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Race and Ethnic Relations

Outline

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Understanding Race and Ethnic Relations

Is It True?

1. Many anthropologists and other scientists have concluded that “races” do not really exist.

2. In the 2000 elections, 41 percent of voters in Alabama voted *against* removing the state constitution’s ban on interracial marriage.

3. In California, minority group members outnumber non-Hispanic whites.

4. The largest category of individuals targeted to benefit from affirmative action is African-Americans.

5. The third most common place for hate crimes to occur is on college campuses.

Answers to “Is it True?” 1 = T; 2 = T; 3 = T; 4 = F; 5 = T

The 21st century will be the century in which we redefine ourselves as the first country in world history which is literally made up of every part of the world.

KENNETH PREWITT
Census Bureau director

Karl Nichols, a white residence hall director at the University of Mississippi, learned about racism in college, but not in the classroom and not from a textbook. Two chunks of asphalt were hurled through Karl's dormroom window along with a note warning, "You're going to get it, you Godforsaken nigger-lover" ("Hate on Campus" 2000, 10). The next night, someone attempted to set Karl's door on fire. According to the university's investigation of these incidents, Karl Nichols "may have violated racist taboos . . . by openly displaying his affinity for African-American individuals and black culture, by dating black women, by playing [black] music . . . and by promoting diversity" in his dormitory (p. 10).

Karl Nichols is not alone. At Brown University in Rhode Island, a black student is beaten by three white students who tell her she is a "quota" who doesn't belong at a university. At the State University of New York at Binghamton, an Asian-American student is left with a fractured skull after a racially motivated assault by three students. Two students at the University of Kentucky—one white, one black—were crossing the street just off campus when they were attacked by 10 white men. The attackers yelled racist slurs at the black student and choked him until he couldn't speak or move. The assailants called the white student a "nigger-lover" as they broke his hand and nose. "I definitely thought I was going to lose my life," the black student said later. The white student was shocked by the incident, commenting, "I didn't know that much hate existed." ("Hate on Campus" 2000, 7)

The United States is becoming increasingly diversified in the racial and ethnic characteristics of its population. Indeed, 2000 census data revealed that for the first time in modern U.S. history, non-Hispanic whites comprise less than half of the population of California (Purdum 2001). The majority of Californians are minorities, with Hispanic residents making up nearly one-third of the state's population. Racial and ethnic group relations continue to be a major social concern in the United States and throughout the world. Despite significant improvements in U.S. race and ethnic relations over the last two centuries, a great deal of work remains to be done. And much pessimism about the future of race relations in the United States is evident. In response to a question asking whether relations between blacks and whites will always be a problem for the United States, or whether a solution will eventually be worked out, 51 percent of whites and 59 percent of blacks say that race relations will always be a problem (Ludwig 2000).

In this chapter, we discuss the nature and origins of prejudice and examine the extent of discrimination and its consequences for racial and ethnic minorities. We also discuss strategies designed to reduce prejudice and discrimination. We begin by examining racial and ethnic diversity worldwide and in the United States, emphasizing first that the concept of race is based on social rather than biological definitions.

The Global Context: Diversity Worldwide

A first-grade teacher asked the class, “What is the color of apples?” Most of the children answered red. A few said green. One boy raised his hand and said “white.” The teacher tried to explain that apples could be red, green, or sometimes golden, but never white. The boy insisted his answer was right and finally said, “Look inside” (Goldstein 1999). Like apples, human beings may be similar on the “inside,” but are often classified into categories according to external appearance. After examining the social construction of racial categories, we review patterns of interaction among racial and ethnic groups and examine racial and ethnic diversity in the United States.

The Social Construction of Race

Race and ethnicity are in the eye of the beholder.

HAROLD L. HODGKINSON
 Director of the Center for
 Demographic Policy

The concept **race** refers to a category of people who are believed to share distinct physical characteristics that are deemed socially significant. Racial groups are sometimes distinguished on the basis of such physical characteristics as skin color, hair texture, facial features, and body shape and size. Some physical variations among people are the result of living for thousands of years in different geographical regions (Molnar 1983). For example, humans living in regions with hotter climates developed darker skin from the natural skin pigment, melanin, which protects the skin from the sun’s rays. In regions with moderate or colder climates, people had no need for protection from the sun and thus developed lighter skin.

Cultural definitions of race have taught us to view race as a scientific categorization of people based on biological differences between groups of individuals. Yet, racial categories are based more on social definitions than on biological differences.

Anthropologist Mark Cohen (1998) explains that distinctions among human populations are graded, not abrupt. Skin color is not black or white, but rather ranges from dark to light with many gradations of shades. Noses are not either broad or narrow, but come in a range of shapes. Physical traits such as these, as well as hair color and other characteristics, come in an infinite number of combinations. For example, a person with dark skin can have any blood type and can have a broad nose (a common combination in West Africa), a narrow nose (a common trait in East Africa), or even blond hair (a combination found in Australia and New Guinea) (Cohen 1998).

The science of genetics also challenges the notion of race. Geneticists have discovered that “the genes of black and white Americans probably are 99.9 percent alike” (Cohen 1998, B4). Furthermore, genetic studies indicate that genetic variation is greater *within* racially classified populations than *between* racial groups (Keita & Kittles 1997). Classifying people into different races fails to recognize that over the course of human history, migration and intermarriage have resulted in the blending of genetically transmitted traits. Thus, there are no “pure” races; people in virtually all societies have genetically mixed backgrounds.

The American Anthropological Association has passed a resolution stating that “differentiating species into biologically defined ‘race’ has proven meaningless and unscientific” (Etzioni 1997, 39). Scientists who reject the race concept now speak of **populations** when referring to groups that most people would call races (Zack 1998).

Clear evidence that race is a social, rather than biological concept is the fact that different societies construct different systems of racial classification, and that these systems change over time (Niemonen 1999). Leggon (1999) explains, “The major significance of race is not biological but social and political, insofar as race is used as the primary line of demarcation separating ‘we’ from ‘they’ and, consequently, becomes a basis for distinctive treatment of a group by another” (p. 382). Despite the increasing acceptance that race is not a valid biological categorization, its social significance continues to be evident throughout the world.

Patterns of Racial and Ethnic Group Interaction

When two or more racial or ethnic groups come into contact, one of several patterns of interaction may occur, including genocide, expulsion or population transfer, slavery, colonialism, segregation, acculturation, assimilation, pluralism, and amalgamation. These patterns of interaction may occur when two or more groups exist in the same society or when different groups from different societies come into contact. Although not all patterns of interaction between racial and ethnic groups are destructive, author and Mayan shaman Martin Prechtel reminds us that, “Every human on this earth, whether from Africa, Asia, Europe, or the Americas, has ancestors whose stories, rituals, ingenuity, language, and life ways were taken away, enslaved, banned, exploited, twisted, or destroyed...” (quoted in Jensen 2001, 13).

- **Genocide** refers to the deliberate, systematic annihilation of an entire nation or people. The European invasion of the Americas, beginning in the sixteenth century, resulted in the decimation of most of the original inhabitants of North and South America. Some native groups were intentionally killed, whereas others fell victim to diseases brought by the Europeans. In the twentieth century, Hitler led the Nazi extermination of more than 12 million people, including over 6 million Jews, in what has become known as the Holocaust. More recently, ethnic Serbs have attempted to eliminate Muslims from parts of Bosnia—a process they call “ethnic cleansing.”

tol•er•ance••n.: the capacity for or the practice of recognizing and respecting the beliefs or practices of others.

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AP/Wide World Photos

The most cited twentieth-century example of genocide is the “extermination” of over 12 million Jews and others considered by Hitler not to be members of his “superior race.”

- **Expulsion or population transfer** occurs when a dominant group forces a subordinate group to leave the country or to live only in designated areas of the country. The 1830 Indian Removal Act called for the relocation of eastern tribes to land west of the Mississippi River. The movement, lasting more than a decade, has been called the Trail of Tears because tribes were forced to leave their ancestral lands and endure harsh conditions of inadequate supplies and epidemics that caused illness and death. After Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt authorized the removal of any people considered threats to national security. All people on the West Coast of at least one-eighth Japanese ancestry were transferred to evacuation camps surrounded by barbed wire, where 120,000 Japanese Americans experienced economic and psychological devastation. In 1979, Vietnam expelled nearly 1 million Chinese from the country as a result of long-standing hostilities between China and Vietnam.
- **Slavery** exists when one group treats another group as property to exploit for financial gain. The dominant group forces the enslaved group to live a life of servitude, without the basic rights and privileges enjoyed by the dominant group. In early American history, slavery was tolerated and legal for three centuries. Enslavement of Africans also occurred in Canada from 1689 to 1833 (Schaefer 1998).
- **Colonialism** occurs when a racial or ethnic group from one society takes over and dominates the racial or ethnic group(s) of another society. The European invasion of North America, the British occupation of India, and the Dutch presence in South Africa before the end of apartheid are examples of outsiders taking over a country and controlling the native population. As a territory of the United States, Puerto Rico is essentially a colony whose residents are U.S. citizens but cannot vote in presidential elections unless they move to the mainland.
- **Segregation** refers to the physical separation of two groups in residence, workplace, and social functions. Segregation may be **de jure** (Latin meaning "by law") or **de facto** ("in fact"). Between 1890 and 1910, a series of U.S. laws that came to be known as **Jim Crow laws** were enacted that separated blacks from whites by prohibiting blacks from using "white" buses, hotels, restaurants, and drinking fountains. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court (in *Plessy v. Ferguson*) supported de jure segregation of blacks and whites by declaring that "separate but equal" facilities were constitutional. Blacks were forced to live in separate neighborhoods and attend separate schools. Beginning in the 1950s, various rulings overturned these Jim Crow laws, making it illegal to enforce racial segregation. Although de jure segregation is illegal in the United States, de facto segregation still exists in the tendency for racial and ethnic groups to live and go to school in segregated neighborhoods.
- **Acculturation** refers to learning the culture of a group different from the one in which a person was originally raised. Acculturation may involve learning the dominant language, adopting new values and behaviors, and changing the spelling of the family name. In some instances, acculturation may be forced, as in the California decision to discontinue bilingual education and force students to learn English in school.
- **Pluralism** refers to a state in which racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinctness, but respect each other and have equal access to social resources. In Switzerland, for example, four ethnic groups—French, Italians,

Germans, and Swiss Germans—maintain their distinct cultural heritage and group identity in an atmosphere of mutual respect and social equality. In the United States, the political and educational recognition of multiculturalism reflects efforts to promote pluralism. Given the extent of prejudice and discrimination toward racial and ethnic minorities (discussed later in this chapter), however, the United States is far from pluralistic.

