CHAPTER 9

Racial and Ethnic Differentiation

SYNOPSIS

Racial, Ethnic, and Minority Groups

- Race and Racial Groups
- Minority Groups

Attitudes, Behaviors, and Their Influence

- Stereotypes
- Prejudice
- Discrimination
- Racism

Patterns of Racial and Ethnic Relations

- Integration and Assimilation
- Pluralism
- Segregation
- Mass Expulsion
- Genocide

Global Racial Relations

- Ethnic Antagonism

Racial and Ethnic Groups in the United States

- Hispanic Americans
- African Americans
- Asian Americans
- Native Americans
- WASPs and White Ethnic Americans
- Jewish Americans

The Future

Focal Point

HOME WAS A HORSE STALL

Throughout history America has attracted immigrants from places far and wide. It is ironic that while one of America's greatest attractions for immigrants is its ideal of equality, racial and ethnic minorities have been discriminated against since the birth of our nation. The treatment of Native Americans, the first group to encounter immigrants, was harsh and brutal, eventually leading to a near extermination of an entire culture (or cultures) of people. Slavery was the next step in creating differences among the citizens of the United States. Brought to America against their will, Blacks were subjected to the worst kind of torture and humiliation cast upon a group of people. Labeled as two-thirds of a human by the first Census, Blacks were seen as property rather than as people. Given freedom after being enslaved for over two hundred years, Blacks could only dream of equality in a country that refused to recognize their existence. The era of Jim Crow segregation further alienated Blacks from Whites and created harsh divisions that would last for the next 100 years.

Historically, Americans have professed the belief that people of all races are created equal and that all should have an equal chance to obtain society's benefits. Our actions, which reflect inequality to most racial and ethnic groups migrating from somewhere other than European counties, belie our words. The "melting pot" mentality led us to falsely believe that America was one culture, assimilated from many others into one. Therefore, as John Macionis (2004) points out, some of our most dominant cultural beliefs actually contradict one another, an observation that echoes the arguments in the early mid-twentieth century advanced in the classic work by Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (1944). More specifically, according to sociologists Elliot Currie and Jerome Skolnick, "American history is also the history of the conquest, enslavement, and exclusion of racial minorities. The vision of racial equality and the harsh reality of unequal treatment have coexisted uneasily from the beginning"(1988, p. 136).

An example of the level of intolerance inflicted on a group of people can be found in the stories of Japanese Americans during World War II. Americans, born on American soil, were treated as terrorists by a country that refused to acknowledge their citizenship. An immediate backlash against Japanese Americans occurred after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. On February 19, 1942, a little more than two months after the bombing, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which established military internment camps for all people of Japanese decent. The 112,000 Japanese Americans had 1 week to prepare for evacuation. Two-thirds of them citizens of the United States, Japanese Americans had to close their stores, sell their belongings, and discard what couldn't be carried in a suitcase.

For some Japanese Americans, a horse stall at a racetrack in California became home. Barracks lined the infield for mothers with infants, while the rest were ushered into stalls and given sacks to fill with hay for mattresses. Having five people to a 9-foot by 20-foot horse stall was not uncommon, and over the next 4 months life was nearly unbearable. Then, the U.S. government provided them with new quarters that measured 20 feet by 24 feet, located in the desert. Barbed wire, police with weapons, and isolation from the outside world—all were the everyday norm. A rule violation could likely end in death.

By 1943 the war was going strong. President Roosevelt issued a letter to the Secretary of War stating, "Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry. Every loyal American citizen should be given the opportunity to serve this country in the ranks of our armed forces" (Shirey, 1946). Over 30,000 Japanese Americans served in the United States Armed Forces during World War II.

In 1944, the Civilian Exclusion Order was lifted, and within a year the camps were closed. It took another 40 years for the United States government to issue the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 granting reparations to the survivors of the internment camps. The treatment of Japanese Americans serves as a reminder that most minorities wear the invisible tag of minority status. In other words, at any given time, and without much cause, a group of people can be singled out for no other reason than the color of their skin or the country of their origin. When that happens, their tag will be in full view as a reminder to themselves and others that inequality can rear its ugly head in America very quickly.

The Civil Rights Memorial located in Montgomery, Alabama, along with the civil rights museum housed in Memphis, Tennessee, where Dr. King was assassinated, are tributes to the lives lost as a result of racial inequality. Their dedication to the pursuit of racial equality is symbolized in the statement by Martin Luther King, Jr., now found on the wall in

the Alabama memorial: "until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream."

As you read this chapter, keep in mind the contributions that all racial and ethnic groups in America have made to making our country so powerful. Understanding the subtleties and intricacies of race and ethnicity and of racism and discrimination is extremely important. With the proportion of minorities expected to increase substantially over the next few decades, the United States will likely experience heightened racial tensions. It is our hope that this chapter will provide you with knowledge to help you reach your own conclusions about the reasons for racial and ethnic inequality and help you to make informed decisions that might have an impact on the future of racial and ethnic equality.

Japanese Americans were forced to live in military internment camps such as this one during World War II. (Library of Congress)

(Shutterstock)

The United States is aptly called "a nation of nations." The diversity of the country's social and cultural life is a result of the many different groups who have migrated here. Can you imagine how monotonous life would be if people were all the same? Almost everyone enjoys the cultural sights, sounds, and smells of Chinatown. Greek, Italian, and Japanese cuisine are a welcome change from the usual American diet of hamburgers and French fries. We benefit from our diverse cultural heritage in many more important ways as well.

Racial and ethnic relations in the United States, however, are far from smooth. Our history has been marked by conflict, competition, prejudice, and discrimination. In this chapter, we identify the major racial and ethnic groups in North America and discuss some of the causes and consequences of stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, racism, and racial inequality. We also consider two approaches, the pluralistic and integrationist perspectives, which may help to reduce racial and ethnic inequality.

9.1 RACIAL, ETHNIC, AND MINORITY GROUPS

The terms *racial*, *ethnic*, and *minority* are often used interchangeably and rather loosely. Although they may be treated as equivalent or overlapping concepts, it is important to differentiate these terms before we discuss the more substantive issues of race and ethnic relations.

9.1a Race and Racial Groups

The concept of race has a long history, even though the term "race" has only been around for a short period of time. Race is one of the most arbitrary and misunderstood concepts used by our society. A **racial group** is a socially constructed category of people who are distinguished from each other by select physical characteristics. These traits typically include basic physical attributes such as facial features, body type, skin color, hair texture, and so on. Definitions of race can include biological, physical, and social meanings.

The essential question is whether there are significant variations in the physical traits of different populations of humans. The focus of investigation has ranged from obvious characteristics, such as skin and hair coloring, to less obvious traits, such as blood type and genetically transmitted diseases.

The effects of climate have complicated classification of peoples by skin color. It has been found that varying degrees of exposure to sunlight causes variations in skin shading. Asians and Africans have darker coloring because they live in more tropical climates. Classification by skin color is further complicated by biological mixing—for example, the Creoles of Alabama and Mississippi, the Red Bones of Louisiana, the Croatians of North Carolina, and the Mestizos of South America. Whether members of these groups have Native American or African American ancestors is a matter of dispute.

In the 1600s, many U.S. colonies had laws forbidding marriage between people of different races. (Shutterstock)

In reality, truly objective criteria of racial groups based strictly on physical or biological characteristics do not seem to exist. In the past few decades, sociologists and anthropologists have concluded that race is primarily a social construct rather than a biological one. That is, it is a concept that has been defined by humans to help make sense of social worlds, but it is far from clear if we can make distinctions about humans based upon inherited physical characteristics. The trend in current thinking among social scientists and many natural scientists is that we cannot.

What may be of more importance is how and why race has been defined over the years. Some feel that the concept of race was developed by the dominant groups in the world as a mechanism to prejudge, divide, rank and control populations that were different from themselves. Regardless of the reasons for the development of the concept of race, it does seem clear that it distorts our ideas about differences among groups throughout the world and contributes to myths about their behaviors and characteristics, and also contributes to the perpetuation of inequality between dominant groups and minority groups (American Anthropological Association, 1998; Morning, 2009).

The concept of race found popularity in the United States during slavery and Jim Crow segregation. In the mid-1600s, the fear of a degenerative race led many colonies to create laws forbidding marriage between Blacks, Native Americans, and Whites. After slavery, a one-drop rule was put in place that required any person with one-drop of African blood to identify as Black. The case of Susie Guillory Phipps, for example, highlights the problems generations of children encountered even after the one-drop rule was ended. In 1982, Phipps went to the Department of Vital Records in Louisiana to get a birth certificate. Upon receiving it she noticed the race box on her certificate was marked "Black," rather than "White." Phipps, thinking a mistake had clearly been made, brought it to the attention of the employee. The agency informed Phipps that no mistake was made and that she was correctly identified as Black even though her parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents were White. Phipps took her case all the way to the Louisiana Supreme Court, which upheld the lower court's ruling that Ms. Phipps was indeed legally "Black." During the trial, the government produced a family tree tracing eleven generations of her family that included a Black slave and

Racial group

A socially constructed category that distinguishes by selected inherited physical characteristics

White plantation owner. At the time of Phipps' birth, the legal one-drop rule was still in place, identifying her as Black, regardless of her social identity.

Social and cultural conceptions of race, regardless of their lack of biological basis, have probably the most important meaning with regard to the individual being labeled. A person will typically associate themselves with those who validate their racial identity. For example, people who are of mixed Black and White heritage and who identify themselves as Black will likely want to authenticate their identity to others including their social circle, peers, class, etc. In 2000, the U.S. Census,—which relies on self-definition,—for the first time allowed individuals to mark "all that apply" with regard to race. As a result, 6.8 million people, or 2.4% of the population, identified themselves as multiracial. In the case of Susie Phipps, legally she is Black; however, her social identity remains White as a result of how she and society perceived her race. In 2010, 9 million people identified themselves as multiracial, or 2.9% of the population.

In review, social definitions far outweigh biological definitions of race; however, these social definitions are based on some combination of some inherited physical traits, regardless of any evidence that there are clear and distinct physical differences or that any such differences can explain human behavior. Some physical traits—such as hair color, height, and size of feet—may be inherited; yet, these are rarely used to differentiate people into one racial category or another, where as other physical traits—such as skin color—may be used. Taking these considerations into account, biological differences per se do not constitute racial differences. Rather, a racial group is a socially defined group distinguished by selected physical characteristics, even though these characteristics are difficult to ascertain.

Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups

The word *ethnic* is derived from the Greek word *ethnikos,* which translates to mean "nations" in English. The word was initially applied to European immigrants such as the Italians, Germans, Poles, and other national groups who came to the United States in large numbers, especially between 1900 and 1925. Today, ethnicity is given a wider definition and may also refer to group membership based on religion, language, or region. Using the word in this sense, Jews, Mormons, Latinos, and White Southerners can be considered **ethnic groups**.

Again, whereas race is based on socially constructed definitions using selected physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, or eye color and shape, ethnicity is based on cultural traits that reflect national origin, religion, and language. Characteristics of an ethnic group may include unique cultural traits, ascribed membership, sense of community, ethnocentrism, and territoriality.

Unique cultural traits refer to a group's attributes that set them apart from other groups in society. A group's manner of dress, language, religious practices, or speech patterns can create an ethnic identity. Ethnic groups are often seen as subcultures within a larger society who possess unique cultural traits that set them apart from the dominant group. However, cultural traits alone will not set one group apart from the other. There are many groups within society who display unique behavior who are not seen as an ethnic group. While persons from New York may display differences in language and mannerism from persons in Texas, neither would be seen as an ethnic group.

Ascribed membership means the person's ethnic characteristics were ascribed at birth. When an individual is born into an ethnic group, it is unlikely he/she will leave unless there are unusual circumstances. For example, a person may be born into the Jewish culture, but choose to leave and adopt the culture of another group, such as Christianity or Catholicism.

Sense of community exists when an ethnic group displays a sense of common association among its members. Sociologist Milton Gordon (1964) suggests that the ethnic group serves as a social-psychological reference for creating a "sense of peoplehood." This sense of we-ness is derived from a common ancestry or origin when people sense a

Ethnic group

Group of people characterized by cultural traits that reflect national origin, religion, and language

community, an awareness of belonging to a group. However, the common ancestry does not have to be authentic, as long as the ethnic group (or others) perceive themselves as a community. Therefore, just like race, ethnicity is socially created and maintained.

Ethnocentrism is another common characteristic among ethnic groups. When a group has a sense of peoplehood, they have a tendency to judge other groups by the standards and values of their own. Group solidarity serves as a source of ethnocentrism, or the belief that one's own group is superior to others. The norms, values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of one's own group are perceived as natural or correct while other groups are seen as unnatural or incorrect.

