only means of livelihood is “middleman” positions—buying and selling at a *profit*, pawnbroking, or lending money. Historically, overseas Chinese, Indians, and Jews have been subjects of animosity for being middlemen.

Minority reaction to discrimination takes a variety of forms: internalized feelings of inferiority, self-improvement attempts, demonstrations, protests, riots, political action. Recently in the United States, many minority groups have adopted *nativism*, or intensified loyalty to their own cultures. Sometimes native culture has been less important than renewed loyalty to the group and reiteration of the principle of equal rights. Intensified loyalty has occurred among blacks and American Indians, Chicanos, and ethnics of Southern and Eastern European descent.

Public opinion polls show that racism has diminished greatly in the last 20 years. When translated into policies, however, such changing attitudes are not quite so impressive. Housing remains largely segregated. The drive to integrate schools, especially by busing, has slowed. Educational standards for blacks and other racial minorities rose sharply in the 1960s and 1970s; then a downturn in enrollment in college and graduate schools by blacks set in. The decision in the Bakke case, aimed at eliminating reverse discrimination, has made enrollment in graduate schools more difficult for members of minority races. The decision in the Weber case, however, guarantees employees the right to initiate training programs aimed at increas-

ing the number of minority members in skilled jobs.

Although black income has improved considerably, poverty remains more prevalent among blacks, Chicanos, and American Indians than among the majority of Americans. White Americans tend to believe that opportunities are closer to equal than they actually are. Such a perception leads to blaming the victims of poverty and unemployment for their own problems rather than looking to economic and social conditions that are the underlying cause.

Racial and ethnic problems are by no means limited to the United States. They are worldwide. Historically, minorities have been excluded, exiled, exterminated. In some

cases, the attempt has been to wipe out the cultures of minority people.

At present, minority relations are characterized by an increased level of international migration, caused partly by job requirements and partly by refugee problems. Illegal entrants fear to protest conditions of work and must settle for inferior jobs and poor pay, thus alienating American labor.

In many parts of the world, minority groups are engaged in struggles for independence or at least partial independence (autonomy). So great is the movement for ethnic self-determination that some people think of this as an age in which loyalties to nation-states are being subordinated to loyalties to the ethnic group.

STUDY GUIDE

Chapter objectives

This chapter defines racial and ethnic minorities and examines their problems and relationships with the dominant culture. After reading it, you should be able to:

- 1 Explain the meaning of racial and ethnic groups.
- 2 Understand the origins of prejudice and how prejudiced attitudes are related to discriminatory practices.
- 3 See why increased interaction and the reduction of social distance are important in reducing prejudice.
- 4 Understand economic factors in *intergroup* antagonism, such as competition for jobs, a split labor market, and marginal adjustments for minority groups.
- 5 Understand the complexities and inconsistencies in modern attitudes toward minorities.
- 6 Understand how social forces account for the close connection between race and poverty.
- 7 Recognize the worldwide nature of racial and ethnic minority problems.

Glossary (Complete glossary at end of text)

- Blaming the victim** Holding depressed minority groups or unfortunate individuals responsible for their problems.
- Discrimination** A system of unequal treatment toward objects of prejudice.
- Ethnic group** A group whose culture is sufficiently different in beliefs, values, and customs that its members feel an ingroup identity.
- Institutional racism** Racism within the institutional structure of society.
- Marginal adaption** The process by which people who live on the border between two cultures find a niche for themselves in the dominant culture.
- Minority** A group of people, identifiable by biological or cultural traits, who are in a subordinate position.
- Nativism** A strong attempt to preserve one's native culture.
- Prejudice** Negative attitude toward a person or group, often based on careless stereotyping.
- Race** Inherited physical differences in groups of people of different geographic origins.
- Racism** The belief that race is very important in determining the quality of people's abilities.
- Scapegoating** Blaming a person or a group for the troubles of society.
- Stereotype** A standardized and oversimplified description applied to a group of people.

Names to know

Michael Novak
Alexis de Toqueville

Edna Bonacich
Richard Wright

Alex Haley
Thomas F. Pettigrew

Self-test**Part I. Multiple Choice. Select the best of the four alternative answers.**

- Race is defined as a matter of difference in (a) culture, (b) mentality, (c) physical type, (d) technological development.
- A good example of a group that is both racially and ethnically different from the majority of Americans is that of (a) people of Eastern European descent, (b) Italian-Americans, (c) reservation Indians, (d) all the above.
- In Festinger's analysis of rationalizing, when we are unfair to people of another race, we (a) don't let it bother us, (b) feel good about it, (c) feel unhappy about it, (d) try to convince ourselves that they deserve it.
- Discrimination leads to prejudice through (a) the habit of looking down on victims of discrimination, (b) observing the generally inferior status of those discriminated against and accepting it as "natural," (c) finding reasons for cruelties against victims of discrimination, (d) all the above.
- Historically, the stereotypes of races have been supported by (a) racial and ethnic jokes, (b) movies, (c) history books, (d) all the above.
- When different racial or ethnic groups have been employed at the same job at dif-