- **Assimilation** is the process by which formerly distinct and separate groups merge and become integrated as one. One form of assimilation is referred to as the **melting pot**, whereby different groups come together and contribute equally to a new, common culture. Although the United States has been referred to as a “melting pot,” in reality, many minorities have been excluded or limited in their cultural contributions to the predominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestant tradition.

Assimilation may be of two types: secondary and primary. **Secondary assimilation** occurs when different groups become integrated in public areas and in social institutions, such as neighborhoods, schools, the workplace, and in government. **Primary assimilation** occurs when members of different groups are integrated in personal, intimate associations such as friends, family, and spouses.

- **Amalgamation**, also known as **marital assimilation**, occurs when different ethnic or racial groups become married or pair-bonded and produce children. Nineteen states had **antimiscegenation laws** banning interracial marriage until 1967 when the Supreme Court (in *Loving v. Virginia*) declared these laws unconstitutional and required all states to recognize interracial marriage (Reid 1995). In the United States, marriages between individuals with different ethnic backgrounds are not unusual, but interracial marriages are relatively rare, with less than 3 percent of U.S. married couples being interracial (*Statistical Abstract* 2000). In the 2000 elections, the citizens of Alabama voted to remove the state constitution’s ban on interracial marriage. Even though the ban had been deemed unconstitutional by the 1967 Supreme Court ruling and could not be enforced, 41 percent of Alabama voters voted *against* removing the ban from the state constitution in the 2000 election.

The degree of acculturation and assimilation that occurs between majority and minority groups depends in part on (1) whether minority group members have voluntary or involuntary contact with the majority group and (2) whether majority group members accept or reject newcomers or minority group members. Groups that voluntarily immigrate and who are accepted by “host” society members will experience an easier time acculturating and assimilating than those who are forced (through slavery, frontier expansion, or military conquest) into contact with and are rejected by the majority group.

Racial Diversity in the United States

The first census in 1790 divided the U.S. population into four groups: free white males, free white females, slaves, and other persons (including free blacks and Indians). In order to increase the size of the slave population, the **one drop of blood rule** appeared, which specified that even one drop of Negroid blood defined a person as black and, therefore, eligible for slavery. In 1960, the census recognized only two categories: white and nonwhite. In 1970, the census cate-

—→ NOTE: Please answer BOTH questions 5 and 6.

5. Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino? Mark the "No" box if not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino.

No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino Yes, Puerto Rican
 Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano Yes, Cuban
 Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino — *Print group.* ↗

6. What is this person's race? Mark one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be.

White
 Black, African Am., or Negro
 American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.* ↗

Asian Indian Japanese Native Hawaiian
 Chinese Korean Guamanian or Chamorro
 Filipino Vietnamese Samoan
 Other Asian — *Print race.* ↗ Other Pacific Islander — *Print race.* ↗

Some other race — *Print race.* ↗

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 questionnaire.

Figure 7.1 *Reproduction of Questions on Race and Hispanic Origin from Census 2000*

gories consisted of white, black, and "other" (Hodgkinson 1995). In 1990, the U.S. Bureau of the Census recognized four racial classifications: (1) white, (2) black, (3) American Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo, and (4) Asian or Pacific Islander. The 1990 census also included the category of "other." Beginning with the 2000 census, the Office of Management and Budget requires federal agencies to use a minimum of five race categories: (1) white, (2) black or African American, (3) American Indian or Alaska Native, (4) Asian, and (5) Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander (Grieco & Cassidy 2001). In addition, respondents to federal surveys and the census now have the option of officially identifying themselves as being more than one race, rather than checking only one racial category (see Figure 7.1). Figure 7.2 presents the newest Census 2000 data on the racial composition of the United States.

A mixed-race option for self-identification avoids putting children of mixed-race parents in the difficult position of choosing the race of one parent over the other when filling out race data on school and other forms. It also avoids impairment of children's self-esteem and social functioning that comes from choosing the racial category of "other." Such a category implies that the society does not recognize and respect mixed-race individuals, and thus "children growing up within mixed families may feel ashamed of their 'irregular' racial makeup and may experience rejection and alienation in the wider social community" (Zack 1998, 23).

Some critics of the new mixed-race option are concerned that the wide-scale recognition of mixed-race identity will decrease the numbers within minority

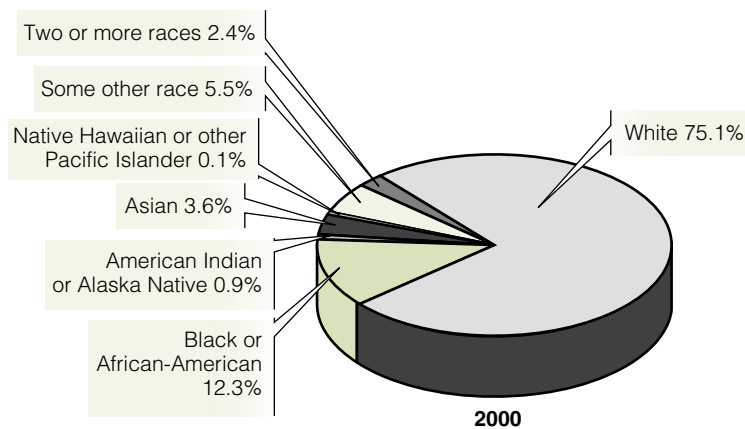


Figure 7.2 Race Composition of the United States, 2000.

Source: Grieco, Elizabeth M. & Rachel C. Cassidy. 2001 (March). "Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: Census 2000 Brief." U.S. Census Bureau.

groups and disrupt the solidarity and loyalty based on racial identification. What will happen, for example, to organizations and movements devoted to equal rights for blacks if much of the "black" population acquires a new mixed-racial identity? However, 2000 census data suggest that the mixed-race option will not have the large national impact that critics fear. As shown in Figure 7.2 only 2.4 percent of the U.S. population identified themselves as being of more than one race in the 2000 Census. About 5 percent of U.S. black people said they were multiracial (Schmitt 2001).

The recognition of mixed race is also criticized as perpetuating scientifically unfounded classifications by race. This criticism suggests that mixed-race categorization is just as unscientific as the concept of race itself. However, mixed-race classification may encourage the realization that racial categorization is meaningless:

Recognized mixed-race identity would undo the assumption that everyone is racially pure, and may, in the process, undo the assumption that everyone belongs to a race or that race is a meaningful way to type people. (Zack 1998, 27)

Ethnic Diversity in the United States

Ethnicity refers to a shared cultural heritage or nationality. Ethnic groups may be distinguished on the basis of language, forms of family structures and roles of family members, religious beliefs and practices, dietary customs, forms of artistic expression such as music and dance, and national origin.

Two individuals with the same racial identity may have different ethnicities. For example, a black American and a black Jamaican have different cultural, or ethnic, backgrounds. Conversely, two individuals with the same ethnic background may identify with different races. Hispanics, for example, may be white or black. The current Census Bureau classification system does not allow people of mixed Hispanic/Latino ethnicity to identify themselves as such. Individuals with one Hispanic and one non-Hispanic parent still must say they are either Hispanic or not Hispanic. And Hispanics must select one country of origin, even if their parents are from different countries.



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Golf pro Tiger Woods has referred to himself as “Cabrinasian”—reflecting his mixed heritage that includes Caucasian, Black, Asian, and Indian.

U.S. citizens come from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. The largest ethnic population in the United States is of Hispanic origin. (The terms “Hispanic” and “Latino” are used interchangeably.) Nearly 13 percent of people in the United States are Hispanic or Latino and about two-thirds of all U.S. Hispanics/Latinos are of Mexican origin (Grieco & Cassidy 2001; Ramirez 2000). Other Hispanic Americans have origins in Central and South America (14.3 percent), Puerto Rico (9.6 percent), and Cuba (4.3 percent). The fastest growing racial/ethnic population in the United States is Asian/Pacific Islanders, followed by Hispanics. Estimates project that the percentage of Asian/Pacific Islanders in the United States will increase 36.1 percent from 2000 to 2010; the percentage of Hispanics will increase 31.2 percent over the same time period (Gardyn & Fetto 2000).

The use of racial and ethnic labels is often misleading. The ethnic classification of “Hispanic/Latino,” for example, lumps together such disparate groups as Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans, Venezuelans, Colombians, and others from Latin American countries. The racial term “American Indian” includes more than 300 separate tribal groups that differ enormously in language, tradition, and social structure. The racial label “Asian American” includes individuals with ancestors from China, Japan, Korea, India, the Philippines, or one of the countries of Southeast Asia.

U.S. Immigration

The growing racial and ethnic diversity of the United States is largely the result of immigration (as well as the higher average birth rates among many minority groups). The many hardships experienced by poor people throughout the world “push” them to leave their home countries, while the economic opportunities that exist in more affluent countries “pull” them to those countries. In the 1960s, most immigrants were from Europe, but now they are from Central America (predominantly Mexico) or Asia (see Figure 7.3). In 2000, an estimated

If you look at me, I’m black. But if you’re asking my ethnicity, it’s Haitian. The term “black” just doesn’t cut it.

DENISE BERNARD
President of Queens College
student government

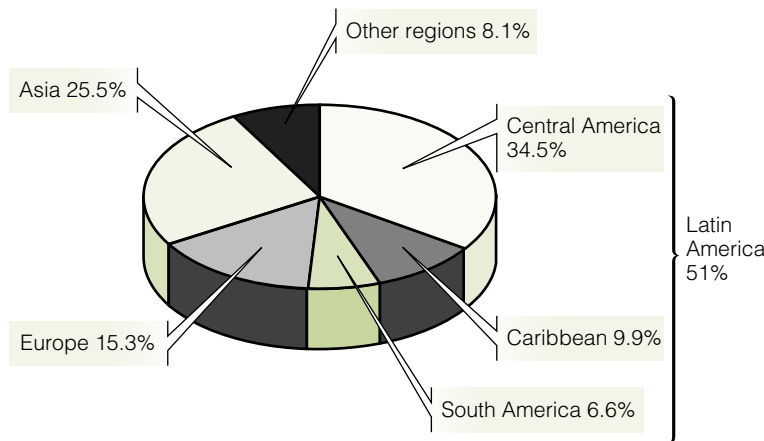


Figure 7.3 U.S. Foreign Born by Region of Birth: 2000

Source: Newburger, Eric C. and Andrea Curry. 2000 (March). "Educational Attainment in the United States." *Current Population Reports* P20-528. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau.

one in ten U.S. residents was born in a foreign country (Lollock 2001) (see Table 7.1), and one in five U.S. children 18 and under is the child of an immigrant (Urban Institute 2000).