Territoriality refers to the idea of "nations within nations," where groups occupy distinct territories within the larger society. Enclaves of ethnic groups can be found in larger communities where they have some degree of autonomy away from the dominant culture. Stores, restaurants, community centers, and other facilities accommodate or are owned by members of the ethnic group.

Among other attributes, an ethnic identity can be created from a group's manner of dress. (iStockphoto)

In the United States, the largest identified ethnic group is Hispanic. However, within this category are a number of other ethnic groups including Mexicans, Spaniards, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and others. Each has a distinctive culture in America, which can create problems when they are classified as a single ethnic group.

9.1b Minority Groups

The concept of a **minority group**, according to sociologists, refers to a group's access to power and status within a society. First used in World War I peace treaties, a minority group's size is insignificant to their being labeled as a subordinate category of people. Women, for example, are a numerical majority in American society, yet they have historically held a minority status within society. In the Republic of South Africa, Whites comprise less than one-fifth of the total population, but are considered the dominant majority group. In a similar fashion, Schaefer (2005) argues that a *minority group*, generally, has significantly less control or power over their own lives than do the members of a dominant or majority group. Schaeffer suggests that minorities, as subordinated members of a society, experience more than a loss of control or power over their own lives; they also experience a narrowing of life's opportunities for success, education, wealth, and the pursuit of happiness. In other words, a minority group does not share, in proportion to its numbers, in what a given society defines as valuable (Schaefer, R. T., 2005).

Minority group

A group that is subordinate to the dominant group in terms of the distribution of social power, defined by some physical or cultural characteristics, and is usually—but not always—smaller in number than the dominant group

In the United States, the most highly valued norms have historically been those created by White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant (WASP) middle classes. Even today, WASP norms, values, cultural patterns, standards of beauty, and laws are widely observed and enforced. A minority group will be distinguished from other groups (including other minority groups) in terms of where the group is situated in society's social hierarchy. The extent of the group's departure from the norms established by the dominant group will define their social status within society.

According to the above discussion, the elderly, poor people, poor people in Appalachia, southern Whites, disabled persons, gays and lesbians, and members of most diversity populations are minority groups in the United States. Prior to discussing any specific racial, ethnic, or minority groups, we examine various types of attitudes, behaviors, and patterns of group interaction.

thinking SOCIOLOGICALLY

1. To what extent is race based solely on biological, legal, or social criteria in the U.S. today?
2. Using the ideas of interactionist theory, explain the social significance of racial, ethnic, or minority categories.

9.2 ATTITUDES, BEHAVIORS, AND THEIR INFLUENCE

One of the most serious problems faced by most racial and ethnic groups in America and around the world is how they are perceived and treated by others. For a number of reasons, people tend to treat those they perceive to be different in ways that they would not treat members of their own group. As a result, rising inequalities have increased societal strains and tensions among different groups. To pursue ideals of equality, we must understand how the attitudes underlying unfair practices are formed.

9.2a Stereotypes

Stereotypes are exaggerated beliefs usually associated with a group of people, based on race, ethnicity, gender, religion, or sexual orientation. Stereotypes generally begin with a particular belief about an undesirable characteristic of a member of a group. Through interaction with others, the socially constructed belief will persist and be generalized to the entire group, thus creating a stereotype. Stereotypes often, but not always, develop out of fear, or when the dominant group feels threatened by a particular group.

Stereotypes can persist over time; however, they usually change regularly. For example, the images of Jews have changed repeatedly throughout history, from shrewd and materialistic to intelligent and savvy. With many racial and ethnic stereotypes there exists a "kernel of truth" in a perceived belief. In other words, there may be group members who possess the characteristic used as the foundation of the stereotype; however, it does not apply to the entire group, and it may be an exaggeration of that "kernel of truth." Needless to say, stereotypes do not begin to address the great variety of behavior that exists among members of diverse populations.

The media plays a significant role in the establishment and persistence of stereotypes about racial and ethnic groups. Consider the stereotypes that were reinforced by the television series *The Sopranos* that aired for eight years (1999–2007). In 2004, Italian American groups confronted Dream Works SKG about the ethnic slurs and stereotypes that were perpetuated by the movie *Shark Tale*, especially since the intended audience of the movie was children. In the movie, Don Lino is the godfather of great white sharks. The Italian American groups who protested felt that "The movie introduces young minds to the idea that people with Italian names—like millions of Americans across the country—are gangsters" (Rose, 2004).

Stereotypes are rarely used to create positive images of a racial or ethnic group; instead, they are used to tear down the social value of a particular group within society. When stereotyped group members themselves begin to internalize the belief, they will act toward themselves accordingly. Several researchers have focused on how children form racial identities (Clark & Clark, 1939; Spencer, 1985), as well as how children form attitudes about others based on race (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 1996). The Clark and Clark study (1947) examined how Black children see themselves during play. Provided with identical Black and White dolls (except for the color), Black children were more

Stereotypes
Widely held and oversimplified beliefs about the character and behavior of all members of a group that seldom correspond to the facts

likely to see the "White" doll as more positive, pretty, nice, etc., while identifying the "Black" doll as bad, negative, or ugly. In a similar vein, Radke and Trager's (1950) early studies of Black children support the idea that members of a stereotyped minority tend to internalize the definitions attached to them. In their study, the children were asked to evaluate "Black" and "White" dolls and to tell stories about Black and White persons in photographs. The children overwhelmingly preferred the white dolls to the Black ones; the White dolls were described as good, the Black dolls as bad. The black individuals in the photographs were given inferior roles as servants, maids, or gardeners.

Later studies of self-esteem, however, tended to find little or no difference between Blacks and Whites. Zirkel (1971) reviewed over a dozen studies of Black and White students attending grammar and secondary schools and concluded that black and white children have similar levels of self-esteem. Simmons and his colleges (1978) found that minority students have even stronger self-concepts than majority students. This change in attitudes can be linked to the civil rights movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s, when emerging ethnic pride began to be expressed in such slogans as "Red Power" and "Black is beautiful." However, in 2006 Kiri Davis, a young filmmaker recreated the Clark and Clark study and found Black children are still influenced greatly by the stereotype that white is socially accepted more than Black. In her 7 minute video, Davis asked the children to "pick the doll that is nice," with 15 out of 21 Black children choosing the "White" doll.

Another effect of stereotypes that has become controversial in recent years is the practice of racial and ethnic profiling. Profiling is the practice of subjecting people to increased surveillance or scrutiny based on racial or ethnic factors, without any other basis (Chan, 2011). For example, Black citizens undergo significantly more repeated motor vehicle stops by police than White citizens. Growette-Bostaph (2008) found that this was not the result of differences in driving behavior but rather the result of being members of different population groups.

Stereotyping is not entirely dysfunctional. Albrecht and his colleagues (1980, p. 254) argued, "Stereotypes afford us the comfort of recognition and save us the time and effort of interpreting masses of new stimuli hourly." They help us mentally sort people into predictable categories and make social interaction easier. Most of our encounters are dominated by stereotyped conceptions of how we should act and how others should respond. Most would agree, however, that the dysfunctional aspects of stereotyping far outweigh the functional aspects.

9.2b Prejudice

One dysfunction of stereotyping is prejudice. **Prejudice** is an attitude, usually negative, that is used against an entire group and often based on stereotypes of racial or ethnic characteristics (Schaefer R. T., 2005). It involves thoughts and beliefs that people harbor which, in turn, lead to categorical rejection and the disliking of an entire racial or ethnic group. Prejudice can occur whether the person has contact with the group or not. Prejudices can be formed from social interaction with others within one's own group, through the media, or through direct contact with the outside group.

A variety of theories have been offered to explain prejudice. Early theories were often based on the premise that prejudiced attitudes are innate or biological, but more recent explanations tend to attribute the development of prejudices to the social environment. Locating the source of prejudice in the social environment, rather than in innate or biological traits, means that measures can be taken to curtail prejudice. Some examples of such measures are discussed later in this chapter.

Prejudice
A preconceived attitude or judgment, either good or bad, about another group that usually involves negative stereotypes

Economic theories of prejudice are based on the supposition that both competition and conflict among groups are inevitable when different groups desire commodities that are in short supply. These theories explain why racial prejudice is most salient during periods of depression and economic turmoil. In California, for example, from the 1840s through the depression of the 1930s, economic relations between European and

Chinese Americans were tolerant and amiable as long as the Chinese confined themselves to occupations such as laundry and curio shops. When Chinese Americans began to compete with European Americans in gold mining and other business enterprises, however, violent racial conflicts erupted. Japanese Americans had a similar experience during their internment in camps after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

The exploitation variant of economic theory argues that prejudice is used to stigmatize a group as inferior, to put its members in a subordinate position, and to justify their exploitation. The exploitation theme explains how systems under capitalism have traditionally justified exploiting recent immigrants who have little money, few skills, and difficulties with English.

Psychological theories of prejudice suggest that prejudice satisfies psychic needs or compensates for some defect in the personality. When people use **scapegoating**, they blame other persons or groups for their own problems. Another psychological strategy involves **projection**, in which people attribute their own unacceptable traits or behaviors to another person. In this way, people transfer responsibility for their own failures to a vulnerable group, often a racial or ethnic group. **Frustration-aggression** theory involves a form of projection (Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mower, & Sears, 1939). In this view, groups who strive repeatedly to achieve their goals become frustrated after failing a number of times. When the frustration reaches a high intensity, the group seeks an outlet for its frustration by displacing its aggressive behavior to a socially approved target, a racial or ethnic group. Thus, it has been argued that Germans, frustrated by runaway inflation and the failure of their nationalist ambitions, vented their aggressive feelings by persecuting Jews. Poor Whites, frustrated by their unproductive lands and financial problems, drained off their hostilities through anti-Black prejudices. Schaeffer (2005) adds a theory called *normative theory* that emphasizes socialization as an explanation for prejudice. The theory maintains that peers and social influences either encourage tolerance or intolerance toward others. In other words, a person from an intolerant household is more likely to be openly prejudiced than someone from a tolerant household.

Japanese Americans suffered prejudicial treatment after the battleship USS Arizona *was bombed by the Japanese in a surprise attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.* *(AP Wide World Photo)*

The **authoritarian personality theory** argues that some people are more inclined to prejudice than others, due to differences in personality. According to this theory (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950), prejudiced individuals are characterized by rigidity of outlook, intolerance, suggestibility, dislike for ambiguity, and irrational attitudes. They tend to be authoritarian, preferring stability and orderliness to the indefiniteness that accompanies social change. Simpson and Yinger (1972) questioned whether these traits cause prejudice and suggested that they may, in fact, be an effect of prejudice or even completely unrelated to it. In addition, this theory reduces prejudice to a personality trait in individuals.

Scapegoating
A psychological explanation of prejudice that involves blaming another person or group for one's own problems

Projection
A psychological explanation of prejudice that suggests that people transfer responsibility for their own failures to a vulnerable group, usually a racial or ethnic group

Frustration-aggression theory
The theory that prejudice results when personal frustrations are displaced to a socially approved racial or ethnic target

Authoritarian personality theory
The view that people with an authoritarian type of personality are more likely to be prejudiced than those who have other personality types

APPLYING THEORIES OF PREJUDICE

Gordon Allport (1954), in *The Nature of Prejudice*, noted that interracial interaction would reduce prejudice only when the groups are of equal status, they have common goals, and their interactions are sanctioned by authorities. Allport's notion is congruent with the economic theory that says that competition and conflict can heighten prejudice. Using these ideas, a classroom program known as the "jigsaw technique" was developed by Aronson and his associates. Weyant (1986) offers a description of that technique:

> The jigsaw technique involves dividing the class into small groups of usually about five to six students each. Each child in a group is given information about one part of a total lesson. For example, a lesson on Spanish and Portuguese explorers might be divided such that one child in the group is given information about Magellan; another student receives information about Balboa, another about Ponce de Leon, etc. The members of the group then proceed to teach their part to the group. Afterward, the students are tested individually on the entire lesson. Just as all the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle must be put into place to get the whole picture, the only way any one student can master the entire lesson is to learn all the pieces of information from his or her peers. Equal status is attained because every student has an equally important part. The common goal is to put together the entire lesson. (pp. 108–109)

Evaluation studies of the jigsaw technique found very positive results, including increased attraction of classmates to one another and higher self-esteem. These results also helped alleviate some of the causes of prejudice suggested by psychological theories. Furthermore, the results were obtained with only a few hours of "jigsawing" a week, so the goals of desegregation were met without a major restructuring of the schools.