- ferent wages, (a) high-priced workers tend to drive out lower-priced workers, (b) unemployment is highest among black workers, (c) low-priced workers tend to drive out high-priced workers, (d) none of the above.
- 7 A good example of prejudice against a minority group in a middleman position is that of (a) Italian workers in Germany, (b) Chinese in Southeast Asia, (c) Algerians in France, (d) black Americans.
 - 8 Interaction between races (a) always lowers antagonistic feelings, (b) always increases antagonistic feelings, (c) makes no improvement in relations if conducted on the basis of stereotyped roles, (d) improves relations provided each race conducts itself as the other race expects it to.
 - 9 Modern racial attitudes appear to be quite mixed, with white respondents to a questionnaire seeming most favorable to black fellow workers or even supervisors on the job but least favorable to (a) busing to achieve school integration, (b) fair housing, (c) having black neighbors, (d) having black children in their schools.
 - 10 John F. Pettigrew explains the mixed attitudes of whites about racial policies in this way: (a) None are sincere in their stated belief in equality, (b) three-fifths are in favor of equality only if it involves no inconvenience for them, (c) Presidents Nixon and Ford tried too hard to force school integration by busing and thus stirred up resentment, (d) all the above.
 - 11 A study of policies of real estate offices cited in the text shows an example of (a) racial integration, (b) legal segregation, (c) institutional racism, (d) scapegoating.
 - 12 Which of the following is a frequently cited example of a country in which ethnic groups have long been given equal treatment? (a) Switzerland, (b) Australia, (c) South Africa, (d) Iran.
 - 13 In Michael Novak's analysis, Poles, Czechs, and other minority groups from Eastern Europe place a higher value than do Anglo-Americans on (a) individualism, (b) material success, (c) community, (d) trying to be different from others.
 - 14 The percentage of black and white children being reared in poverty (a) is approximately equal for the two races, (b) is nearly twice as high for blacks as for whites, (c) is three times as high for blacks as for whites, (d) is nearly four times as high for blacks as for whites.
 - 15 A survey found that whites, when asked why blacks generally have poorer jobs and living conditions than whites, tended to (a) blame the institutions of white society, (b) place the blame equally on environmental factors and the black people themselves, (c) place the blame on the blacks, (d) refuse to fix blame on anyone.

Part II. True-False Questions

- 1 Racism is the belief that racial differences are important and should be used as grounds for unequal treatment.
- 2 It is possible that some types of racial differences represent adaptation to different physical environments.
- 3 It is correct to say that prejudice causes discrimination, but it is not correct to say that discrimination causes prejudice.
- 4 By far the most common cause of discrimination is a somewhat "sick" personality.
- 5 Thomas Martinez contends that advertising practices have given the Chicanos an unfavorable image as irresponsible and as gun-toting bandits.
- 6 A split labor market exists when two different racial or ethnic groups are hired for different levels of work or for different levels of pay for the same work.

- 7 A split labor market tends to increase racial antagonism, ethnic antagonism, or both.
- 8 In the South in the late 1800s, during periods of job shortages and low prices on cotton, the black and white races became more friendly because of their mutual problems.
- 9 According to a Federal Trade Commission report in 1973, Navajos on the reservation are cheated on prices and the pawning of goods and are given lower pay than whites for the same work.
- 10 A quotation from Richard Wright ends with the statement, "The maids, the bellboys, and the hallboys were all smiles," implying that they were naturally happy people in spite of their problems.
- 11 Under present conditions, integration of housing areas seems to be very practical as an alternative to busing children for the sake of racial integration.
- 12 John F. Pettigrew sums up many of the cases of busing and pronounces them a moderate success.
- 13 According to Glazer and Moynihan, a new interest in ethnicity has arisen both in the United States and other countries, although it has no practical economic advantages.
- 14 Many of our immigrants from India and the Philippines are well educated, and so their migration to the United States constitutes a "brain drain" for their own countries.
- 15 The majority of illegal entrants from Mexico to the United States bring their families with them and plan to stay permanently.