For the first 100 years of U.S. history, all immigrants were allowed to enter and become permanent residents. The continuing influx of immigrants, especially those coming from non-white, non-European countries, created fear and resentment among native-born Americans who competed with immigrants for jobs and who held racist views toward some racial and ethnic immigrant populations. Increasing pressures from U.S. citizens to restrict, or halt entirely, the immigration of various national groups led to legislation that did just that. America's open door policy on immigration ended in 1882 with the Chinese Exclusion Act which suspended for 10 years the entrance of the Chinese to the United States and declared them ineligible for U.S. citizenship. The Immigration Act of 1917 included the requirement that all immigrants must pass a literacy test before entering the United States. And in 1921, the Johnson Act for the first time introduced a limit on the number of immigrants who could enter the country in a single year, with stricter limitations for certain countries (including Africa and the Near East). The 1924

Ethnic diversity is an opportunity rather than a problem.

ANDREW GREELEY
Sociologist/Author

Table 7.1 Foreign-Born Population and Percent of Total Population for the United States: 1890 to 2000

Year	Number (in millions)	Percent of total
2000	28.4	10.4
1990	19.8	7.9
1970	9.6	4.7
1950	10.3	6.9
1930	14.2	11.6
1910	13.5	14.7
1890	9.2	14.8

Source: Lisa Lollock. 2001. "The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: March 2000." *Current Population Reports* P20-534. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census.



Becoming an American Citizen: Could You Pass the Test?

To become a U.S. citizen, immigrants must have been lawfully admitted for permanent residence; have resided continuously as a lawful permanent U.S. resident for at least 5 years; be able to read, write, speak, and understand basic English (certain exemptions apply); and they must show that they have “good moral character” (Immigration and Naturalization Service 2001). Applicants who have been convicted of murder or an aggravated felony are permanently denied U.S. citizenship. In addition, applicants are denied if in the last 5 years they have engaged in any one of a variety of offenses, including prostitution, illegal gambling, controlled substance law violation (except for a single offense of possession of 30 grams or less of marijuana), habitual drunkardness, willful failure or refusal to support dependents, and criminal behavior involving “moral turpitude.”

To become a U.S. citizen, one must take the oath of allegiance and swear to support the Constitution and obey U.S. laws, renounce any foreign allegiance, and bear arms for the U.S. military or perform services for the U.S. government when required.

Finally, applicants for U.S. citizenship must pass an examination administered by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. The following questions are typical of those on the examination given to immigrants seeking U.S. citizenship. Applicants may choose between an oral and a written test. On the oral test, they must answer all the questions correctly. On the written test, they must correctly answer 12 of 20 questions. Based on your answers to these questions, would you be granted U.S. citizenship if you were an immigrant (that is, could you correctly answer 6 out of the following 10 questions)? After selecting an answer for each of the following questions, check your answers using the answer key provided.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR BECOMING A U.S. CITIZEN

1. Who becomes the president of the United States if the president and vice president should die?
 - a. The speaker of the House of Representatives
 - b. The Senate majority leader
 - c. The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
 - d. The chief justice of the Supreme Court
2. Who said, “Give me liberty or give me death”?
 - a. George Washington
 - b. Benjamin Franklin
 - c. Patrick Henry
 - d. Thomas Jefferson
3. How many branches are there in our government?
 - a. 2
 - b. 3
 - c. 4
 - d. 6

Immigration Act further limited the number of immigrants allowed into the United States, and completely excluded the Japanese. Other federal immigration laws include the 1943 Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the 1948 Displaced Persons Act (which permitted **refugees** from Europe), and the 1952 Immigration and Naturalization Act (which permitted a quota of Japanese immigrants).

A major concern regarding immigration is the number of people entering the United States illegally. Each day, an estimated 5,000 foreigners enter the United States illegally; 4,000 illegal immigrants are apprehended, and about 1,000 escape detection (Population Reference Bureau 1999). In 1986, Congress approved the Immigration Reform and Control Act, which made hiring illegal aliens an illegal act punishable by fines and even prison sentences. This act also prohibits employers from discriminating against legal aliens who are not U.S. citizens. The more recent 1996 Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act increased border enforcement and penalties for illegal entry into the U.S. and placed new restrictions on federal public benefits for immigrants (McLemore, Romo, & Baker 2001).

Many immigrants struggle to adjust to life in the United States. But despite the prejudice, discrimination, and lack of social support they experience, many foreign-born U.S. residents work hard to succeed educationally and occupationally. Foreign born residents of the United States may or may not apply for, and be granted, U.S. citizenship. In 2000, of all foreign-born U.S. residents, 35

4. Which countries were our enemies during World War II?
 - a. Iraq, Libya, and Turkey
 - b. Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union
 - c. Japan, Italy, and Germany
 - d. Italy, Germany, and France
5. What are the duties of Congress?
 - a. To execute laws
 - b. To naturalize citizens
 - c. To sign bills into law
 - d. To make laws
6. Which list contains three rights or freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights?
 - a. Right to life, right to liberty, right to the pursuit of happiness
 - b. Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of religion
 - c. Right to protest, right to protection under the law, freedom of religion
 - d. Freedom of religion, right to elect representatives, human rights
7. How many times may a senator be reelected?
 - a. There is no limit
 - b. Once
 - c. Twice
 - d. 4 times
8. Who signs bills into law?
 - a. The Supreme Court
 - b. The president
 - c. Congress
 - d. The Senate
9. How many changes or amendments are there to the Constitution?
 - a. 5
 - b. 9
 - c. 13
 - d. 27
10. Who has the power to declare war?
 - a. Congress
 - b. The president
 - c. Chief justice of the Supreme Court
 - d. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

ANSWER KEY

1 = a; 2 = c; 3 = b; 4 = c; 5 = d; 6 = b; 7 = a; 8 = b; 9 = d; 10 = a

Sources:

Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice. 1989. *By the People . . . U.S. Government Structure*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2001. "General Naturalization Requirements." <http://www.ins.usdoj.gov/graphics/services/natz/general.htm>

percent were **naturalized citizens** (immigrants who applied and met the requirements for U.S. citizenship); 65 percent were not U.S. citizens (Lollock 2001). Requirements for becoming a U.S. citizen are discussed in this chapter's *Self and Society* feature.

According to a study by the National Academy of Sciences, immigration produces economic benefits for the United States as a whole ("Study Finds Benefits from Immigration" 1997). Economist James Smith explained: "It's true that some Americans are now paying more taxes because of immigration, and native-born Americans without a high school education have seen their wages fall slightly because of the competition sparked by lower-skilled, newly arrived immigrants. But the vast majority of Americans are enjoying a healthier economy as a result of the increased supply of labor and lower prices that result from immigration" (p. 4A).

Sociological Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations

Some theories of race and ethnic relations suggest that individuals with certain personality types are more likely to be prejudiced or to direct hostility toward minority group members. Sociologists, however, concentrate on the impact of

the structure and culture of society on race and ethnic relations. Three major sociological theories lend insight into the continued subordination of minorities.

Structural-Functionalist Perspective

Functionalists emphasize that each component of society contributes to the stability of the whole. In the past, inequality between majority and minority groups was functional for some groups in society. For example, the belief in the superiority of one group over another provided moral justification for slavery, supplying the South with the means to develop an agricultural economy based on cotton. Further, southern whites perpetuated the belief that emancipation would be detrimental for blacks, who were highly dependent upon their “white masters” for survival (Nash 1962).

Functionalists recognize, however, that racial and ethnic inequality is also dysfunctional for society (Schaefer 1998; Williams & Morris 1993). A society that practices discrimination fails to develop and utilize the resources of minority members. Prejudice and discrimination aggravate social problems such as crime and violence, war, poverty, health problems, urban decay, and drug use—problems that cause human suffering as well as financial burdens on individuals and society.

The structural-functionalist analysis of manifest and latent functions also sheds light on issues of race and ethnic relations. For example, the manifest function of the civil rights legislation in the 1960s was to improve conditions for racial minorities. However, civil rights legislation produced an unexpected consequence, or latent function. Because civil rights legislation supposedly ended racial discrimination, whites were more likely to blame blacks for their social disadvantages and thus, perpetuate negative stereotypes such as “blacks lack motivation” and “blacks have less ability” (Schuman & Krysan 1999).

Conflict Perspective

Conflict theorists emphasize the role of competition over wealth, power, and prestige in creating and maintaining racial and ethnic group tensions. Majority group subordination of racial and ethnic minorities reflects perceived or actual economic threats by the minority. For example, between 1840 and 1870, large numbers of Chinese immigrants came to the United States to work in mining (California Gold Rush of 1848), railroads (transcontinental railroad completed in 1860), and construction. As Chinese workers displaced whites, anti-Chinese sentiment rose, resulting in increased prejudice and discrimination and the eventual passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which restricted Chinese immigration until 1924. More recently, ethnic conflict among Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo has been explained as resulting not only from differences in religious beliefs, but from competition over scarce resources (Kumovich 1999).

Further, conflict theorists suggest that capitalists profit by maintaining a surplus labor force, that is, having more workers than are needed. A surplus labor force assures that wages remain low, because someone is always available to take a disgruntled worker’s place. Minorities who are disproportionately unemployed serve the interests of the business owners by providing surplus labor, keeping wages low, and, consequently, enabling them to maximize profits.

Conflict theorists also argue that the wealthy and powerful elite fosters negative attitudes toward minorities in order to maintain racial and ethnic tensions

Racism . . . has been the most persistent and divisive element in this society and one that has limited our growth and happiness as a nation.

JAMES E. JONES JR.
Director, Center for the Study of
Affirmative Action

among workers. As long as workers are divided along racial and ethnic lines, they are less likely to join forces to advance their own interests at the expense of the capitalists. In addition, the “haves” perpetuate racial and ethnic tensions among the “have-nots” to deflect attention away from their own greed and exploitation of workers.