Techniques to reduce prejudice do not have to be confined to the classroom. Community leaders such as local politicians, businesspeople, and ministers might help eliminate racial tensions in a neighborhood by developing programs that require citizen participation. A church, for example, might sponsor a food drive to help the needy. In organizing a committee to run such a drive, the pastor or director could create racially and ethnically integrated committees to handle the various responsibilities necessary to make the drive a success. These might include committees for advertising and publicizing, collection, distribution, setup, and cleanup. Like the classroom, people of different minority groups would work with and depend on each other in a cooperative rather than a competitive situation—thus having an opportunity to overcome some of their prejudices.

Your knowledge of how prejudice occurs could lead to many other programs to help eliminate this serious social problem. For example, as a parent, how do you think you could use what you have learned in this chapter to prevent your children and their friends from developing prejudice against minority groups?

thinking SOCIOLOGICALLY

1. What are some dysfunctional aspects of prejudices and stereotyping? What are some functional aspects?
2. How could the information contained in the section "Applying Theories of Prejudice" be used to make social action programs more effective?

9.2c Discrimination

Prejudice is a judgment, an attitude. **Discrimination**, on the other hand, is overt behavior or actions. It is the categorical exclusion of members of a specific group from certain rights, opportunities, and/or privileges (Schaefer R. T., 2005). According to the conflict perspective, the dominant group in a society practices discrimination to protect its advantages, privileges, and interests.

Discrimination
Overt unequal and unfair treatment of people on the basis of their membership in a particular group

Most of us can understand discrimination at the individual level. A person may engage in behavior that excludes another individual from rights, opportunities, or privileges simply on the basis of that person's racial, ethnic, or minority status. For example, if I

refuse to hire a particular Japanese American to type this manuscript because he or she does not read English, I am not engaging in prejudicially determined discrimination. On the other hand, if I refuse to hire a highly qualified typist of English because he or she is Japanese American, that is discrimination.

Merton designed a classification system to examine four ways that prejudice and discrimination can be defined.

1. ***Unprejudiced non-discriminators (all-weather liberals)*** are individuals who are not prejudiced, and they don't discriminate against other racial groups. They believe that everyone is equal. However, they usually won't do anything to stop others from being prejudiced or discriminating.
2. ***Unprejudiced discriminators (fair-weather liberals)*** are people who are not prejudiced, but will not speak out against those who are. They will laugh nervously when a racist joke is told. Their main concern is to not hurt their own position.
3. ***Prejudiced non-discriminators (fair-weather bigots)*** are individuals who don't believe that everyone is equal; but because we live in a "politically correct" society, they will not disclose their prejudice unless they believe they are among like-minded people. They don't act on their prejudices.
4. ***Prejudiced discriminators (all-weather bigots)*** are the hardcore racists. They don't believe races are equal and will share their beliefs with anyone willing to listen. They will openly discriminate against persons due to their race or ethnicity.

Stella and James Bryd, Sr. arrange flowers around the headstone of their son, James Bryd, Jr. Bryd was dragged to death in 1998 in Texas simply because he was Black.
(AP Wide World Photo)

Individual discrimination has become more insidious than in the past. Outward acts of discrimination, such as when James Byrd was dragged to his death behind a truck in Texas simply because he was Black, are uncommon today. Instead, individual discrimination is harder to recognize, but still prevalent. Today, a Black family may be turned down for a rental house because the owner does not like Blacks, or a Mexican worker won't be hired because the manager thinks all Mexicans are lazy. Even though these practices are illegal based on the Civil Rights Act, they are still a common problem for racial and ethnic groups. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, there were 1,002 hate groups in the United States in 2010, up 12.8% from 888 in 2007. Hate groups have beliefs and practices that attack or malign a class of people, typically for what are perceived to be inherent, unchanging characteristics. Hate group activities include things such as criminal acts, marches, rallies, meetings, or publications (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2012).

Discrimination also operates at the institutional level when prejudices are embedded in the structures of our social institutions. Rothman (2005) defines the institutionalization of inequality at the structural level: the collection of laws, customs, and social practices that combine to create and sustain the unequal distribution of rewards based on class, minority status, and gender (Rothman, 2005). Therefore, **institutional discrimination** is the continuing exclusion or oppression of a group as a result of criteria established by an institution. In this form of discrimination, individual prejudice is not a factor; instead, groups are excluded based on prejudices that are entrenched in the structure of the institution. Laws or rules are not applied with the intent of excluding any person or group from particular rights, opportunities, or privileges; however, the outcome has discriminatory consequences. Grodsky and his colleagues (2008, p. 386) conducted research on how "standardized testing in American education has reflected, reproduced,

Institutional discrimination

The continuing exclusion or oppression of a group as a result of criteria established by an institution

and transformed social inequalities by race/ethnicity, social origins, and gender." Testing does not intentionally contribute to social inequalities; because some have access to or are denied education that better prepares them for standardized testing, however, inequality is perpetuated.

Suppose, for example, that a school requires, for admission, a particular minimum score on a standardized national exam based on middle-class White culture. Individuals outside of that culture will find the exam to be more difficult. In such a case, no bias against any particular racial or ethnic group may be intended—anyone who meets the criteria can be admitted. However, the result is the same as if the discrimination were by design. Few members of minority or ethnic groups could meet the requirements for admittance to the school or club, and the benefits of belonging would apply mainly to the White students who could pass the test. This would tend to continue existing patterns of educational and occupational deprivation from one generation to the next.

A similar process operates in our criminal justice system. Suppose that individuals from two different ethnic groups are arrested for identical offenses and given the same fine. If one can pay the fine but the other cannot, their fates may be quite different. The one who cannot pay will go to jail while the other one goes home. The result is institutional discrimination against the poor. Once a person has been imprisoned and has probably lost her or his job, that individual may find that other jobs are harder to find.

9.2d Racism

Racism is the belief that one racial group or category is inherently superior to others. It includes prejudices and discriminatory behaviors based on this belief. Racism can be regarded as having three major components. First, the racist believes that her or his own race is superior to other racial groups. This component may involve racial prejudice, but it is not synonymous with it. Racial prejudice is an attitude, usually negative, toward the members of other racial groups. The belief in the superiority of one's own group may also involve ethnocentrism, which is based on cultural criteria. A person's own group may be an ethnic group, but it need not be. Thus, racial prejudice and ethnocentrism can be regarded as properties of racism, not synonyms for it.

The second property of racism is that it has an ideology, or set of beliefs, that justifies the subjugation and exploitation of another group. According to Rothman (1978, p. 51), a racist ideology serves five functions:

1. It provides a moral rationale for systematic deprivation.
2. It allows the dominant group to reconcile values and behavior.
3. It discourages the subordinate group from challenging the system.
4. It rallies adherence in support of a "just" cause.
5. It defends the existing division of labor.

Perpetuators of racist ideologies claim their beliefs are based on scientific evidence. For example, Herrnstein and Murray (1996), in the *Bell Curve*, argued that Whites are superior to other races based mainly on the scores of standardized tests. Much controversy exists over this type of science because many of the standardized tests used in school settings are geared toward White middle-class students, creating a disadvantage for racial and ethnic groups. Another pseudoscientific theory held that various races evolved at different times. Blacks, who presumably evolved first, were regarded as the most primitive race. As such, they were believed to be incapable of creating a superior culture or carrying on the culture of the higher, White race. The theory further argued that some benefits would come to Blacks by serving members of the White race. This theory is obviously self-serving and completely without scientific foundation; however, it allowed Whites to establish and maintain a paternalistic relationship with Blacks during slavery.

Racism
The belief that one racial group is superior to others and typically manifested through prejudice and discrimination.

Racism creates dysfunction in a society. Richard Schaeffer identifies six ways that racism is dysfunctional, or disruptive to the stability of a social system, even to the dominant members of the society (Schaefer R. T., 2005). They are as follows:

1. A society that practices discrimination fails to use the resources of all individuals. Discrimination limits the search for talent and leadership to the dominant group.
2. Discrimination aggravates social problems such as poverty, delinquency, and crime; it places the financial burden of alleviating these problems on the dominant group.
3. Society must invest a good deal of time and money to defend the barriers that prevent the full participation of all members.
4. Racial prejudice and discrimination undercut goodwill and friendly diplomatic relations between nations.
5. Social change is inhibited because change may assist a subordinate group.
6. Discrimination promotes disrespect for law enforcement and for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Racism is the belief that one racial group or category is inherently superior to others. The Ku Klux Klan, shown here, holds such a belief concerning whites. (AP Wide World Photo)

Finally, the third property of racism is that racist beliefs are acted upon. Many examples of racist actions in this country could be highlighted. The lynching of blacks in the U.S. South and the destruction of entire tribes of Native Americans, who were regarded as little more than animals, are two of the more extreme instances.

Racism, like discrimination, can be of two types. Individual racism originates in the racist beliefs of a single person. Racist storeowners, for example, might refuse to hire black employees because they regard them as inferior beings. **Institutional racism** occurs when racist ideas and practices are embodied in the folkways, mores, or legal structures of various institutions.

The policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa is, in many ways, one of the most notorious examples of institutional racism. This policy calls for biological, territorial, social, educational, economic, and political separation of the various racial groups that compose the nation. Only in the past few years have the media brought the South African racial situation to the conscious attention of most Americans. As a result, many schools, foundations, and industries have removed from their investment portfolios companies that have a major investment in that country. Others have taken public stands against the institutionalized racism that supports different rules, opportunities, and activities based on the color of one's skin.

9.3 PATTERNS OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

When different racial and ethnic groups live in the same area, widespread and continuous contact among groups is inevitable; however, it rarely results in equality. Generally, one group holds more power and dominates the other groups. In some cases, assimilation, pluralism, segregation, expulsion, or genocide will occur. Whatever the form of group interaction, relations among groups is strongly influenced by their rankings in the stratification system.

Institutional racism
Racism that is embodied in the folkways, mores, or legal structures of a social institution

9.3a Integration and Assimilation

Integration occurs when ethnicity becomes insignificant and everyone can freely and fully participate in the social, economic, and political mainstream. All groups are brought together. **Assimilation** occurs when individuals and groups forsake their own cultural tradition to become part of a different group and tradition. With complete assimilation, the minority group loses its identity as a subordinate group and becomes fully integrated into the institutions, groups, and activities of society. The extent to which integration and assimilation have occurred represents what sociologists call **social distance**, meaning the degree of intimacy and equality between two groups. It is measured by asking questions as to whether one would be willing to have members of a particular ethnic group live in one's neighborhood, have them as friends, or be willing to marry them.

Assimilation in the United States appears to focus on one of two models: the **melting pot** and **Anglo conformity**. The following formulations differentiate these two terms (Newman, 1973):

Melting pot: A + B + C = D

Anglo conformity: A + B + C = A

In melting-pot assimilation, each group contributes a bit of its own culture and absorbs aspects of other cultures such that the whole is a combination of all the groups. Many sociologists in the United States view the melting-pot model as a popular myth, with reality better illustrated by the Anglo conformity model. *Anglo conformity* is equated with "Americanization," whereby the minority completely loses its identity to the dominant WASP culture.

The degree to which assimilation takes place is different for different ethnic and racial groups. There are two important mechanisms that help to determine the extent to which a group assimilates (and, thus, the extent to which its members retain or lose their cultural identity). The first, and most important, is the group's ownership of society's resources. The more ownership of resources that a group has, the less likely it is that the group will have to assimilate in order to succeed. The second most important mechanism that affects assimilation is whether or not a group has been cut off from its mother society. In cases where the immigrant population still has strong ties with its mother society, such as with Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, assimilation has been retarded because the groups can maintain their cultural practices. Simply put, groups who have been able to resist domination by the country to which they have migrated are more likely to resist assimilation (Barber, 2007).

Integration is a two-way process. The immigrants must want to assimilate, and the host society must be willing to have them assimilate. The immigrant must undergo *cultural assimilation*, learning the day-to-day norms of the WASP culture pertaining to dress, language, food, and sports. This process also involves internalizing the more crucial aspects of the culture, such as values, ideas, beliefs, and attitudes. **Structural assimilation** involves developing patterns of intimate contact between the guest and host groups in the clubs, organizations, and institutions of the host society. Cultural assimilation generally precedes structural assimilation, although the two sometimes happen simultaneously.

Cultural assimilation has occurred on a large scale in American society although the various minorities differed in the pace at which they were assimilated. With white ethnics of European origin, cultural assimilation went hand in hand with **amalgamation** (biological mixing through large-scale intermarriage). Among Asian ethnics, Japanese Americans seem to have assimilated most completely and are being rewarded with high socioeconomic status. In contrast, Chinese Americans, particularly first-generation migrants, have resisted assimilation and have retained strong ties to their cultural traditions. The existence of Chinatowns in many cities reflects this desire for cultural continuity.