Questions for discussion

- 1 Give examples of cases in which racial or ethnic discrimination can lead to an inferior social position that becomes the basis for prejudice.
- 2 The text mentions that stereotyping arises from or is perpetuated by folktales, historical accounts, jokes, movies, and advertising. Give some examples of your own of how stereotypes are perpetuated in this way.
- 3 Explain why a split labor market tends to increase intergroup antagonism.
- 4 Women generally work at lower pay than men or occupy jobs that men do not take. How does this fact seem to affect stereotypes of women?
- 5 How has the role of middleman and sojourner affected attitudes toward the Chinese in Southeast Asia or Indians in Africa? Can you think of other similar cases?
- 6 Can you think of cases in which members of other groups (ethnic, occupational, or age groups) have had to be all smiles despite working conditions—cases similar to the one described by Richard Wright?
- 7 What are some of the contradictory views of the white majority in America regarding the black minority?
- 8 What are some of the advantages of increased loyalty to one's own racial or ethnic group, particularly if it has been discriminated against in the past? Are there any possible problems that might arise from such an attitude?
- 9 The idea of "blaming the victim" was described relative to blaming poor minority groups for their own poverty. Can you think of any other cases of blaming the victims that frequently occur in society?
- 10 Argue the pros and cons of the statement by Said and Simmons that ethnicity is becoming a more important focus of loyalty than nationalism on a worldwide scale.

Projects

- 1 Nearly all members of ethnic and racial minorities are antagonized by some of the popular stereotypes of their groups. Try to interview members of a few ethnic or racial groups—Italians, Poles, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, or blacks. Find out what is particularly antagonizing. (If your class is racially and ethnically mixed, this would be a good topic for class discussion.)
- 2 Interview an immigrant to the United States, preferably from Asia or Mexico, asking whether he or she has experienced job discrimination or any hostile attitudes.
- 3 Do a content analysis of a popular movie or television show that includes racial or ethnic minorities. Are any stereotypes perpetuated? Are attempts being made to modify old stereotypes?

Suggested readings

- Alter, Robert: "A Fever of Ethnicity," *Commentary*, vol. 53, June 1972, pp. 68–73. What are the dangers of clinging to ethnicity in search of personal identity? Are there alternatives to both ethnic divisiveness and a homogeneous America? Alter attempts to answer these questions in a critique of Novak's enthusiasm for ethnicity. (See Novak's article below.)
- Boesel, David, Richard Berk, W. Eugene Groves, Bettye Edison, and Peter H. Rossi: "White Institutions and Black Rage," *Trans-Action*, vol. 6, March 1969, pp. 24–31. Dealing particularly with the ghetto, this article discusses the problems of white institutional structures—white employers, merchants, teachers, police—in black areas, as well as the beginnings of black countervailing power.
- Garbarino, Merwyn S.: "Seminole Girl," *Trans-Action*, vol. 7, February 1970, pp. 40–46. Will a college education, competence, and good intentions necessarily make it possible for a member of an Indian tribe to help her own people? Garbarino, in his interview with a Seminole girl, finds how deep the problems of cultural divisions and misunderstandings can go.
- Heller, Celia S.: "Chicano Is Beautiful: The New Militancy and Mexican-American Identity," *Commonweal*, January 23, 1970, pp. 454–458. Mexican Americans and black Americans have in common much more poverty than Americans of European descent and can use similar tactics for self-advancement. Why is it difficult for them to work together? What are the differences between these two groups in their search for a new identity?
- Newsweek*: "The American Jew Today," March 1, 1971, pp. 56–58, 62–64. Is it possible to blend into American society, approve intermarriage, and also preserve cultural identity? How do foreign problems regarding Israel and the Soviet Union create problems and divisions among American Jews? These and other questions are discussed in this survey of success and unease.
- Novak, Michael: "White Ethnics," *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 243, September 1971, pp. 17–27. Is America an ethnic "melting pot" or are the white ethnics actually unmeltable? Novak takes the latter view and explains why.
- Petroni, Frank A.: "Teenage Interracial Dating," *Trans-Action*, vol. 8, September 1971, pp. 54–59. Why are interracial dates a subject of great tension among high school youth? Why do white girls go with black boys whereas white boys do not date black girls? The answers have much to say about attitudes toward race and status.

Pitt-Rivers, Julian: "Race, Color and Class in Central America and the Andes," *Dædalus*, vol. 96, spring 1967, pp. 642-559. Are differences in color and race the real basis for prejudice? Pitt-Rivers shows how very differently the bases for the classifications of people are arranged in different societies.

Society: "The Ethnic Factor," vol. 12, no. 2, January-February 1975. The entire issue is devoted to ethnic and racial problems here and abroad: American Indians, Gypsies, Afro-Americans, and ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union.

Williams, Dennis, Martin Kasindorff, Sryker McGuire, Jeff Copeland, Lea Donosky, and Mary Hager: "Chicanos on the Move," *Newsweek*, Jan. 1, 1979. Gives glimpses into barrio life; corrects the misconception that Chicanos are foreigners; discusses educational and employment problems and the need for more political prominence.

Key to questions. Multiple Choice: 1-c; 2-c; 3-d; 4-d; 5-d; 6-c; 7-b; 8-c; 9-a; 10-b; 11-c; 12-a; 13-c; 14-d; 15-c. True-False: 1-T; 2-T; 3-F; 4-F; 5-T; 6-T; 7-T; 8-F; 9-T; 10-F; 11-F; 12-T; 13-F; 14-T; 15-F.