Struggles over political power also affect race and ethnic relations. When the first free elections were held in South Africa, the Black African National Congress (ANC) led by Nelson Mandela had campaigned on a platform that promised several plans of affirmative action to reverse the four decades of apartheid that barred Black South Africans from political participation and denied them many basic human rights. The White National Party, which was trying to maintain the position of political power it had held during apartheid, also promised affirmative action in the 1994 election campaign, but it did not announce this change in platform until 2 months before the elections, when polls began to predict a landslide victory for the African National Congress (Guillebeau 1999).

Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

The symbolic interactionist perspective focuses on how meanings, labels, and definitions affect racial and ethnic groups. The different connotations of the colors white and black, for example, may contribute to negative attitudes toward people of color. The white knight is good, and the black knight is evil; angel food cake is white, devil’s food cake is black. Other negative terms associated with black include black sheep, black plague, black magic, black mass, blackballed, and blacklisted. The continued use of such derogatory terms as Jap, Gook, Spic, Frog, Kraut, Coon, Chink, Wop, and Mick also confirms the power of language in perpetuating negative attitudes toward minority group members.

The labeling perspective directs us to consider the role that negative stereotypes play in race and ethnicity. **Stereotypes** are exaggerations or generalizations about the characteristics and behavior of a particular group. Negative stereotyping of minorities leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy. As Schaefer (1998, 17) explains:

Self-fulfilling prophecies can be devastating for minority groups. Such groups often find that they are allowed to hold only low-paying jobs with little prestige or opportunity for advancement. The rationale of the dominant society is that these minority individuals lack the ability to perform in more important and lucrative positions. Training to become scientists, executives, or physicians is denied to many subordinate group individuals, who are then locked into society’s inferior jobs. As a result, the false definition becomes real. The subordinate group has become inferior because it was defined at the start as inferior and was therefore prevented from achieving the levels attained by the majority.

Prejudice and Racism

Prejudice refers to negative attitudes and feelings toward or about an entire category of people. Prejudice may be directed toward individuals of a particular religion, sexual orientation, political affiliation, age, social class, sex, race, or

■ That both black and white in our country can today say we are to one another brother and sister, a united rainbow nation that derives its strength from the bonding of its many races and colours, constitutes a celebration of the oneness of the human race.

NELSON MANDELA
President, Republic of South Africa

■ I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
Civil rights leader

ethnicity. **Racism** is a belief system, or ideology, that includes three basic ideas (Marger 2000):

1. Humans are divided naturally into different physical types.
2. The physical traits associated with each human type are innately related to the culture, personality, and intelligence of each type.
3. On the basis of their genetic inheritance, some groups are innately superior to others.

It is never too late to give up your prejudices.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU
Writer/civil activist

Surveys of racial attitudes continue to reveal disturbing levels of prejudice and racism. In a study of adults living in the Detroit area, 13 percent of white respondents expressed the view that whites have more inborn ability than blacks; 31 percent endorsed the view that blacks do not work as hard as whites, 73 percent indicated that they are personally opposed to romantic relations with a black person, and over half indicated a preference for living in an all-white neighborhood (Williams et al. 1999).

Aversive and Modern Racism

Compared with traditional, “old-fashioned” prejudice which is blatant, direct, and conscious, contemporary forms of prejudice are often subtle, indirect, and unconscious. Two variants of these more subtle forms of prejudice include aversive racism and modern racism.

Aversive Racism **Aversive racism** represents a subtle, often unintentional form of prejudice exhibited by many well-intentioned white Americans who possess strong egalitarian values and who view themselves as nonprejudiced. The negative feelings that aversive racists have toward blacks and other minority groups are not feelings of hostility or hate, but rather, feelings of discomfort, uneasiness, disgust, and sometimes fear (Gaertner & Dovidio 2000). Aversive racists may not be fully aware that they harbor these negative racial feelings; indeed, they disapprove of individuals who are prejudiced and would feel falsely accused if they were labeled as prejudiced. “Aversive racists find Blacks ‘aversive,’ while at the same time find any suggestion that they might be prejudiced ‘aversive’ as well” (Gaertner & Dovidio 2000, 14).

Another aspect of aversive racism is the presence of pro-white attitudes, as opposed to anti-black attitudes. In several studies, respondents did not indicate that blacks were worse than whites, only that whites were better than blacks (Gaertner & Dovidio 2000). For example, blacks were not rated as being lazier than whites, but whites were rated as being more ambitious than blacks. Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) explain that “aversive racists would not characterize blacks more negatively than whites because that response could readily be interpreted by others or oneself, to reflect racial prejudice” (p. 27). Compared with anti-black attitudes, pro-white attitudes reflect a more subtle prejudice that, although less overtly negative, is still racial bias.

In a national survey of first-year college students, one in five agreed that “racial discrimination is no longer a major problem in America.”

“THIS YEAR’S FRESHMEN: A STATISTICAL PROFILE” 2000

Modern Racism Like aversive racism, **modern racism** involves the rejection of traditional racist beliefs, but a modern racist displaces negative racial feelings onto more abstract social and political issues. The modern racist believes that serious discrimination in America no longer exists, that any continuing racial inequality is the fault of minority group members, and that demands for affirmative action for minorities are unfair and unjustified. “Modern racism tends to ‘blame the victim’ and place the responsibility for change and improvements on the minority groups, not on the larger society” (Healey 1997, 55). Like the aver-

sive racist, modern racists tend to be unaware of their negative racial feelings and do not view themselves as prejudiced.

Learning to be Prejudiced: The Role of Socialization, Stereotypes, and the Media

Psychological theories of prejudice focus on forces within the individual that give rise to prejudice. For example, the **frustration-aggression theory** of prejudice (also known as the **scapegoating theory**), suggests that prejudice is a form of hostility that results from frustration. According to this theory, minority groups serve as convenient targets of displaced aggression. The **authoritarian-personality theory** of prejudice suggests that prejudice arises in people with a certain personality type. According to this theory, people with an authoritarian personality—who are highly conformist, intolerant, cynical, and preoccupied with power—are prone to being prejudiced.

Rather than focus on the individual, sociologists focus on social forces that contribute to prejudice. Earlier we explained how intergroup conflict over wealth, power, and prestige give rise to negative feelings and attitudes that serve to protect and enhance dominant group interests. In the following discussion, we explain how prejudice is learned through socialization, stereotypes, and the media.

Learning Prejudice through Socialization In the socialization process, individuals adopt the values, beliefs, and perceptions of their family, peers, culture, and social groups. Prejudice is taught and learned through socialization, although it need not be taught directly and intentionally. Parents who teach their children to not be prejudiced, yet live in an all-white neighborhood, attend an all-white church, and have only white friends may be indirectly teaching negative racial attitudes to their children. Socialization may also be direct, as in the case of a parent who uses racial slurs in the presence of her children, or forbids her children from playing with children from a certain racial or ethnic background. Children may also learn prejudicial attitudes from their peers. The telling of racial and ethnic jokes among friends, for example, perpetuates stereotypes that foster negative racial and ethnic attitudes.

Stereotypes Prejudicial attitudes toward racial and ethnic groups are based on false or inadequate group images known as stereotypes. As noted earlier, stereotypes are exaggerations or generalizations about the characteristics and behavior of a particular group.

When Americans in a 1990 National Opinion Research Center poll were asked to evaluate various racial and ethnic groups, blacks were rated least favorably (Shipler 1998). Most of the respondents labeled blacks as less intelligent than whites (53 percent), lazier than whites (62 percent), and more likely than whites to prefer being on welfare over being self-supporting (78 percent).

Prejudice and the Media The media contribute to prejudice by portraying minorities in negative and stereotypical ways, or by not portraying them at all. In the 1999–2000 television season, a majority (61 percent) of prime time shows had more than one minority character when the entire casts of characters were considered. However, when only main characters were considered, nearly half (48 percent) of the shows had all-white casts (Children Now 2000a). Another analysis of the 1999–2000 prime time television season revealed evidence of progress in the ways minority characters were portrayed: characters of color were more likely

We are not born with hatred; we learn to hate.

A HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR

Why are blacks stereotyped as lazy? Wasn't it whites who enslaved blacks to do the hard work on the plantations? If you ask me, whites were too lazy to do the work themselves.

STUDENT IN A SOCIOLOGY CLASS

than white characters to be shown as “good,” competent at work, and law-abiding (Children Now 2000b). The report found that although negative stereotyping of African-Americans was virtually absent, Asian Americans and Latino characters were vulnerable to stereotyping. Stereotypes of Asians on prime time television programs included the nerdy student, the martial arts master, the seductive “Dragon Lady,” and the “clueless immigrant.” Another analysis of 1999–2000 prime time television programs found that Latino characters were virtually absent, accounting for only 3 percent of total prime time characters (Children Now and the National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts 2000). Latinas were especially underrepresented in prime time shows; two-thirds of Latino characters were male. The few Latina women on prime time were typically portrayed in service roles, such as nanny, nurse, and maid. Latino men were often stereotyped as “Latin lovers.”

Negative, stereotypical views of minorities are also found on the Internet. “Mr. Wong,” an Internet cartoon series appearing on Icebox.com, features a buck-toothed, yellow-faced Chinese servant and his white socialite boss, Miss Pam, who is always insulting him. Finding the portrayal of Mr. Wong offensive, many Asian Americans have demanded that the cartoon be discontinued (Liu 2000). The Internet also spreads messages of hate toward minority groups through the web sites of various white supremacist and hate group organizations (see this chapter’s *Focus on Technology* feature).

Another media form that contributes to hatred of minority groups is “white power music”: music with racist lyrics and titles such as *Coon Hunt*, *Race Riot*, and *White Revolution*. Consider the following music lyrics:

. . . Niggers just hit this side of town, watch my property values go down. Bang, gang, watch them die, watch those niggers drop like flies . . . —Berserkr.

Resistance Records, a company that sells “white power” music sells 50,000 compact discs a year in Europe, South Africa, South America, Canada, and the United States (*Intelligence Report* 1998). “Skinhead” music, which contains anti-Semitic, racist, and homophobic lyrics, has become a leading recruitment tool for white supremacist groups (“Intelligence Briefs” 2000).

A frightening reality is that every child in America is now just a mouseclick away from hate.