Integration
The situation that exists when ethnicity becomes insignificant and everyone can freely and fully participates in the social, economic, and political mainstream

Assimilation
The process through which individuals and groups forsake their own cultural tradition to become part of a different group and tradition

Social distance
The degree of intimacy and equality between groups of people

Melting pot
A form of assimilation in which each group contributes aspects of its own culture and absorbs aspects of other cultures, such that the whole is a combination of all the groups

Anglo conformity
A form of assimilation in which the minority loses its identity completely and adopts the norms and practices of the dominant WASP culture

Structural assimilation
One aspect of assimilation in which patterns of intimate contact between the guest and host groups are developed in the clubs, organizations, and institutions of the host society

Amalgamation
The process by which different racial or ethnic groups form a new group through interbreeding or intermarriage

Assimilation involves more than just culture borrowing because immigrants want access to the host's institutional privileges. The issue of integration is particularly relevant in three areas: housing, schooling, and employment.

9.3b Pluralism

Are the elimination of segregation and the achievement of integration the only choices in societies with racial and ethnic diversity, or can diverse racial and ethnic groups coexist side by side and maintain their distinctive heritages and cultures? This issue is what Lambert and Taylor (1990) address as "the American challenge: assimilation or multiculturalism" and what Lieberson and Waters (1988) state as "melting pot versus cultural pluralism."

Multiculturalism or **cultural pluralism** can be defined as a situation in which the various racial, ethnic, or other minority groups in a society maintain their distinctive cultural patterns, subsystems, and institutions. Perhaps this can be illustrated by the following formula:

Cultural pluralism: A + B + C = A + B + C

Whereas those who support assimilation and integration seek to eliminate ethnic boundaries, a pluralist wants to retain them. Pluralists argue that groups can coexist by accepting their differences. Basic to cultural pluralism are beliefs that individuals never forget or escape their social origin, that all groups bring positive contributions that enrich the larger society, and that groups have the right to be different yet equal.

The existence of Chinatowns in many cities, such as this one, reflects the desire by many Chinese immigrants for cultural continuity. (iStockphoto)

Several authorities believe that assimilation and pluralism are happening simultaneously in American society. Glazer and Moynihan (1970), in their seminal work on assimilation, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, perceive the process of becoming what they call "hyphenated" Americans as involving cultural assimilation. Thus, a Russian American is different from a Russian in Russia, and an African American is not the same as an African in Africa. On the other hand, they perceive the emergence of minority groups as political interest groups as a pluralistic trend. Gordon (1978) contends that assimilation of minorities is the prevailing trend in economic, political, and educational institutions, whereas cultural pluralism prevails in religion, the family, and recreation.

Cultural pluralism results in separate ethnic communities, many of which are characterized by a high degree of institutional completeness; that is, they include institutions and services that meet the needs of the group—such as ethnic churches, newspapers, mutual aid societies, and recreational groups. These ethnic enclaves are particularly attractive to recent immigrants who have language problems and few skills. Schaefer (2003) compared ethnic communities to decompression chambers.

Today, we are witnessing a resurgence in interest of various ethnic groups in almost forgotten languages, customs, and traditions. This is characterized by people's increased interest in the culture of their ethnic group, visits to ancestral homes, their increased use of ethnic names, and their renewed interest in the native language of their own group.

The general rule has been for American minorities to assimilate, however. Most ethnic groups are oriented toward the future, not on the past. American ethnics are far more interested in shaping their future within the American structure than in maintaining cultural ties with the past. However, as Rothman (2005) contends, the importance of a multicultural model is accelerated by the recognition that Whites will probably be a numerical minority sometime after the year 2050.

Cultural pluralism
The situation in which the various ethnic groups in a society maintain their distinctive cultural patterns, subsystems, and institutions

9.3c Segregation

Segregation is the physical and social separation of groups or categories of people. It results in ethnic enclaves such as Little Italy, Chinatown, a Black ghetto, and a Hispanic barrio. The most significant division, however, is between Whites in the suburbs and Blacks and other minorities in the inner cities. At the institutional level, segregation can be attributed to discriminatory practices and policies of the federal housing agencies and of mortgage-lending institutions. Suburban zoning patterns that tend to keep out poorer families are also influential. At the individual level, segregation is the result of the refusal by some Whites to sell their houses to non-Whites or the desire of minorities to live in their own ethnic communities.

The city-suburb polarization of Blacks and Whites continues through the early part of this millennium. This pattern of segregation continues in spite of a 1965 federal law that prohibits discrimination in the rental, sale, or financing of suburban housing. Based on this law, all banks and savings and loan associations bidding for deposits of federal funds were requested to sign anti-redlining pledges. *Redlining* is the practice among mortgage-lending institutions of imposing artificial restrictions on housing loans for areas where minorities have started to buy. Despite these and other advances, American society has a long way to go in desegregating housing patterns.

Segregation was common in the U.S. through the 1950s. This photo was taken at the Illinois Central Railroad in 1956. (AP Wide World Photo)

School segregation was brought to national attention with the 1954 decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the assignment of children to schools solely because of race—called **de jure segregation** (meaning segregation by law)—violates the U.S. Constitution and that the schools involved must desegregate. For decades prior to the *Brown* decision, particularly in the South, busing was used to keep the races apart even when they lived in the same neighborhoods and communities.

In the past few decades, attention has shifted to the North and West, where school segregation resulted from Blacks and Whites living in separate neighborhoods, with school assignment based on residence boundaries. This pattern, which is called **de facto segregation** (meaning segregation in fact), led to legislation in many cities that bused Blacks and Whites out of their neighborhood schools for purposes of achieving racial balance. Defenders of the legislation argue that minority students who are exposed to high-achieving White middle-class students will do better academically. They also contend that desegregation by busing is a way for Whites and minority groups to learn about each other, which may diminish stereotypes and racist attitudes.

It is not always clear whether segregation is de facto or de jure. School districts may follow neighborhood boundaries and define a neighborhood school so that it minimizes contact between Black and White children. Is that de facto segregation (resulting from Black and White neighborhoods) or de jure segregation (resulting from legally sanctioned assignment of children to schools based on race)? Regardless of what it is, the vast majority of black children in Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Memphis, Philadelphia, and many other cities today attend schools that are predominantly Black.

Segregation
The separation of a group from the main body usually involving separating a minority group from the dominant group

De jure segregation
The legal assignment of children to schools solely because of race

De facto segregation
School assignment based on residence boundaries in which Blacks and Whites live in separate neighborhoods

Mass expulsion
Expelling racial or ethnic groups from their homeland

9.3d Mass Expulsion

Mass expulsion is the practice of expelling racial or ethnic groups from their homeland. The United States routinely used expulsion to solve conflicts with Native Americans. In an incident known as "The Trail of Tears," the Cherokees were forced out

of their homeland in the region where Georgia meets Tennessee and North Carolina. The removal was triggered by the discovery of gold in the Georgia mountains and the determination of European-Americans to take possession of it. The exodus went to the Ohio River and then to the Mississippi, ending in what is now Oklahoma. Of the 10,000 Cherokees rounded up, about 4,000 perished during the exodus.

Racist thinking and racist doctrine were rampant between 1850 and 1950, which is aptly called "the century of racism." Since 1950, it has declined in many parts of the world; however, there is no question that it still exists.

9.3e Genocide

Genocide is the practice of deliberately destroying a whole race or ethnic group. Raphael Lemkin coined the term in 1944 to describe the heinous crimes committed by the Nazis during World War II against the Jewish people, which is the supreme example of racism. Of the 9,600,000 Jews who lived in Nazi-dominated Europe between 1933 and 1945, 60% died in concentration camps. The British also solved race problems through annihilation during their colonization campaigns overseas. Between 1803 and 1876, for example, they almost wiped out the native population of Tasmania. The aborigines were believed by the British to be a degenerate race, wild beasts to be hunted and killed. One colonist regularly hunted natives to feed to his dogs.

Since 2003, the Darfur region of Sudan has seen the genocide of thousands of people. Sudan's president, shown here, has been charged with war crimes and crimes against humanity as a result. (AP Wide World Photo)

Lemkin (1946) defined genocide as the "crime of destroying national, racial or religious groups." As early as 1717, the U.S. government was giving incentives to private citizens for exterminating the so-called troublesome (American) "Indians," and Americans were paid generous bounties for natives' scalps. Through the processes of displacement, diseases, removal, and assimilation, the Native American population was reduced to meager numbers, less than 1% of the U.S. population today.

In the 1990s, the world witnessed the genocide in Rwanda that left over a million men, women, and children dead and many more displaced from their homeland. Today, we are once again witnessing the tragic events of genocide taking place in the Darfur region of Sudan. Since 2003, the conflict in Darfur has left over 400,000 dead and 2.5 million people displaced. Tens of thousands of people are being raped and killed based only on their ethnicity. In March 2009, the International Criminal Court charged Sudan's President, Omar Hassan al-Bashir, with seven counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Because of its moral distinctiveness, genocide has been called the "crime of crimes" (Schabas, 2000; Lee , 2010). While international concern about genocide subsided after World War II, events in Rwanda, Darfur, and other areas has led to a justification and resurgence of international humanitarian military intervention.

9.4 GLOBAL RACIAL RELATIONS

As we discussed in Chapter 8, **stratification** is structured social inequality. It is the ranking of entire groups of people that perpetuates unequal rewards and power in a society (Schaefer R. T., 2005). Stratification in a society takes a variety of forms. Sometimes, it is based on a status ascribed at birth, as in a caste system; sometimes, it is based on an acquired status, such as income or occupation, as in many industrialized countries. Some societies, including our own, stratify people on the basis of ascribed

Genocide
The deliberate destruction of an entire racial or ethnic group

Stratification
The structured ranking of entire groups of people that perpetuates unequal rewards and power in a society

statuses such as race and ethnic heritage, in addition to the achieved statuses of education and income.

In America, the predominant norms, values, beliefs, ideas, and character traits are those of the WASP majority—described more fully later in this chapter. The more a group diverges from the economic status and norms of the majority, the lower its rank in the social hierarchy. Thus, it may be less advantageous to be Chinese or Mexican than to be Polish or Irish, as well as less desirable to be Polish or Irish than to be a WASP.

The consequences of allocating status on the basis of ethnic or racial membership are most evident in the different lifestyles and opportunities of different groups. When social inequality is based on racial lines, the majority holds the more desirable positions and minorities hold the less desirable ones.

Donald L. Noel (1975) contends that three conditions are necessary for ethnic stratification to occur in a society: ethnocentrism, which is the tendency to assume that one's culture and way of life are superior to all others (Schaefer R. T., 2005), competition for resources, and inequalities in power. The inevitable outcome of ethnocentrism is that other groups are disparaged to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the extent of their difference from the majority. Competition among groups occurs when they must vie for the same scarce resources or goals, but it need not lead to ethnic stratification if values concerning freedom and equality are held and enforced. According to Noel, it is the third condition, inequality in power, which enables one group to impose its will upon the others. Power permits the dominant group to render the subordinate groups ineffectual as competitors and to institutionalize the distribution of rewards and opportunities to consolidate their position.

The rankings of people based on race, nationality, religion, or other ethnic or minority affiliations is clearly not unique to the United States. South Africa serves as an example of ethnic stratification, unmatched by any other society (Marger, 2003). White (South Africans of European decent) created a system of apartheid (White supremacy) that had caste-like elements. Blacks were seen as inferior in every way to Whites, and a formal system of racial classification defined the status of all others. Ethnic categories during apartheid included Whites, Coloreds, Asians, and Africans. While Whites made up only 10% of the population, they controlled all other aspects of society. Coloreds were those who had a mixture of White and Black parentage; while treated differently from Whites, they held more privileges than Africans. Asians were mainly indentured servants brought in from India. Their treatment was similar to the Coloreds during apartheid; once their servitude had ended, they could establish themselves within society. Over 75% of the population of South Africa was Black African, yet they held the least amount of power within society. Apartheid was legal segregation that allowed for the separation of races based on skin color alone. This system of discrimination stayed in effect from 1948 to 1994, when White Afrikaners (The Nationalist Party) relinquished power and agreed to a democratic state.