MORRIS DEES
Co-founder of the Southern
Poverty Law Center

Discrimination against Racial and Ethnic Minorities

Whereas prejudice refers to attitudes, **discrimination** refers to actions or practices that result in differential treatment of categories of individuals. Although prejudicial attitudes often accompany discriminatory behavior or practices, one may be evident without the other.

Individual versus Institutional Discrimination

Individual discrimination occurs when individuals treat persons unfairly or unequally because of their group membership. Individual discrimination may be overt or adaptive. In **overt discrimination** the individual discriminates because of his or her own prejudicial attitudes. For example, a white landlord may refuse to rent to a Mexican-American family because of her own prejudice against Mexican Americans. Or, a Taiwanese-American college student who shares a dorm room with an African-American student may request a room-

Hate on the Web

The Internet provides access to a wide range of information for the over 250 million people worldwide using the World Wide Web. Unfortunately, many websites promote hate and intolerance toward various minority groups. In Chapter 9, for example, we refer to a web site that promotes antigay sentiments: www.godhatesfags.com. Here, we focus on the use of Internet technology to promote hatred toward racial and ethnic groups.

The Southern Poverty Law Center, a non-profit organization that combats hate, intolerance, and discrimination, has tracked over 400 hate websites, many of which are designed to lure children and teenagers into the ideologies and organizations that promote hate (Dees 2000). According to the Center, “the gospel of hate is being projected worldwide, more cheaply and effectively than ever before, and it is attracting a new demographic of youthful followers . . .” (SPLC Report 2000).

Many German neo-Nazi white supremacist groups use U.S.-based Internet servers to avoid prosecution under German law. German intelligence officials report that 70 percent of the nearly 400 German neo-Nazi sites are on U.S. servers, and about a third of those would be illegal under German law (Kaplan & Kim 2000). One U.S.-based Web page posted in German offered a \$7,500 reward for the murder of a young, left-wing activist, giving his home address, job, and phone number.

Although the Internet is used as a vehicle for spreading messages of hate, it is also used to combat such messages. Although it is now offline, for six years the website of “HateWatch” (<http://www.hatewatch.org>) was devoted to educating the public about the proliferation of hate on the Internet. The Southern Poverty Law Center helped make a documentary called “HATE.COM: Extremists on the Internet,” which premiered on Home Box Office in October 2000. In conjunction with the re-

lease of HATE.COM, HBO developed on its Web site (www.hbo.com) a special cyber-campaign called “Hate Hurts,” about the impact of hate on individuals, families, and communities.

mate reassignment from the student housing office because he is prejudiced against blacks.

Suppose a Cuban-American family wants to rent an apartment in a predominantly non-Hispanic neighborhood. If the landlord is prejudiced against Cubans and does not allow the family to rent the apartment, that landlord has engaged in overt discrimination. But what if the landlord is not prejudiced against Cubans but still refuses to rent to a Cuban family? Perhaps that landlord is engaging in **adaptive discrimination**, or discrimination that is based on the prejudice of others. In this example, the landlord may fear that if he or she rents to a Cuban-American family, other renters who are prejudiced against Cubans



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White supremacist groups such as Stormfront spread their message of racial hate through their Web site.

The corporate sector can also play a role in the fight against hate on the Web. In January 2001, Yahoo announced it would actively try to keep hateful material out of its auctions, classified sections, and shopping areas. This policy came shortly after a French court ordered Yahoo to pay fines of about \$13,000 a day if the company did not install technology that would shield French Web users from seeing Nazi-related memorabilia in its auction site (French law prohibits the display of such material).

Sources: Dees, Morris. 2000 (Dec. 28). Personal correspondence. Morris Dees, co-founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center, 400 Washington Avenue, Montgomery, AL 36104; SPLC Report 2000 (September). “HBO, Center Document Hate on Net.” 30(3):1. Southern Poverty Law Center, 400 Washington Ave. Montgomery, AL 36104.

Demography is not destiny. The amount of melanin in a student's skin, the home country of her antecedents, the amount of money in the family bank account, are not the inexorable determinants of academic success.

LELAND DEGRASSE
New York State Supreme Court
Judge

How much do we really value the lives of children? . . . On the basis of what I've seen in the South Bronx, it's hard to believe we love these children. The physical degradation of their neighborhood, the chaotic and dysfunctional medical care we give them, the apartheid school system we provide them, the poisons we pump into their neighborhood by putting every kind of toxic-waste incinerator in their neighborhood, all that together does not give me the impression we value their lives.

JONATHAN KOZOL
Author and children's advocate

may move out of the building or neighborhood and leave the landlord with unrented apartments. Overt and adaptive individual discrimination may coexist. For example, a landlord may not rent an apartment to a Cuban family because of his or her own prejudices *and* the fear that other tenants may move out.

Institutional discrimination occurs when normal operations and procedures of social institutions result in unequal treatment of minorities. Institutional discrimination is covert and insidious and maintains the subordinate position of minorities in society. When businesses move out of inner-city areas, they are removing employment opportunities for America's highly urbanized minority groups. When schools use standard intelligence tests to decide which children will be placed in college preparatory tracks, they are limiting the educational advancement of minorities whose intelligence is not fairly measured by culturally biased tests developed from white middle-class experiences. Institutional discrimination is also found in the criminal justice system, which more heavily penalizes crimes that are more likely to be committed by minorities. For example, the penalties for crack cocaine, more often used by minorities, have traditionally been higher than those for other forms of cocaine use even though the same prohibited chemical substance is involved. As conflict theorists emphasize, majority group members make rules that favor their own group.

Racial and ethnic minorities experience discrimination and its effects in almost every sphere of social life. Next, we look at discrimination in education, employment and income, housing, and politics. Finally, we expose the extent and brutality of physical and verbal violence against minorities.

Educational Discrimination

Both institutional and individual discrimination in education negatively affect racial and ethnic minorities and help to explain why minorities (with the exception of Asian Americans) tend to achieve lower levels of academic attainment and success (see also Chapter 12). Institutional discrimination is evidenced by inequalities in school funding—a practice that disproportionately hurts minority students (Kozol 1991). Inner-city schools, which primarily serve minority students, receive less funding per student than do schools in more affluent, primarily white areas. For example, inequalities in school funding resulted in New York City receiving \$2,000 less per pupil than Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, and Yonkers. New York State Supreme Court Judge Leland DeGrasse found that New York City's system of school funding violated federal civil rights laws because it disproportionately hurt minority students (more than 70 percent of the state's Asian, black, and Hispanic students live in New York City) (Goodnough 2001).

Minorities also experience individual discrimination in the schools, as a result of continuing prejudice among teachers. One college student completing a teaching practicum reported that some of the teachers in her school often spoke about children of color as "wild kids who slam doors in your face" (Lawrence 1997, 111). In a survey conducted by the Southern Poverty Law Center, 1,100 educators were asked if they had heard racist comments from their colleagues in the past year. More than one-quarter of survey respondents answered, "Yes" (*Teaching Tolerance* 2000). It is likely that teachers who are prejudiced against minorities discriminate against them, giving them less teaching attention and less encouragement.

Racial and ethnic minorities are also treated unfairly in educational materials, such as textbooks, which often distort the history and heritages of people of

color (King 2000). For example, Zinn (1993) observes, “[T]o emphasize the heroism of Columbus and his successors as navigators and discoverers, and to de-emphasize their genocide, is not a technical necessity but an ideological choice. It serves, unwittingly—to justify what was done” (p. 355).

Employment Discrimination and the Racial/Ethnic Wealth Gap

In comparison with U.S. whites, Hispanics and blacks are more likely to be unemployed, live in poverty, and earn lower incomes. The 1998 black median household income (\$25,351) is only 60 percent of the median white household income (\$42,439), and the Hispanic median income (\$28,330) is only 67 percent of white median income (United for a Fair Economy 1999). Lower levels of educational attainment among these minority groups account for some, but not all, of the disadvantages they experience in employment and income. As shown in Figure 7.4, average earnings of whites is higher than for blacks and Hispanics at the same level of educational attainment. A study by Ryan Smith (School of Management and Labor Relations at Rutgers University) found that for whites in large cities, each added year of education raises the chance of being employed in a position of authority by 9 percent (reported in *Race Relations Reporter* 1999). For blacks, each year of education only increases the likelihood that they will be employed in a position of authority by 1 percent.

Despite laws against it, discrimination against minorities occurs today at all phases of the employment process, from recruitment to interview, job offer, salary, and promotion. In an investigation of employment agencies in the San Francisco Bay area, “testers” were sent to 17 employment agencies and found that seven of the firms favored white applicants over black applicants for entry-level positions (*Race Relations Reporter* 1999).

At one employment agency, a black applicant was told that interviews were not being conducted and that he should come back a week later. Hours later, a white applicant with identical educational and employment qualifications was interviewed at the agency and was offered a job within 30 minutes of completing the interview. (p. 1)

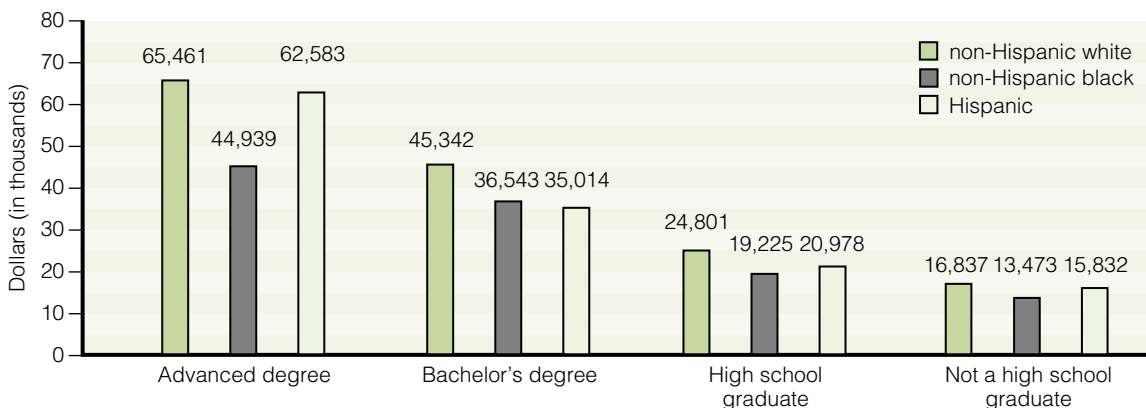


Figure 7.4 Average 1998 Earnings by Educational Attainment, Race, and Hispanic Origin, for All Workers Ages 18 and Over

Source: Newburger, Eric C. and Andrea Curry. 2000 (March). “Educational Attainment in the United States.” *Current Population Reports* P20-528. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau.