History is full of examples where race, ethnicity, or religion has been the dominant factor in the treatment of human beings. For example, in Brazil, one's outward appearance determines racial classification, much like in the United States. However, social factors can also serve as an indicator. A popular saying in Brazil is "money Whitens" (Marger, 2003), meaning that as one climbs the social ladder, the more like Whites he or she becomes. The opposite is true as well: the lower one is economically speaking, the darker he or she becomes. Before the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, Northern Ireland had numerous incidents and reports of armed conflict between Protestants and Catholics. While the Agreement was a move in the right direction, it did not create an immediate cease-fire between the two groups. In 2007, and after repeated attempts to unify Northern Ireland, the head of each party was sworn in as leader and deputy leader, in an effort to end the long history of conflict. Other examples of stratification and conflict include the strife between Jews and Muslims in Israel and other Middle-Eastern countries and the ethnic war between Croats and Serbs in Yugoslavia.

Table 9-1 Poverty Rates for Selected Race and Ethnic Groups in the United States, 2007–2011

Race	Poverty				
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Whites (non-Hispanic)	8.2	11.2	12.3	9.9	9.8
Blacks	24.5	24.7	25.8	27.4	27.6
Asians	10.2	11.8	12.5	12.2	12.3
Hispanics	21.5	23.2	25.3	26.5	25.3
National Average	12.5	13.2	14.3	15.3	15.9

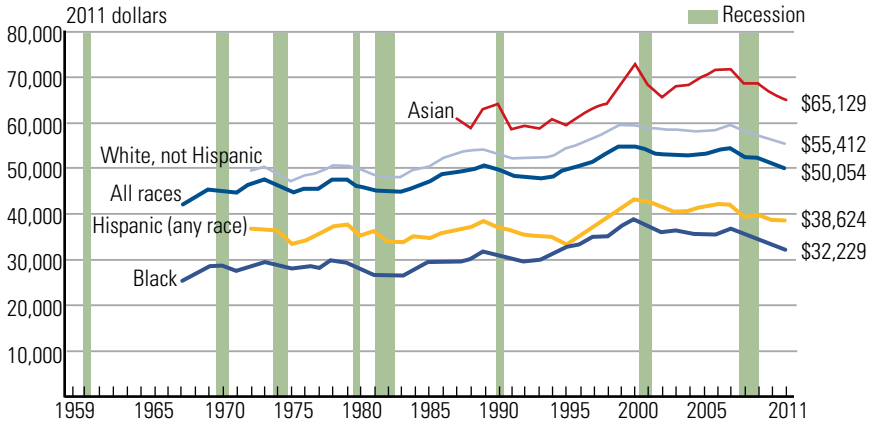
Note. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2007, 2009, 2011. *Current Population Reports.* (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2012) and U.S. Census Bureau Poverty 2010 and 2011, Alemayehu Bishaw, September 2012, http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/acsbr11-01.pdf

What positions do ethnic and racial groups occupy in the stratification system of the United States? Table 9-1 lists poverty rates for selected racial and ethnic groups in America, from 2007 to 2011. Figure 9-1 provides a historical perspective on incomes between groups from 1967 to 2011.

In our society, income and education are important indicators of a group's place in the stratification system. As Figure 9-1 and Table 9-2 indicate, Blacks and Hispanics have had the lowest median family incomes since 1967 and continue to do so. As Table 9-3 indicates, Blacks, Native Americans and Hispanics have had the lowest levels of education consistently since 1970.

The high income and education levels of Asian Americans reflect the emphasis placed on education by those groups. It probably also reflects the changes in immigration policy in the mid-1960s, which gave priority to highly skilled and professional immigrants. The low incomes of African and Hispanic American families reflect their overrepresentation in less prestigious, less skilled, and lower-paying occupational categories. Native

Figure 9-1 Real Median Household Incomes by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1967 to 2011



Note. Median household income data are not available prior to 1967. Implementation of 2010 Census population controls beginning in 2010. For information on recessions, see Appendix A.

Adapted from U.S. Census Bureau, *Current Population Survey,* 1968 to 2012, Annual Social and Economic Supplements. http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/p60-243.pdf

Table 9-2 Median Family Income and Earnings by Race, 2007–2011

(iStockphoto)

Race	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
White (non-Hispanic)	24,920	55,319	54,461	53,340	25,214
Black	34,091	34,088	32,584	33,137	32,229
Hispanic	38,679	37,769	38,039	38,818	38,624
Asian	65,876	65,388	65,469	66,286	65,129

Note. Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Civilian Population: Employment Status by Race, Sex, Ethnicity 1970–2007"; U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Income and Earnings Summary Measures by Selected Characteristics: 2008 and 2009."

Americans would be in similar lower-level occupational groupings. One common consequence of these income, education, and employment differentials is antagonism among ethnic groups and between the less powerful and the more powerful.

9.4a Ethnic Antagonism

Ethnic antagonism is mutual opposition, conflict, or hostility among different ethnic groups. In the broadest sense, the term encompasses all levels of intergroup conflict—ideologies and beliefs such as racism and prejudice, behaviors such as discrimination and riots, and institutions such as the legal and economic systems. Ethnic antagonism is closely linked to the racial and ethnic stratification system. The best-known theory of ethnic antagonism is that of the split labor market, as formulated by Edna Bonacich in a series of articles in the 1970s (1972; 1975; 1972).

A central tenet of split-labor-market theory is that when the price of labor for the same work differs by ethnic group, a three-way conflict develops among business managers and owners, higher-priced labor, and cheaper labor. Business—that is, the employer—aims at having as cheap and docile a labor force as possible. Higher-priced labor may include current employees or a dominant ethnic group that demands higher wages, a share of the profits, or fringe benefits that increase the employer's costs. Cheaper labor refers to any ethnic group that can do the work done by the higher-priced laborers at a lower cost to the employer.

Antagonism results when the higher-paid labor groups, who want to keep both their jobs and their wages (including benefits), are threatened by the introduction of cheaper labor into the market. The fear is that the cheaper labor group will either replace them or force them to lower their wage level. This basic class conflict then becomes an ethnic and racial conflict. If the higher-paid labor groups are strong enough, they may try to exclude the lower-paid group. **Exclusion** is the attempt to keep out the cheaper labor (or the product they produce). Thus, laws may be passed that make it illegal for Mexicans, Cubans, Haitians, Chinese, Filipinos, or other immigrants to enter the country; taxes may be imposed on Japanese automobiles, foreign steel, or clothes made in Taiwan. Another technique used by higher-paid labor is the imposition of a caste system, in which the cheaper labor can get jobs only in low-paying, low-prestige occupations. As a result, the higher-paid group controls the prestigious jobs that pay well. In one sense, it can be argued that a sort of caste system exists today for women, Blacks, and some Hispanic groups. These groups often hold jobs of lower status and power and receive lower wages.

Ethnic antagonism
Mutual opposition, conflict, or hostility among different ethnic groups

Exclusion
Attempts to keep cheaper labor from taking jobs from groups that receive higher pay

Table 9-3 Educational Attainment Percentages by Race and Hispanic Origin, 1970–2010

Year	Total[1]	White[2]	Black[2]	Asian and Pacific Islander[2]	Hispanic[3]
High School Graduate or More[5]					
1970	52.3	54.5	31.4	62.2	32.1
1980	66.5	68.8	51.2	74.8	44.0
1990	77.6	79.1	66.2	80.4	50.8
1995	81.7	83.0	73.8	(NA)	53.4
2000	84.1	84.9	78.5	85.7	57.0
2005	85.2	85.8	81.1	[6]87.6	58.5
2006	85.5	86.1	80.7	87.4	59.3
2007	85.7	86.2	82.3	87.8	60.3
2008	86.6	87.1	83.0	88.7	62.3
2009	86.7	87.1	84.1	88.2	61.9
2010	87.1	87.6	84.2	88.9	62.9
College Graduate or More[5]					
1970	10.7	11.3	4.4	20.4	4.5
1980	16.2	17.1	8.4	23.9	7.6
1990	21.3	22.0	11.3	39.9	9.2
1995	23.0	24.0	13.2	(NA)	9.3
2000	25.6	26.1	16.5	43.9	10.6
2005	27.7	28.1	17.6	[6]50.2	12.0
2006	28.0	28.4	18.5	49.7	12.4
2007	28.7	29.1	18.5	52.1	12.7
2008	29.4	29.8	19.6	52.6	13.3
2009	29.5	29.9	19.3	52.3	13.2
2010	29.9	30.3	19.8	52.4	13.9

NA not available. [1]Includes other races not shown separately. [2]Beginning 2005, for persons who selected this race group only. The 2003 Current Population Survey (CPS) allowed respondents to choose more than one race. Beginning 2003, data represents persons whom selected this race group only and excluded persons reporting more than one race. The CPS in prior years only allowed respondents to report one race group. See also comments on race in the text for section 1. [3]Persons of Hispanic origin may be any race. [4]Includes persons of other Hispanic origin not shown separately. [5]Through 1990, completed 4 years of high school or more and 4 years of college or more. [6]Starting in 2005, data are for Asians only, excludes Pacific Islanders

Note. Adapted from U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States, Table 229, 2012. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/edu-attn.html

Bonacich claims that another process, **displacement**, is also likely to arise in split labor markets. Capitalists who want to reduce labor costs may simply displace the higher-paid employees with cheaper labor. They can replace workers at their present location or move their factories and businesses to states or countries where the costs are lower. This is evident in auto parts, clothes, and other products with tags or labels such as "made in Mexico," or "made in Korea," or made in any other country where labor costs are considerably lower than in the United States. Within the United States, the early 1980s witnessed many examples of strikebreaking by powerful business managers and government officials, who replaced union and higher-paid workers with nonunion and lower-paid employees. The steel, airline, and automobile industries are three cases in point.

Displacement

A process occurring in split labor markets in which higher paid workers are replaced with cheaper labor

An alternative to the split labor market is what Bonacich terms **radicalism**, in which labor groups join together in a coalition against the capitalist class and present a united front. When this occurs, Bonacich claims, no one is displaced or excluded; no caste system is established. Anyone who gets hired comes in under the conditions of the higher-priced labor. Bonacich believes that as long as there is cheap labor anywhere in the world, there may not be a solution to a split labor market within a capitalist system.

thinking SOCIOLOGICALLY

1. Can you identify five ethnic groups in the United States and stratify them? What criteria do you use? What social significance can you attach to the ranking you have given a particular group?
2. Discuss the pros and cons of split labor market theory from the perspective of both the higher-priced worker and the lower-priced worker. How does this influence the opinions one group has toward the other?

9.5 RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

As of 2010, minority races made up one-third of the U.S. population; however, it is expected that by 2042 they will be the majority. The Hispanic American population is the largest racial, ethnic minority group in the U.S., constituting approximately 16.3% of the total population in 2010, up from 12.5% in 2000. The Hispanic American classification, however, is very difficult to measure for many reasons, including overlap with other categories and illegal immigration. The African American population is the second largest racial, ethnic, minority group (see Table 9-4), comprising 12.6% of the total population up from 12.3% in 2000. As of 2010 the total population in the United States was estimated to be nearly 309 million people. Table 9-4 reflects the population estimates regarding racial and ethnic groups in the United States as of the 2010 United States Census.

The third largest group, the Asian American community, includes Americans whose historical roots are Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Asian Indian (from India), Korean, Vietnamese, and other Asian nationalities. Between 2000 and 2010 the number of Asians in the United States increased by nearly 4.5 million or 4.8% of the total United States population. This is a 43% increase in the population of Asian Americans since 2000. Reasons for growths in immigration are discussed later in this chapter.

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Following Asian Americans in size are Native Americans, categorized in the U.S. census as "American Indians" and grouped with the Alaskan Natives, Eskimos and Aleuts (native Eskimoan tribes from the Aleutian Islands, which is a chain of volcanic islands extending some 1,100 miles from the tip of the Alaskan Peninsula). These Native American groups included about 2.5 million people in 2010, slightly less than 1% of the U.S. population. Every group except for Whites experienced an increase in their percentage of the total U.S. population since 2010. The percentage of Whites declined from 75.1% of the total U.S. population in 2000 to 72.4% in 2010. This is a clear indication of the changing ethnic population composition of the United States.

Radicalism

Labor groups joining together in a coalition against the capitalist class

Table 9-4 Population by Hispanic or Latino Origin and by Race for the United States, 2000 and 2010

Hispanic or Latino Origin and Race	2000		2010		Change, 2000 to 2010	
	Number	Percentage of the Population	Number	Percentage of the Population	Number	Percent
Hispanic or Latino Origin and Race						
Total Population	281,421,906	100.0	308,745,538	100.0	27,323,632	9.7
Hispanic or Latino	35,305,818	12.5	20,447,594	16.3	15,171,776	43.0
Not Hispanic or Latino	246,116,088	87.5	258,267,944	83.7	12,151,856	4.9
White alone	194,552,774	69.1	196,817,552	63.7	2,246,778	1.2
Race						
Total Population	281,421,907	100.0	308,745,538	100.0	27,323,632	9.7
One Race	274,595,678	97.6	299,736,465	97.1	25,140,787	9.2
White	211,460,626	75.1	223,553,265	72.4	12,092,639	5.7
Black or African American	34,658,190	12.3	38,929,319	12.6	4,271,129	12.3
American Indian and Alaska Native	2,475,956	0.9	2,932,248	0.9	456,292	18.4
Asian	10,242,998	3.6	14,674,252	4.8	4,431,254	43.3
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	398,835	0.1	540,013	0.2	141,178	35.4
Some Other Race	15,359,073	5.5	19,107,368	6.2	3,748,295	24.4
Two or More Races	6,826,228	2.4	9,009,073	2.9	2,182,845	32.0

In Census 2000, an error in data processing resulted in an overstatement of the Two or More Races population by about 1 million people (about 15%) nationally, which is almost entirely affected by race combinations involving some other race. Therefore, data users should assess observed changes in Two or More Races population and race combinations involving Some Other Race between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census with caution. Changes in specific race combinations not involving Some Other Race, such as White and Black or African American, or White and Asian, generally should be more comparable.

Note. Adapted from U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Tables PL1 and PL2; and 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1 and P2

One reason it is important to understand the extent to which the racial and ethnic population of the United States is changing is its impact on the political climate, especially elections. In 2012, in what was initially expected to be a much closer presidential race, President Barack Obama won a decisive victory over former Governor Mitt Romney. Many political analysts feel that Obama's victory was largely due to the failure of the Romney campaign to consider the impact of an electorate that was 28% non-white in 2012, up from 20% in 2000. In spite of capturing 59% of the non-Hispanic white vote, Romney still lost the election. Winning most of the vote of women, another minority group increasing in the electorate (23% of voters in 2012 compared with 19% in 2000), was also a significant factor in Obama's victory. Regardless of their political differences, Obama strategists may have been better at understanding and anticipating the impact of demographic changes in the United States. According to Howard University sociologist Roderick Harrison, the Obama campaign strategists "put together a coalition of populations that will eventually become the majority or are marching toward majority status in the population [in terms of size], and populations without whom it will be very difficult to win national elections and some statewide elections, particularly in states with large Black and Hispanic populations" (Benac & Cass, 2012).

9.5a Hispanic Americans

As of 2010, there were nearly 50.5 million Hispanics living in the United States, up from 33.3 million in 2000. That is an increase of 43%. This category includes those who classify themselves as Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central American, South American, and other Hispanic. These also included those who simply identify themselves as "Spanish American," "Hispanic," or "Latino." Our discussion focuses on Mexican Americans, who constitute approximately 65.5% of the Hispanic-American group.

Mexican Americans are also identified as Chicanos, a contraction of Mexicanos (pronounced "*meschicanos*" in the ancient Nahuatl language of Mexico). Over 1 million Mexican Americans are descendants of the native Mexicans who lived in the Southwest before it became part of the United States, following the Mexican American war. They became Americans in 1848, when Texas, California, New Mexico, and most of Arizona became U.S. territory. These four states plus Colorado contain the largest concentrations of this group today. Most urban Mexican Americans live in California, especially in Los Angeles.

Other Mexican Americans have come from Mexico since 1848. They can be classified into three types: (1) *legal immigrants*; (2) *braceros*, or temporary workers; and (3) *illegal aliens*. The Mexican Revolution caused large-scale migration in the early 1900s because of unsettled economic conditions in Mexico and the demand for labor on cotton farms and railroads in California. Before the minimum wage law was passed, agricultural employers preferred braceros to local workers because they could be paid less; the braceros were not a burden to the federal government inasmuch as they returned to Mexico when their services were no longer needed.

The number of illegal aliens from Mexico is not known; estimates range from 1 to ten million. Immigration policy concerning legal and illegal Mexican immigrants generally varies with the need for labor, which in turn depends on economic conditions. When the demand for Mexican labor was high, immigration was encouraged. When times were bad, illegal aliens were tracked down, rounded up, and deported. They were scapegoats in the depression of the 1930s and again in the recession of the early 1980s.

Strong family ties and large families characterize traditional Mexican American culture. The extended family is the most important institution in the Chicano community. The theme of family honor and unity occurs throughout Mexican American society, irrespective of social class or geographical location. This theme extends beyond the nuclear family unit of husband, wife, and children to relatives on both sides and persists even when the dominance of the male becomes weakened. It is a primary source of emotional and economic support and the primary focus of obligations.

Minorities such as women, Blacks, and some Hispanics often hold jobs of lower status and power and receive lower wages. (iStockphoto)

Most American families have two or three children, but it is not unusual for Mexican American families to have five or more. In 2006, for example, 22.5% of Hispanic families had five or more people. About twice as many Hispanic families had five or more members compared to non-Hispanics. Families of this size, when linked with minimal skills and low levels of income, make it difficult for the Mexican American to enjoy life at a level equal to the dominant groups in American society. For example, the median family income for non-Hispanic White families in 2009 was $54,461 compared to $38,039 for Hispanic families. Combining a large family size with a low income makes life very hard for most Hispanic Americans.

To improve the educational and income level of the Mexican American family, several Mexican American social movements have emerged over the past three decades. One movement was directed at having bilingual instruction introduced at

the elementary level. Bilingualism emerged into such a politically controversial issue that in 1986 California passed a resolution (joining six other states) making English the state's official language. Today, 30 states have English only laws, and more are considering legislation.

Cesar Chavez, one of the best-known Chicano leaders, led another movement. In 1962, he formed the National Farm Workers Association (later the United Farm Workers Union) and organized Mexican migrant farm workers, first to strike against grape growers and later against lettuce growers. The strikes included boycotts against these products, which carried the struggles of low-paid Chicano laborers into the kitchens of homes throughout America. Primary goals of Chicano agricultural and political movements, in addition to increasing wages and benefits for migrant workers, included increasing the rights of all workers and restoring pride in Mexican American heritage.

The Hispanic population is fairly young, with the average age around 27 years for both men and women. Education is perhaps the most influential factor creating income gaps for Hispanic workers. As Table 9-3 indicates, the percentage of Hispanics with less than a high school degree is the largest among all racial groups. This, along with a young workforce and low-skilled or semi-skilled labor, creates economic hardships for Hispanic families.

9.5b African Americans

As noted, African Americans comprise the second largest racial minority in the United States. Because of such unique historical experiences as slavery, legal and social segregation, and economic discrimination, many African Americans have lifestyles and value patterns that differ from those of the European-American majority. The relations between Whites and Blacks have been the source of a number of major social issues in the past several decades: busing, segregation, job discrimination, and interracial marriage, to mention a few.

Perhaps these issues can be understood more fully by examining five major social transitions that have affected or will affect African Americans (Eshleman & Bulcroft, 2006). The first transition was the movement from Africa to America, which is significant because of three factors: color, cultural discontinuity, and slavery. *Color* is the most obvious characteristic that sets Whites and Blacks apart. *Cultural discontinuity* was the abrupt shift from the culture learned and accepted in Africa to the cultural system of America. Rarely has any ethnic or racial group faced such a severe disruption of cultural patterns. *Slavery* was the unique circumstance that brought many Africans to America. Unlike almost all other groups, Africans did not come to this country by choice. Most were brought as slaves to work on southern U.S. plantations. Unlike many free African Americans in the North, slaves in the South had few legal rights. Southern Blacks were considered the property of their White owners, who had complete control over every aspect of their lives. Furthermore, there were no established groups of Blacks to welcome and aid the newly arrived Africans, as was the case with other immigrant groups.

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A second major transition was from slavery to emancipation. In 1863, a proclamation issued by President Lincoln freed the slaves in the Union, as well as in all territories still at war with the Union. Although the slaves were legally free, emancipation presented a major crisis for many African Americans because most were faced with the difficult choice of either remaining on the plantations as tenants with low wages or none at all for their labor, or searching beyond the plantation for jobs, food, and housing. Many men left to search for jobs, so women became the major source of family stability. The shift to emancipation from slavery contributed to the third and fourth transitions.

The third transition was from rural to urban and from Southern to Northern communities. For many African Americans, this shift had both good and bad effects. Cities were much more impersonal than the rural areas from which most Blacks moved;

however, cities also provided more jobs, better schools, improved health facilities, a greater tolerance of racial minorities, and a greater chance for vertical social mobility. As of 2001, 23 million African Americans lived in a metropolitan area and 13.5 million lived within a central city (Annual Demographic Survey, 2002). Blacks are no longer confined to the inner cities, but are active participants in large metropolitan areas.

The job opportunities created by World War I and World War II provided the major impetus for the exodus of African Americans from the South to the North, a trend that continued through the 1960s. In 1900, 90% of all African Americans lived in the South. By 1980, this figure had dropped to 53%, but increased to 55.3% by 2002 (Burton, 2011). Today, there are more Black people in New York City and Chicago than in any other cities in the world, including African cities, and these cities have retained their top rankings for 30 years. Atlanta and Washington, DC are the cities with the third and fourth largest African American population. New York and Florida rank first and second, respectively, among states with the highest African American population.

The fourth transition was from negative to positive social status. The African American middle class has been growing in recent years and resembles the European American middle class in terms of education, job level, and other factors. In 2008, 40% of Blacks had household incomes of $50,000 or more, up from 29.4% in 1980. An even greater advance can be seen in the number of Blacks who have made $100,000 or more: 13.4% made more than $100,000 in 2008, up from 4.5% in 2008. That is nearly a 300% increase. However, it must be pointed out that the percentage of blacks reaching the middle and upper middle classes is still noticeably lower than for Whites, even when comparing the 2008 figures for Blacks to the 1980 figures for Whites (see Table 9-5). A high proportion of African Americans remain in the lower income brackets, because of the prejudice, segregation, and discriminatory practices endured by them throughout most of their time in this country; only in the past 30 years have they achieved a measure of equality. Previously, they were routinely denied equal protection under the law, equal access to schools and housing, and equal wages.

The final transition was from negative to positive self-image. A basic tenet of the symbolic interaction approach is that we develop self-image, our identities, and our feelings of self-worth through our interactions with others. Throughout most of our history, African Americans have been the last to be hired and the first to be fired. It would be understandable if Blacks' self-esteems were lower than those of Whites; yet studies have shown that Blacks' self-evaluations are equal to or higher than those of Whites, and their rate of suicide is about one-half that of Whites. Unfortunately, one major consequence of cuts in social programs that took place under the Reagan and George H. Bush administrations is that the cuts may have conveyed a message to all minority groups in the United States that they are of little importance, compared with the interests of the dominant White middle and upper classes.

9.5c Asian Americans

The Asian American community in the United States is a highly diverse group, even more so than the Hispanic community. Asian immigration to the United States has consisted of two distinct parts: the "Old Asians" and the "New Asians" (Marger, 2003). The first group consisted of Chinese immigrants arriving in the middle of the nineteenth century and spanning to the early twentieth century. Japanese, Korean, and Filipino workers—mainly recruited for hard labor like low-income construction jobs—followed the Chinese. The next wave of Asian immigrants to enter the U.S. is the most recent group, comprising a more diverse cultural heritage. This group is distinct from the first group in that the educational levels, occupational skills, and social class status of the second group has been much higher. While the most numerous groups within the Asian population are those with Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese heritages, Asian Indians, Koreans, Hawaiians, and Guamanians are also included in this category. In the past decade, more immigrants have come from the Philippines, China, Vietnam, Korea, and

Table 9-5 Money Income of Families—Percent Distribution by Income Level in Constant (2008) Dollars, 1980 to 2008