Even when workplaces seem integrated, they are often segregated within, as whites—particularly white males—tend to occupy the positions of power and authority. Social segregation contributes to minority disadvantage in the workplace, as illustrated in the following account (Shipler 1998):

A black man worked for IBM for three years before learning that every evening a happy hour was taking place in a nearby bar. Only white men from the office were involved—no women, no minorities. Had it been strictly social it would have been merely offensive, but it was also professionally damaging, for business was being done over drinks, plans were being designed, connections made. Excluded from that network, the black man was excluded from opportunity for advancement, and he left the job. (p. 2)

Darity (2000) cited research that concluded that current discrimination in the labor market causes black men to earn 12 to 15 percent less than white men. In addition to the effects of current discrimination, historical discrimination against minorities in previous generations continues to affect minorities today. Darity (2000) cited research that shows strong correlations between the occupational status of U.S. men and women in the 1980 and 1990 censuses and whether or not their ethnic or racial group had experienced discrimination a century ago.

Because of past discrimination, minorities have not achieved the accumulation of wealth across the generations that whites have. Wealth refers to the total assets of an individual or household (savings, home, car, stocks, business, etc.) minus the liabilities (debt). A major source of wealth today is inheritance; however, current generations of minorities have not had the same advantage of inheriting wealth from their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents and in turn, have less wealth to transmit to their children. Darity (2000) notes that “the sharpest economic gap between blacks and whites in the United States today is the gap in wealth” (p. B18). In 1995 (the latest year for which complete data are available), the typical white household had \$18,000 in wealth, the typical black household had just \$200 and the typical Hispanic household had zero wealth (United for a Fair Economy 1999). The percentage of black or Hispanic households with zero or negative wealth (greater debt than assets) is twice as high as for white households (United for a Fair Economy 1999).

Many of the inequities that exist between whites and blacks and Hispanics are the result of wide differences in accumulated family wealth. Racial discrepancies in wealth lead to many advantages for whites: better schools, better housing, higher wages, and more opportunities to save, invest, and thereby further their economic position (Conley 1999). Minorities’ lack of access to wealth influences a multitude of factors that affect both current and future generations, including how well they perform on standardized tests, whether or not they go to college, how well they can survive emergencies (such as the loss of a job), and what they can leave to their children (Oliver & Shapiro 1997).

Housing Segregation and Discrimination

Analysis of 2000 census data revealed that although blacks and whites lived in neighborhoods that were slightly more integrated than they were in 1990, people still lived in largely segregated neighborhoods. In 2000, an average white person living in a metropolitan area (which includes city dwellers and suburban residents) lived in a neighborhood that is about 80 percent white and 7 percent

black (Schmitt 2001). In contrast, the average black person lived in a neighborhood that is 33 percent white and 51 percent black.

U.S. minorities, who are disproportionately represented among the poor, tend to be segregated in concentrated areas of low-income housing, often in inner-city areas of concentrated poverty (Massey & Denton 1993). Zoning regulations in affluent suburbs restrict development of affordable housing in order to keep out “undesirables” and maintain high property values. Suburban zoning regulations that require large lot sizes, minimum room sizes, and single family dwellings serve as barriers to low-income development in suburban areas.

Segregation also results from discriminatory practices such as redlining, racial steering, and restrictive home covenants. **Redlining** occurs when mortgage companies deny loans for the purchase of houses in minority neighborhoods, arguing that the financial risk is too great. **Racial steering** occurs when realtors discourage minorities from moving into certain areas by showing them homes only in minority neighborhoods. **Restrictive home covenants**, illegal since the 1950s, involve a pact between property owners that they will not sell or rent their property to minority group members.

Although housing discrimination is illegal, it is not uncommon. In a study in Jacksonville, Florida, white and African-American volunteer applicants, or “testers,” with similar backgrounds tried to rent the same apartments. More than half of the apartment owners tested in the study broke laws against racial discrimination (Halton 1998). Black testers were quoted higher rents and security deposits, told that units were not available, or were not granted appointments or applications. In other research on mortgage lending discrimination, minorities were less likely to receive information about loan products, they received less time and information from loan officers, they were often quoted higher interest rates, and had higher loan denial rates compared with whites, other things being equal (Turner & Skidmore 1999). This chapter’s *Social Problems Research Up Close* feature presents research on housing discrimination conducted by college students.

Political Discrimination

Historically, African Americans have been discouraged from political involvement by segregated primaries, poll taxes, literacy tests, and threats of violence. However, tremendous strides have been made since the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which prohibited literacy tests and provided for poll observers. Blacks have won mayoral elections in Atlanta, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., and New York City, and the governorship in Virginia. However, racial minorities and Hispanics continue to be underrepresented in political positions and voting participation.

Discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. political process persists. After “voting irregularities” in the 2000 national elections, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and several civil rights groups filed a lawsuit in Florida to eliminate unfair voting practices (NAACP Press Release 2001). In the 2000 election, thousands of black voters complained that they were wrongfully turned away from the polls or had trouble casting their ballots. Complaints were not limited to Florida; black voters in about a dozen other states reported similar unfair treatment (NAACP Press Release 2000).



An Undergraduate Sociology Class Uncovers Racial Discrimination in Housing

Previous research indicates that Americans can infer the race of a speaker through the speaker's accent, grammar, and diction, thus offering rental agents an opportunity to discriminate over the phone. Under the guidance of their sociology professor (Douglas Massey) and a postdoctoral fellow (Garvey Lundy), students in an undergraduate sociology research methods class at the University of Pennsylvania designed a study to assess if rental agents discriminated over the phone.

Sample and Methods

Students involved in this study developed a data collection instrument which consisted of a standard script that auditors (students posing as renters) followed in their telephone interactions with rental agents. For example, if a machine answered the call, the auditor said, "Hello. My name is _____. I'm interested in the apartment you advertised in _____. Please call me back at _____." If a rental agent an-

swered the phone, the auditor said, "Hello. My name is _____. I'm interested in the apartment you advertised in _____. Are any apartments still available?" Other questions auditors asked included "How much do I have to put down?" and "Are there any other fees?"

After devising the data collection instrument, students chose 79 rental listings from three sources: *Apartments for Rent* magazine, *The Apartment Hunter*, published by the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and the Sunday Real Estate Section of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* itself. The listings covered all zones of the Philadelphia metropolitan area. Four male and nine female auditors telephoned the selected rental agents, following the script, and presenting a profile of a recent college graduate in his or her early to mid-20s with an annual income of \$25,000 to \$30,000. The auditors spoke White Middle-Class English (WME), Black Accented English (BAE), or Black English Vernacular (BEV). Black Accented English and Black English

Vernacular are widely spoken by African Americans in the United States. Massey and Lundy (2001) explain that "although BEV and BAE may both be identified as 'black sounding,' we suspect that most listeners can tell the difference between the two dialects and that they attach different class labels to each style of speech" (p. 456). Specifically, when an African American speaks Standard English with a black pronunciation of certain words (BAE), listeners conclude that the speaker is a middle-class black person, whereas the combination of nonstandard grammar with a black accent (BEV) signals lower-class status.

Based on this assumption, the researchers were able to employ six independent variables to test for a three-way interaction between race (black-white), gender (male-female), and class (lower-middle). The six independent variables were: (1) male BEV, (2) female BEV, (3) male BAE, (4) female BEV, (5) male WME, and (6) female WME. The dependent variables included the various responses of the rental agents, such as whether or not the rental agent returned the

Hate crimes have become a growing threat to the well-being of our society—on college campuses, in the workplace, and in our neighborhoods.

JACK LEVIN
Sociologist

JACK McDEVITT
Criminologist

Racial and Ethnic Harassment

Harassment is illegal in the workplace and most schools have policies prohibiting harassment. Nevertheless, racial and ethnic minorities are often targets for harassment in places of employment and education. Charges of racial harassment filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) have more than doubled in the 1990s, from 2,849 charges filed in fiscal year 1991 to about 6,550 in 2000 (EEOC Press Release 2000). For example, Sun Ag, Inc., a major citrus grower in Florida, settled a quarter-million-dollar lawsuit which charged that the company subjected African-American employees to a racially hostile work environment, which included threatening remarks, displaying of a hangman's noose, and racial slurs by supervisors and co-workers (EEOC Press Release 2000).

Hate Crimes

In June 1998, James Byrd Jr., a 49-year-old father of three, was walking home from a niece's bridal shower in the small town of Jasper, Texas. According to police reports, three white men riding in a gray pickup truck saw Byrd, a black

auditor's phone call, whether or not the rental agent indicated that a housing unit was still available, and whether or not the agent indicated that an application fee was required (and if so, how much).

Findings and Conclusions

The researchers found "clear and often dramatic evidence of phone-based racial discrimination" (p. 466). Compared with whites, African Americans were less likely to speak to a rental agent (their calls were less likely to be returned). African Americans were also less likely to be told that a unit was available, more likely to pay application fees, and more likely to have credit mentioned as a potential problem in qualifying for a lease.

These racial effects were exacerbated by gender and class. Lower-class blacks experienced less access to rental housing than middle-class blacks, and black females experienced less access than black males. Lower-class black females were the most disadvantaged group. They experienced the lowest probability of

contacting and speaking to a rental agent and, even if they did make contact, they faced the lowest probability of being told of a housing unit's availability. Lower-class black females also faced the highest chance of paying an application fee. On average, lower-class black females were assessed \$32 more per application than white middle-class males.

The share of auditors reaching an agent and the share being told a unit was available was combined to indicate an overall measure of access to rental units in the Philadelphia housing market. Whereas more than three-quarters (76 percent) of white middle-class males gained access to a potential rental unit, the figure dropped to 63 percent for middle-class black men (those speaking BAE), 60 percent for white middle-class females (those speaking WME), 57 percent for black middle-class females (those speaking BAE), 44 percent for lower-class black men (those speaking BEV), and only 38 percent for lower-class black women (those speaking BEV). "In other words, for every call a white male makes to find out about a rental unit in the

Philadelphia housing market, a poor black female must make two calls to achieve the same level of access, roughly doubling her time and effort compared with his" (p. 461). In sum, "being identified as black on the basis of one's speech pattern clearly reduces access to rental housing, but being black and female lowers it further, and being black, female, and poor lowers it further still" (p. 467).