Year	Number of Families (in 1,000s)	Percent Distribution							Median Income (dollars)
		Under $15,000	$15,000 to $24,999	$25,000 to $34,999	$35,000 to $49,999	$50,000 to $74,999	$75,000 to $99,999	$100,000 and Over	
ALL FAMILIES[1]									
1990	66,322	8.7	9.4	10.3	15.6	22.5	14.6	19.1	54,369
2000[2]	73,778	7.0	8.6	9.3	14.3	19.8	15.1	26.2	61,083
2008	78,874	8.4	9.2	9.9	13.7	19.3	14.2	26.0	61,521
2009[3]	78,867	8.7	9.1	10.0	13.8	19.4	13.5	25.6	60,088
WHITE									
1990	56,803	6.6	8.7	10.0	15.8	23.3	15.4	20.4	56,771
2000[2]	61,330	5.7	7.9	9.0	14.2	20.1	15.8	27.7	63,849
2008[4,5]	64,183	76.8	8.5	9.5	13.4	19.8	15.0	27.5	65,000
2009[3,4,5]	64,145	7.2	8.4	9.5	13.8	19.9	14.1	27.0	62,545
BLACK									
1990	7,471	23.9	14.7	12.5	14.4	17.5	8.8	8.2	32,946
2000[2]	8,731	15.1	14.0	12.8	15.8	18.7	10.3	13.0	40,547
2008[4,6]	9,359	18.2	14.4	12.8	15.3	16.6	9.8	13.4	39,879
2009[3,4,6]	9,367	18.0	14.5	13.3	15.2	16.4	10.6	12.1	38,409
ASIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER[7]									
1990	1,536	8.1	7.8	8.2	11.6	21.2	15.0	28.5	64,969
2000[2]	2,982	6.2	6.4	6.4	11.7	17.3	15.5	37.0	75,393
2008[4,7]	3,494	7.7	7.2	7.6	12.8	16.0	13.0	36.6	73,578
2009[3,4,7]	3,592	6.9	7.0	7.9	10.4	17.7	12.3	37.7	75,027
HISPANIC ORIGIN[8]									
1990	4,981	17.0	16.3	13.6	17.3	19.1	8.5	8.2	36,034
2000[2]	8,017	12.8	14.6	13.0	18.1	19.4	10.5	12.0	41,469
2008	10,503	15.5	14.6	14.1	16.8	17.2	9.6	12.5	40,466
2009[3]	10,422	15.2	14.7	14.3	16.0	17.9	9.5	12.4	39,730

Note. Adapted from U.S. Census Bureau, *Income, Poverty and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2008,* Current Population Reports, P60-236(RV), and Historical Tables—Table F-23, September 2009. See also http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/income.html> and <htpp://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/historical/families/index.html

[1]Includes other races, not shown separately. [2]Data reflect implementation of Census 2000-based population controls and a 28,000 household sample expansion to 78,000 households. [3]Median income is calculated using $2,500 income intervals. Beginning with 2009 income data, the Census Bureau expanded the upper income intervals used to calculate medians to $250,000 or more. Medians falling in the upper open-ended interval are plugged with "$250,00." [4]Beginning with the 2003 Census Population Survey (CPS), the questionnaire allowed respondents to choose more than one race. For 2002 and later, data represent persons who selected this race group only and exclude persons reporting more than one race. The CPS in prior years allowed respondents to report only on race group. See also comments on race in text for Section 1. [5]Data represent White alone, which refers to people who reported White and did not report any other race category. [6]Data represent Black alone, which refers to people who reported Black and did not report any other race category. [7]Data represent Asian alone, which refers to people who reported Asian and did not report any other race category. [8]People of Hispanic origin may be any race.

India than from any other country outside of North and South America. Other groups represented in the large amounts of immigrants to America come from Africa, Iran, Cambodia, and the United Kingdom, with recent increases from Poland and Laos.

As mentioned, the Chinese were the first Asians to enter this country in large numbers. Mostly single males, Chinese workers intended to return home after working

in the United States. In 1882, due to the fear of White workers that Chinese men would take their jobs, an anti-Chinese movement began that culminated in a ban on immigrants from China. The Chinese Exclusion Act was made permanent in 1907 and began a series of restrictions by the United States on other immigrant groups. In 1943, the ban was lifted, but life for Chinese immigrants suffered as a result. The Chinese have historically resisted assimilation and tend to uphold traditional values, such as filial duty, veneration of the aged and of deceased ancestors, and arranged marriages. Chinese American families tend to be male-dominated, and an extended family pattern is the rule. In 1965, large-scale immigration from China to the U.S. occurred and increased their population.

Today, most Chinese Americans live in large urban enclaves in Hawaii, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York. A tourist visiting a Chinatown is likely to notice only the exotic sights, smells, and sounds. The problems prevalent in Chinatowns are less evident, however. There is often overcrowding, poverty, poor health, rundown housing, and inadequate care for the elderly. Yet not all Chinese live in Chinatowns. Those who have "made it" live in the suburbs.

(iStockphoto)

Like the Chinese, most early Japanese immigrants were males imported for their labor. For both groups, employment was at low-prestige, physically difficult, and low-paying jobs. Both groups were victims of prejudice, discrimination, and racism. As time went by, a large percentage of Japanese immigrants turned to farming, instead of construction, and honed their farming skills mainly in California (Marger, 2003). Other important differences between the Chinese and Japanese that promoted diverse outcomes were noted by Kitano (1991). For example, the Japanese came from a nation that was moving toward modernization and an industrial economy, while China (during the time of major emigration) was an agricultural nation that was weak and growing weaker. This meant that the Japanese had the backing of a growing international power, while the Chinese were more dependent on local resources. Another difference focused on marriage and family life. The Japanese men sent for their wives and families almost immediately. In contrast, many Chinese men left their wives in China or remained as bachelors primarily as a result of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which closed the door to Chinese immigrants. One consequence of this was the birth and presence of children for the Japanese, which meant facing issues of acculturation and a permanent place in the larger community. This process was delayed among the Chinese because they had so few children. Japanese Americans are today more fully integrated into American culture and have higher incomes than the Chinese or other Asian groups.

During World War II, European Americans feared that there might be Japanese Americans working against the American war effort, so the federal government moved most of them to what they called "relocation camps." As noted in the opening story, regardless of their political views or how long they had been in this country, families were forced to pack up whatever possessions they could and to move to camps in Utah, Arizona, California, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and Arkansas, abandoning or selling at nominal prices their land and their homes and severely disrupting their lives. Many were incensed at the suggestion that they were not loyal Americans capable of making valuable contributions to the American war effort. Many also noted that German Americans were not similarly relocated. In addition, some of the relocated families even had sons serving in the U.S. armed forces. Altogether, more than 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry, 70,000 of them U.S. citizens by birth, were moved. After the war, the Japanese were allowed to return to their homes; but even with the token monetary compensation recently awarded them, they have never been compensated adequately for the time, businesses, or property lost during their internment.

9.5d Native Americans

The Native American population is actually a varied group of tribes having different languages and cultures. At the time of the European invasion of America, there were perhaps 200 distinct groups that traditionally have been grouped into seven major geographical areas (Feagin & Feagin, 2002):

1. Eastern tribes, who hunted, farmed, and fished
2. Great Plains hunters and agriculturists
3. Pacific Northwest fishing societies
4. California and neighboring area seed gatherers
5. Navajo shepherds and Pueblo farmers of the Arizona and New Mexico area
6. Southwestern desert societies (e.g., Hopi) of Arizona and New Mexico
7. Alaskan groups, including the Eskimos

Estimates of the number of Native Americans in the United States at the time of the European settlement range from 1 to 10 million. By 1800, the native population had declined to 600,000; and by 1850, it had dwindled to 250,000, as a result of starvation, deliberate massacre, and diseases such as smallpox, measles, and the common cold. Since the turn of the century, however, their numbers have increased dramatically. In the 1970s, the Native American population exceeded the 1 million mark for the first time since the period of European expansion; by 2010, it reached an estimated 3 million (including Eskimos and Aleuts), according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

(iStockphoto)

By the 1960s, Native Americans were no longer regarded as nations to be dealt with through treaties. Most tribes were treated as wards of the U.S. government and lived isolated lives on reservations. Today, about half of all Native Americans live on or near reservations administered fully or partly by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Many other Native Americans have moved to urban areas or have been relocated there by the BIA to help in their search for jobs and improved living conditions.

Native Americans are among the most deprived of American minority groups. Their unemployment rate is twice that of European Americans (Feagin & Feagin, 2002). Most hold jobs at lower occupational levels and have incomes far below the median for American families. Housing is often severely crowded, and two-thirds of their houses in rural areas have no plumbing facilities. The life expectancy is about two-thirds the national average. It appears that teenage suicide, alcoholism, and adult diabetes are more common among reservation-dwelling Native Americans than among any other group in the country. Studies suggest that Native Americans have the lowest school enrollment rates of any racial or ethnic group in the United States (Feagin & Feagin, 2002). The norms, practices, and even materials within public schools often are at variance with those of Native American groups. In the Southwest, at least, many of these public schools are actually boarding schools, removing children entirely from their families and homes. In either type of school, children are often pressured not to speak their native language or to practice their native traditions.

One area in which Native Americans differ from the mainstream culture is in family structure. The Native American equivalent to the family is the band, which includes a number of related families who live in close proximity. The band is composed of kin people who share property, jointly organize rituals and festivals, and provide mutual support and assistance. Bands are egalitarian and arrive at decisions collectively.

Since the 1960s, many Native American tribes united and formed organized collectives to demand a better life for their people. Several tribes have banded together to bargain more effectively with the federal government, and they have sometimes used militant tactics to get results. Nonetheless, Native Americans—the only group that did not immigrate to the United States—remain a subordinate group. Stereotyped as inferior, they have suffered exploitation and discrimination in all of our basic social institutions.

9.5e WASPs and White Ethnic Americans

Most of the White population in the United States today emigrated as a result of European expansionist policies over the past 350 years. Earlier immigrants were WASPs, who came mainly from northern and western European countries such as Britain, Ireland, Scotland, Sweden, Norway, Germany, France, and Switzerland. Although they are a minority group in terms of numbers within the U.S. population, they are not a minority in terms of political and economic power. Thus, they have pressured African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and other racial, ethnic, and other minority groups to assimilate or acculturate to the ideal of Anglo conformity, the ideal of Americanization, or the model of A + B + C = A.


(Shutterstock)

Historically, WASP immigrants displayed what became known as the "Protestant ethic." This was an ethic of a strong belief in God, honesty, frugality, piety, abstinence, and hard work. As the majority group in terms of power, they were not subject to the prejudices and discrimination experienced by other, later, immigrants. The pressure on these other groups to be assimilated and integrated into American society meant, basically, to think and behave like the WASP.

The more recent European immigrants are today's White ethnics. They came largely from southern and eastern European countries, such as Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Russia and other former Soviet republics, and Poland. Schaefer (2003) states that White ethnics separate themselves from WASPs and make it clear that they were not responsible for the oppression of Native Americans, African Americans, and Mexican Americans that took place before their ancestors had left Europe.

The majority of these immigrants, although they did not totally discard their roots, adopted American norms and values. Many dropped their European names in favor of names that sounded more "American," and most White ethnics have successfully assimilated. Michael Novak (1975), who is of Slovak ancestry, wrote the following about his experiences:

> Under challenge in grammar school concerning my nationality, I had been instructed by my father to announce proudly: "American." When my family moved from the Slovak ghetto of Johnston to the WASP suburb on the hill, my mother impressed upon us how well we must be dressed, and show good manners, and behave—people think of us as "different" and we mustn't give them any cause. (p. 593)

The emerging assertiveness of African Americans and other non-Whites in the 1960s induced many White ethnics to reexamine their positions. Today, many American ethnic communities emphasize more of their folk culture, native food, dance, costume, and religious traditions in establishing their ethnic identities. They have sought a more structured means of expressing, preserving, and expanding their cultures; thus, many have formed fraternal organizations, museums, and native-language newspapers in an effort to preserve their heritage (Lopata, 1976).

9.5f Jewish Americans

One of the predominant religious ethnic groups is the Jewish American. America has the largest Jewish population in the world, estimated to be 6.5 million and exceeding the approximately 4 million Jews in Israel. They are heavily concentrated in the New York City metropolitan area and other urban areas.

Jewish Americans are basically ethnic in nature, in that they share cultural traits to a greater extent than physical features or religious beliefs. As a minority group, they have a strong sense of group solidarity, tend to marry one another, and experience unequal treatment from non-Jews in the form of prejudice, discrimination, and segregation. Although Jews are generally perceived to be affiliated with one of the three Jewish religious groups—Orthodox, Reform, or Conservative—many, if not the majority of Jews, do not participate as adults in religious services or belong to a temple or synagogue; yet, they do not cease to think of themselves as Jews. The trend in the United States seems to be the substitution of cultural traditions for religion as the binding and solidifying force among Jewish Americans.

Injustices to Jewish people have continued for centuries all over the world. The most tragic example of anti-Semitism occurred during World War II, when Adolf Hitler succeeded in having 6 million Jewish civilians exterminated—the terrifying event that has become known as the "Holocaust." Anti-Semitism in the United States never reached the extreme of Germany, but it did exist. As early as the 1870s, some colleges excluded Jewish Americans. In the 1920s and 1930s, a myth of international Jewry emerged that suggested Jews were going to conquer all governments throughout the world by using the vehicle of communism, which was believed by anti-Semites to be a Jewish movement. At that time, Henry Ford, Catholic priest Charles E. Coughlin, and groups such as the Ku Klux Klan published, preached, and spoke about a Jewish conspiracy as if it were fact. Unlike in Germany or Italy, however, the United States government never publicly promoted anti-Semitism, and Jewish Americans were more likely to face issues of how to assimilate than how to survive.

Concern about anti-Semitism seemed to decrease drastically following World War II through the 1960s; but in the 1970s and continuing today, anti-Semitic sentiments and behaviors appear to be on the increase. Whatever the cause, racial or ethnic hostility tends to unify the victims against attackers and Jewish Americans are no exception.

thinking SOCIOLOGICALLY

1. Using information found in this chapter (and other relevant chapters, if necessary), discuss the racial and ethnic hierarchy found within American society. What has led to, and continues to exacerbate, inequality among the various groups?
2. Examine your own family tree and compare your grandparents, great-grandparents, etc., to the early immigrant groups. How would life have been different for them during their generation?

9.6 THE FUTURE

What does the future hold for ethnic groups and integration in the United States? Will there be a time when Americans can get past racial and economic injustices and conquer the serious problems that we have yet to overcome? Racism continues to powerfully influence individual lives and the interactions of different ethnic groups, and each step in the integrative process presents new problems. With the election of President Barack Obama, many citizens are eager to suggest that race no longer matters in the United States. While Obama was touted as the "first Black President," it is easy to overlook the obvious one-drop rule that continues to define how we look at race. While Obama is linked to African ancestry through his father from Kenya, he is also equally White through his mother's lineage. The continuation of an "us" and "them" mentality will only serve to divide, rather than unite, a nation of people.

Another issue is that of affirmative action, which has been drastically weakened over the past 5 years. In 2003, the Supreme Court handed down two decisions that directly affected affirmative action, especially regarding education. In *Grutter v. Bollinger*, the Court held that schools could use race as a deciding factor in admission decisions. However, the narrowly divided court also seemed to put limits on how much of a factor race can play in giving minority students an advantage in the admissions process. In *Gratz v. Bollinge*r, the Supreme Court ruled that giving points to a candidate simply based on race was a violation of the equal protection provision of the Constitution.

Despite the new problems that crop up and the frequent news stories of racial and racist incidents, there is reason for optimism. Just as few would argue that race relations are everything they should be in this country, few would refute the fact that progress has been made during the past 4 decades. A number of barriers to equality have been eliminated. Civil rights activism during the 1960s and 1970s brought about reforms in laws and government policies. In 1963, affirmative action policies were established; and President Kennedy issued an executive order calling for the disregard of race, creed, color, or national origin in hiring procedures, as well as in the treatment of employees. Affirmative action has since become a principal government instrument in eradicating institutional racism (Feagin & Feagin, 2002); its laws were later amended to include women, so that today, the laws also prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex.

The reduction of institutional racism has had both indirect and direct effects. According to the "contact hypothesis," interracial contact leads to reductions in prejudice with the following conditions: (1) The parties involved are of equal status, and (2) the situation in which the contact occurs is pleasant or harmonious. This hypothesis, reflecting an interactionist perspective, claims that these conditions cause people to become less prejudiced and to abandon previously held stereotypes. The importance of both equal status and pleasant contact cannot be overlooked. For example, a Black employee being abused by a White employer (unequal status), or two people of equal status from different ethnic or minority groups competing for the same job opening (unpleasant contact) do little to promote interracial harmony and may lead to greater hostility, in fact.

Changes in the way that minorities are portrayed in the mass media have also influenced levels of prejudice. During the 1950s and 1960s, when Blacks and other minorities were portrayed, it was usually in stereotyped roles as servants or other low-status workers. Today, although it could be argued that portrayals of minorities in the media still tend to reflect stereotypes, the situation has improved considerably.

Another cause for optimism is the frequent finding of research studies that better-educated people are more likely to express liking for groups other than their own. It may be that the educated have a more cosmopolitan outlook and are more likely to question the accuracy of racial stereotypes. It is to be hoped that the trend in this country toward a more-educated population, along with the other advances that have been made, will

contribute to a reduction in prejudice and the more complete realization of the American ideals of freedom and equal opportunity.

Lastly, one needs to look no further than the 2008 presidential election and the forum of candidates who sought the highest office in the land. There has never been a time of such diversity within the political spectrum for President of the United States. This appeared to be the first time predicted front-runners in the election were from such diverse backgrounds. Hillary Clinton was a strong female candidate for the Democratic Party and alongside of her was Barack Obama, another strong contender who happened to be of mixed ancestry: African American and European American. The field of candidates also included Mitt Romney, a very strong prospect in the Republican Party who happens to be Mormon. As Barack Obama took the oath of office for President of the United States, it was a cold frigid afternoon when thousands and thousands of people lined the streets, courtyards, and Lincoln Mall to witness that historic occasion. We should realize that these are truly positive steps in recognizing the changes that are currently under way towards making the United States of America a land where "All Men Are Created Equal."

CHAPTER 9 Wrapping it up

Summary

1. A race is a defined group or category of people distinguished by selected inherited physical characteristics. Throughout history race has been defined in biological, legal, and social terms. An *ethnic group* is a collection of individuals who feel they are one people because they have unique cultural traits, ascribed membership, and a sense of community, ethnocentrism, and territoriality.
2. Racial and ethnic groups are considered minorities when they are subordinate to another group in terms of power, social status, and privilege, and when their norms, values, and other characteristics differ from those that prevail in a society.
3. A stereotype is applied to entire groups of people based on a particular belief. *Prejudice* is a negative attitude toward an entire category of people. A variety of theories have been offered to explain prejudice, including economic and psychological ones. Prejudice often involves acceptance of ethnic *stereotypes*, widely held beliefs about the character and behavior of all members of a group.
4. Whereas prejudice is an attitude, *discrimination* is overt behavior on the part of individuals or institutions. It is the categorical exclusion of all members of a group from particular rights, opportunities, or privileges. Merton provides four categories of discriminators.
5. *Racism* includes prejudices and discriminatory behaviors based on three distinguishing characteristics: (1) the belief that one's own race is superior to any other race, (2) an ideology, and (3) actions based on racist beliefs. Genocide and mass expulsion are consequences of extreme forms of racism.
6. *Ethnic stratification* allocates status on the basis of ethnic or racial membership and is most evident in the different lifestyles and opportunities of different groups. Three conditions necessary for ethnic stratification to occur include ethnocentrism, competition, and inequalities in power.
7. Inequality may lead to ethnic antagonism. A leading theory of ethnic antagonism, the split-labor-market theory, suggests that conflict results among business ownership and management, higher-priced labor, and lower-priced labor. The basic fear of those in higher-priced labor is of being displaced by the lower-priced labor, which business owners view as one way of reducing costs.
8. Racial and ethnic inequalities can be resolved through either integration or pluralism. Integration involves assimilation, an event that occurs when individuals and groups forsake their own cultural traditions to become part of a different group or tradition. The extent to which integration and assimilation has or has not occurred represents *social distance*.
9. Two models of assimilation are the *melting pot* and *Anglo conformity*. The former means that different groups contribute something of their own culture and absorb aspects of other cultures, with an outcome different from any former groups. The latter, equated with Americanization, means that the minority loses its identity to the dominant WASP culture.
10. *Segregation* is the physical and social separation of groups or categories of people. It may be *de jure*, segregation by law, or *de facto*, segregation in fact.
11. *Cultural pluralism* refers to a situation in which various racial, ethnic, or minority groups exist side by side but maintain their distinctive cultural patterns, subsystems, and institutions. Resurgence of this idea is evident in the ethnic and other minority emphasis on their native language, customs, and traditions.
12. The major racial or ethnic groups in the United States are African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and European ethnics. The largest of these groups is African American. African Americans, with the unique historical fact of slavery, have long been in the process of going through a number of social

transitions. Today, most live in metropolitan areas with high population concentrations in northern cities.

13. Hispanic Americans include those who classify themselves as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central and South American, and other Hispanics from Spain or other Spanish-speaking countries. Mexican Americans, or Chicanos, are the largest Hispanic American group and are characterized by strong family ties and large families. A number of social movements have emerged over the past few decades to improve the status and living conditions of this group.
14. Numerous other ethnic and other minority groups exist in the United States today. Asian Americans include those with ties to China, Japan, the Philippines, India, Korea, Vietnam, and other Asian countries. Native Americans, the only nonimmigrant group, are often grouped into seven major geographical areas with distinct language patterns and tribal customs.
15. White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) groups came predominantly from northern and western European countries, while White ethnic groups came predominantly from southern and eastern European countries. Jewish-Americans are basically ethnic in nature, in that they share cultural traits to a greater extent than physical features or religious beliefs.
16. Although relations among ethnic groups are far from perfect in this country, some progress has been made during the past few decades. Government regulations have made discriminatory action illegal, and numerous affirmative action programs have been instituted in political, educational, and economic agencies throughout the country. The election of our first non-White president, changes in the portrayal of minorities in the media and the trend toward a better-educated population may lead to further progress in this area.

Discussion Questions

1. Discuss the differences between the sociological concepts of racial, ethnic, and minority groups.
2. Do you believe that racial identity is based on biological, legal or social factors? Explain.
3. Select a racial, ethnic, or minority group other than your own, and compare it with your own.
4. Identify a prejudice that you hold, and use the theories of prejudice to discuss why you might have this prejudice.
5. Do you think that anyone has ever held a prejudice or discriminated against you? Why do you think so? Was this prejudice accurate?
6. What is the difference between de jure and de facto segregation? Can you identify either in your local community or state?
7. Differentiate between individual and institutional racism. Give specific examples.
8. Discuss the melting pot, Anglo conformity, and pluralism models described in the chapter. Show how your community or city would be different, depending on which model was most prevalent.
9. What is the significance of any of the social transitions that have occurred or are occurring for African Americans? For example, is the demographic shift from the rural South to the urban North significant? How?
10. Based on the increases in the African American, Hispanic American, and Asian American population in the United States, social demographers suggest that within the next quarter century, the number of these groups will surpass the number of White-ethnic and WASP Americans. Will White Americans then be the minority? Explain.

Pop Quiz for Chapter 9

1. On which of the following are racial groups based?
   a. cultural characteristics
   b. biological and inherited physical traits
   c. the definition dictated by the census
   d. socially defined groups distinguished by inherited physical characteristics
2. A group that is subordinate to the majority in power and privilege is a(n) _____.
   a. minority group
   b. majority group
   c. ethnic group
   d. racial group

3. Which of the following is true of a minority group?
   a. A minority group is a minority in number.
   b. A minority group has less power and fewer privileges than the majority group.
   c. A minority group does not desire the same things as the majority group.
   d. It is a group that is culturally distinctive from other groups.
4. Which of the following is true of prejudice?
   a. It is a negative attitude toward an entire category of people.
   b. It refers to actions directed against others.
   c. It is best controlled by public officials.
   d. It is a practice that attempts to destroy an entire race.
5. Widely held beliefs about the character and behavior of all members of a group that operate to sustain prejudice are referred to as _____.
   a. biases
   b. concepts
   c. stereotypes
   d. propositions
6. What did Adorno find in his study of the "authoritarian personality"?
   a. The concept of an authoritarian personality is basically a myth.
   b. Authoritarian individuals tend to be flexible and tolerant.
   c. Authoritarian personalities are more prone than others to welcome and accept social change.
   d. Authoritarian people are more inclined to be prejudiced.
7. Why was the jigsaw technique developed?
   a. to reduce prejudice in the classroom
   b. to encourage development of the authoritarian personality
   c. to encourage social organizations to fight discrimination
   d. to do only "b" and "c"
8. Which of the following is true of institutional discrimination?
   a. It is a preconceived attitude about another group.
   b. It is prejudice in prisons and nursing homes.
   c. It is caused by criteria established by institutions.
   d. It is caused by cultural diversity.
9. When does institutional racism occur?
   a. Why individuals are racist.
   b. Why the folkways, mores, and laws of a society are racist.
   c. Why prejudice occurs in political and educational institutions.
   d. Why the president of the country is racist.
10. Mass expulsion of a race _____.
    a. has never occurred
    b. was used by the United States on Native Americans
    c. is called genocide
    d. is called exploitation
11. A minority group is any that has fewer members than some other group in a society. T / F
12. Individual prejudice is a factor in institutional discrimination. T / F
13. The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision was aimed at eliminating de facto segregation. T / F
14. Braceros are illegal immigrants searching for work in the United States. T / F
15. Israel has the largest Jewish population in the world. T / F

Answers: 1. d 2. a 3. b 4. a 5. c 6. d 7. a 8. c 9. b 10. b 11. F 12. F 13. F 14. F 15. F

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