These findings suggest that much housing discrimination probably occurs over the phone. "Through technology, a racist landlord may discriminate without actually having to experience the inconvenience or discomfort of personal contact with his or her victim" (Massey & Lundy 2001, 454-455). The authors also conclude that "telephone audit studies offer social scientists a cheap, effective, and timely way to measure the incidence and severity of racial discrimination in urban housing markets" (p. 455).

Source: Massey, Douglas S. and Garvey Lundy. 2001. "Use of Black English and Racial Discrimination in Urban Housing Markets: New Methods and Findings." *Urban Affairs Review* 36(4):252-469.

man, walking down the road and offered him a ride. The men reportedly drove down a dirt lane and, after beating Byrd, chained him to the back of the pickup truck and dragged him for 2 miles down a winding, narrow road. The next day, police found Byrd's mangled and dismembered body. The three men who were arrested had ties to white supremacist groups. James Byrd had been brutally murdered simply because he was black.

The murder of James Byrd exemplifies a **hate crime**—an act of violence motivated by prejudice or bias. Examples of hate crimes, also known as **bias-motivated crimes**, include intimidation (e.g., threats), destruction/damage of property, physical assault, and murder. In 1999, 17 hate crime murders were reported to the FBI, nine of which were motivated by racial bias (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001). The majority of hate crimes are based on racial bias (see Figure 7.5).

Levin and McDevitt (1995) found that the motivations for hate crimes were of three distinct types: thrill, defensive, and mission. Thrill hate crimes are committed by offenders who are looking for excitement and attack victims for the "fun of it." Defensive hate crimes involve offenders who view their attacks as necessary to protect their community, workplace, or college

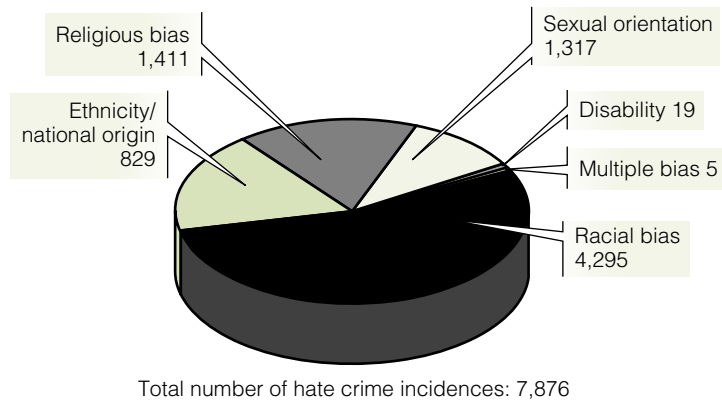


Figure 7.5 *Hate Crime Incidences, by Category of Bias: 1999*
 Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation 2001. *Hate Crime Statistics 1999*. <http://www.fbi.gov>

campus from “outsiders.” Perpetrators of defensive hate crimes are trying to send a message that their victims do not belong in a particular community, workplace, or campus and that anyone in the victim’s group who dares “intrude” could be the next victim. Mission hate crimes are perpetrated by white supremacist group members or other offenders who have dedicated their lives to bigotry.

I’m not against Blacks. I’m against all non-whites.

KU KLUX KLAN MEMBER

The Ku Klux Klan, the first major racist, white supremacist group in the United States, began in Tennessee shortly after the Civil War. Klansmen have threatened, beat, mutilated, and lynched blacks as well as whites who dared to oppose them. White Aryan Resistance (WAR), another white supremacist group, fosters hatred that breeds violence. The following message is typical of one received by calling a White Aryan Resistance telephone number in one of many states (Kleg 1993, 205):

This is WAR hotline. How long, White men, are you going to sit around while these non-White mud races breed you out of existence? They have your jobs, your homes, and your country. Have you stepped outside lately and looked around while these niggers and Mexicans hep and jive to this Africanized rap music? While these Gooks and Flips are buying up the businesses around you? . . . This racial melting pot is more like a garbage pail. Just look at your liquor stores. Most of them are owned by Sand niggers from Iraq, Egypt, or Iran. Most of the apartments are owned by the scum from India, or some other kind of raghead . . . [Jews] are like maggots eating off a dead carcass. When you see what these Jews and their white lackeys have done, the gas chambers don’t sound like such a bad idea after all. For more information write us at. . . .

Other racist groups known to engage in hate crimes are the Identity Church Movement, neo-Nazis, and the skinheads. Indeed, the growing diversity of the U.S. population is matched by a growing number of hate groups, which increased from 457 in 1999 to 602 in 2000 (“The Year in Hate” 2001).

In this chapter’s *The Human Side* feature, a former member of a racist hate group describes how he became involved in the skinhead movement, how he recruited others into the movement, and what led him to leave the movement and denounce racial hatred.



An Interview with a Former Racist Skinhead

After spending 15 years in the skinhead movement, Thomas (T.J.) Leyden renounced racism and went to work for the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. Since joining the human rights organization in June 1996, Leyden has given speeches at more than 100 high schools, the Pentagon, FBI headquarters, and police agencies. In the following interview Leyden talks about his life in a racist hate group, his views on why youth join hate groups, and why he left the racist skinhead movement.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: What brought you into the Skinhead movement?

T.J. LEYDEN: I was hanging out in the punk rock scene in the late '70s and early '80s . . . In 1980, my parents got a divorce, and I started to hang out in the street. I was venting a lot of my frustration and anger over the divorce. I went around attacking kids, punching them and beating them up. A group of older kids who were known as Skinheads saw this, and I got in with them . . . In 1981, four big-time racist bands came into the Skinhead movement . . . We started to listen to their music, and that broke the Skinhead movement into two factions, SHARPs [Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice] and the neo-Nazi Skinheads. Since I lived in a very upper-middle class, white neighborhood, we decided to establish one of the first neo-Nazi Skinhead gangs in Southern California. If we caught somebody black, Hispanic, or Asian, we'd attack them, beat them for sure . . .

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: Did your racism come partly from your parents?

T.J. LEYDEN: My mom was nonracist and my dad was a stereotypical man. I mean, if somebody cut him off on the freeway, if they were black, he'd use the word 'nigger' . . . But the racism I really learned came from my grandfather, a staunch Irish Catholic. He would say, "You don't bring darkies home" and "Jews killed Christ."

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: What are the circumstances that lead teenagers to join neo-Nazi gangs?

T.J. LEYDEN: We were middle-class to rich, bored white kids. We had a lot of time on our hands so we decided to become gang members. When a kid doesn't have something else constructive to do, he's going to find something, whether it's football, baseball or hanging with neo-Nazi Skinheads . . .

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: When did you start to really learn the ideology of racism?

T.J. LEYDEN: After I joined the Marine Corps in 1988. They teach a philosophy that if you do something, you do it all the way, not half-assed. So since I was a racist, I started reading everything I could about Nazism . . . I was recruiting, organizing Marines to join the racist movement . . . Eventually, I was kicked out for alcohol-related incidents—not for being a racist. If you look at my military packet you're not going to find anything about me being a racist. And I had two-inch high Nazi SS bolts tattooed on my neck! Once I got cut, I decided to be a [Skinhead] recruiter. I was going to get younger kids to be street soldiers.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: How did recruitment work?

T.J. LEYDEN: We incited violence on high school campuses. We'd put out literature that got black kids to think the white kids were racist. Then the black kids would attack the white kids and the white kids would say, "I'm not going to get beat up by these black guys anymore." They'd start fighting back, and we'd go and fight with them. They'd say, "God, these guys are really cool" . . . That put my foot in the door. Then I could start talking to them, giving them comic books with racist overtones or CDs of racist music. And I would just keep talking to them, giving them literature, indoctrinating them over a period of time . . .

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: What finally brought you to leave the racist movement?

T.J. LEYDEN: It was an incident with my son that woke me up more than anything. We were watching a Caribbean-style show. My 3-year-old walked over to the TV, turned it off and said, "Daddy, we don't watch shows with niggers." My first impression was, "Wow, this kid's pretty cool." Then I started seeing something different. I started seeing my son acting like someone 10 times tougher than I was, 10 times more loyal, and I thought he'd end up actually doing something and going to prison. Or he was going to get hurt or killed. I started looking at the hypocrisy. A white guy, even if he does crystal meth and sells crack to kids, if he's a Nazi he's okay. And yet this black gentleman here, who's got a Ph.D. and is helping out white kids, he's still a "scummy nigger." In 1996, when I was at the Aryan Nations Congress [in Hayden Lake, Idaho], I started listening to everybody and I felt like, "God, this is pathetic." I asked the guy sitting next to me, "If we wake up tomorrow and the race war is over and we've won, what are we going to do next?" And he

Continued



The Human Side—cont'd

said, “Oh, come on, T.J., you know we’re going to start with hair color next, dude.” I laughed at it, but when I drove home, 800 miles, that question and answer kept popping into my head. I thought that kid was so right. Next it’ll be you have black hair so you can’t be white, or you have brown eyes so somebody in your past must have been black, or you wear glasses so you have a genetic defect.

A little over 2 years after my son said the thing about the “niggers” on TV, I left the racist movement . . .

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: What has been the personal cost of your involvement in the movement?

T.J. LEYDEN: A little bit of my dignity. I look at myself as two people, who I am now and who I was then. I see the destruction I did to people by bringing them into the movement, the families I hurt. I ruined a lot of lives. That’s the biggest thing I have to pay back. I don’t forgive myself. Only my victims can forgive me.

Source: Excerpted from “A Skinhead’s Story: An Interview with a Former Racist.” From 1998 *Intelligence Report*. Winter, Issue no. 89, pp. 21–23. Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center. Used by permission of the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Hate on Campus According to FBI hate crime statistics, 250 incidents of hate crime occurred on campuses in 1998, making campuses the third most common site for hate crimes (“Hate on Campus” 2000). Far more common than hate crimes are “bias incidents,” which are “events that do not rise to the level of prosecutable offenses but that may nevertheless poison the atmosphere at a college and lead to more serious trouble” (p. 8). About 10 percent of bias-motivated acts on campus are committed by faculty, although faculty can also be targets of hate (“Hate on Campus” 2000).

Strategies for Action: Responding to Prejudice, Racism, and Discrimination

Strategies that address problems of prejudice, racism, and discrimination can be categorized as legal/political, educational, and religion-based.

Legal/Political Strategies

Legal and political strategies to reduce prejudice, racism, and discrimination include increasing minority participation and representation in government, eliminating inequalities in school funding, and creating equal opportunities through affirmative action. (Because affirmative action includes voluntary programs and policies in addition to legally mandated ones, we consider affirmative action under a separate heading.) Although it is readily apparent that such strategies can prevent or reduce discriminatory practices, the effects of legal and political strategies on prejudice are more complex. Legal policies that prohibit discrimination can actually increase modern forms of prejudice, as in the case of individuals who conclude that because laws and policies prohibit discrimination, any social disadvantages of minorities must be their own fault. On the other hand, any improvement in the socioeconomic status of minorities that results from legal/political policies may help to replace negative images of minorities with positive images.

Increasing Minority Representation and Participation in Government Increasing minority representation and participation in government promises to increase minorities' voices in influencing public policy that addresses their interests. In addition, minority representation in government affects race relations. One study found a high degree of mistrust of U.S. government among African Americans; however, those who believed that blacks could influence the political process were less likely to distrust the government (Parsons, Simmons, Shinhoster, & Kilburn 1999). The researchers concluded that African Americans' "distrust of government will not be reduced until African Americans perceive that they have more of a role to play in their government" (p. 218).

Various national, state, and local minority groups and organizations encourage minorities to register to vote and to vote in governmental elections. Such efforts contributed to an upsurge in black voter participation in the 2000 presidential election. For example, in 1996, the black share of the vote in Florida was 10 percent. In 2000, the black share of the vote was 16 percent. Several states reported similar increases (National Coalition on Black Civic Participation 2000). Efforts to increase voting participation have also targeted Asian Americans and Hispanic populations.

Representation of racial and ethnic minorities in elected government positions has also increased. Members of the 107th U.S. Congress include 38 African Americans, 21 Hispanics, 8 Asians/Pacific Islanders, and 2 Native Americans; 6 members were foreign-born.

Reducing Disparities in Education Legal remedies have also sought to address institutional discrimination in education by reducing or eliminating disparities in school funding. As noted earlier, schools in poor districts—which predominantly serve minority students—have traditionally received less funding per pupil than do schools in middle and upper class districts (which predominantly serve white students). In recent years, more than two dozen states have

If we are to move the society toward freedom, away from racism, we must choose leaders deeply committed to that objective.

EDDIE WILLIAM AND MILTON D. MORRIS

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

Voting has proven to be the most effective weapon against racism in America. At a time when sweeping changes in public policy are being decided in the White House, the Congress, and the states, it is imperative that African Americans make their voices heard in the political process.

KWEISI MUFUME

President and CEO of NAACP



© Mark Richards/PhotoEdit

Posters such as the one depicted in this photo are part of the efforts to increase political participation of minorities.

been forced by the courts to come up with a new system of financing schools to increase inadequate funding of schools in poor districts (Goodnough 2001).

Affirmative Action

The great enemy of truth is very often not a lie—deliberate, continued, and dishonest—but the myth, persistent, persuasive, and unrealistic.

JOHN F. KENNEDY
Former U.S. President

You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains, and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line, and then say, “You are free to compete with all others.”

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
Former U.S. president

I am colored and America is colorblind. Do you see me?

JAMES M. JONES
University of Delaware

The term **affirmative action** refers to a broad range of policies and practices in the workplace and educational institutions to promote equal opportunity and to eliminate discrimination. Affirmative action represents an attempt to compensate for the effects of past discrimination and prevent current discrimination against women and racial and ethnic minorities. Affirmative action policies developed in the 1960s from federal legislation requiring that any employer (universities as well as businesses) receiving contracts from the federal government must take steps to increase the numbers of women and minorities in their organization.

Various myths and misunderstandings surround the concept of affirmative action. Beeman, Chowdhry, and Todd (2000) explain that confusion exists about affirmative action in the United States because “unlike India, which specifically defined affirmative action policy in its constitution, the U.S. policy is a collection of executive orders, bureaucratic decisions, court cases, and . . . state legislation” (p. 99). Table 7.2 presents myths and realities about affirmative action.

A 2000 public opinion poll of U.S. adults found that more than half (58 percent) favor affirmative action programs, whereas 33 percent oppose them (Gallup/CNN/USA Today Poll 2000). Among first-year college students, 45 percent of women and 56 percent of men agreed that “affirmative action in college admissions should be abolished” (American Council on Education and University of California 2000). Williams and coworkers (1999) found that various measures of negative racial attitudes are strongly associated with whites’ lack of support for affirmative action in employment and other government programs to assist blacks. Women are more likely than men to support affirmative action (Williams et al. 1999)—not a surprising finding given that women are the largest category targeted to benefit from affirmative action.

Critics of affirmative action often base their opposition on distorted views of affirmative action programs and policies (see Table 7.2). Some African Americans are also critical of affirmative action, arguing that it perpetuates feelings of inferiority among minorities and fails to help the most impoverished of minorities (Shipler 1998; Wilson 1987).

Supporters of affirmative action suggest that affirmative action has many social benefits. In a review of over 200 scientific studies of affirmative action, Holzer and Neumark (2000) concluded that affirmative action produces benefits for women, minorities, and the overall economy. Holzer and Neumark (2000) found that employers adopting affirmative action increase the relative number of women and minorities by an average of 10 to 15 percent. Since the early 1960s, affirmative action in education has contributed to an increase in the percentage of blacks attending college by a factor of three and the percentage of blacks enrolled in medical school by a factor of four. Black doctors choose more often than their white medical school classmates to practice medicine in inner cities and rural areas serving poor or minority patients (Holzer & Neumark 2000). Increasing the numbers of minorities in educational and professional positions also provides positive role models for other, especially younger, minorities “who can identify with them and form realistic goals to occupy the same roles themselves” (Zack 1998, 51).

Table 7.2 *Affirmative Action: Myths and Realities*

Myth: Affirmative action is a program based on quotas.

Reality: Affirmative action is *not* a quota system. In 1978, the Supreme Court (in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*) ruled that racial quotas were unconstitutional. (Some exceptions to the prohibition on quotas have occurred where court orders have been imposed on employers who have engaged in flagrant discrimination or in cases where private employers established their own policies to address past discrimination.)

Myth: Affirmative action is a program for racial minorities. As evidence of the acceptance of this myth, the majority of students in two sociology classes did not know that women were covered by affirmative action (Beeman et al., 2000).

Reality: The largest category of affirmative action beneficiaries is women, most of whom are white. White male Hispanics also qualify for affirmative action and in some cases, Vietnam veterans and people with disabilities may also qualify under affirmative action policies. Although affirmative action *does* provide opportunities and protection for racial minorities, “referring to affirmative action as a policy just for ‘racial’ minorities distorts the policy and misleads the public” (Beeman et al., 2000, 100).

The myth that affirmative action is a race-based program is perpetuated by textbooks (Beeman et al. 2000) and by news media (television, newspapers, and news weeklies). A survey of news media in 1998 found that only 7 of 314 news stories (2 percent) concerning affirmative action mainly focused on the program’s impact on women (Jackson 1999). Only 19 percent of news articles on affirmative action mentioned its impact on women at all.

Myth: Affirmative action is a system of preferential treatment that gives jobs to unqualified minorities.

Reality: A U.S. Department of Labor (1999) Fact Sheet on affirmative action explains that:

Affirmative action is *not* preferential treatment. It does *not* mean that unqualified persons should be hired or promoted over other people. What affirmative action *does* mean is that positive steps must be taken to ensure equal employment opportunity for traditionally disadvantaged groups.

Although blacks and Hispanics hired under affirmative action may have fewer credentials, such as education, they typically perform their jobs as well as non-minority employees (Holzer & Neumark 2000).

Myth: Affirmative action creates “**reverse discrimination**,” or the unfair treatment of white males as a result of efforts to provide women and minorities with educational and employment opportunities.

Reality: Of the 3,000 reported discrimination cases filed in Federal court between 1990 and 1994, less than 2 percent alleged reverse discrimination against white males and very few of these cases were upheld (U.S. Department of Labor, undated). Further evidence that contradicts the view that affirmative action creates reverse discrimination lies in the continuing disparity between the economic well being of white males compared with women and racial and ethnic minorities. White males in the United States have more wealth and income, and lower rates of poverty and unemployment, compared with women, blacks, and Hispanics.

Myth: Affirmative action gives women and racial and ethnic minorities special advantages which they no longer need, because laws prohibiting discrimination already exist.

Reality: Despite laws prohibiting discrimination, women (see chapter 8) and minorities continue to experience discrimination. Even if minorities today are given equal opportunities in education and employment, they do not enjoy the advantages that accumulated, inherited wealth from prior generations provides to many whites.

The view that affirmative action is not needed because discrimination is not a problem is perpetuated by news media that omit discrimination from their discussions of affirmative action. A study of news media stories on affirmative action found that only 15 percent made any reference to inequity or bias against women or racial/ethnic minorities (Jackson 1999).

Sources: Beeman, Mark, Geeta Chowdhry, and Karmen Todd. 2000. “Educating Students About Affirmative Action: An Analysis of University Sociology Texts.” *Teaching Sociology* 28(2):98–115.

Holzer, Harry and David Neumark. 2000. “Assessing Affirmative Action.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 38(3) 483–568.

Jackson, Janine. 1999. “Affirmative Action Coverage Ignores Women—and Discrimination.” *Extra!* (January/February). <http://www.fair.org/extra/9901/affirmative-action.html>

Rivera, Ismael. 2000 (August 17). “The Affirmative Action Debate.” American Association for Affirmative Action. <http://www.affirmativeaction.org/alerts/aadebate.html>

U.S. Department of Labor. 1999 (December). “Facts on Executive Order 11246 Affirmative Action.” http://www.dol.gov/dol/esa/public/ofcp_org.htm

U.S. Department of Labor. Undated. “Affirmative Action at OFCCP.” http://www.dol.gov/dol/esa/public/regs/compliance/ofccp/what_is.htm

While we react to those wearing white sheets, it is those who wear black robes who take away our protection.

JESSE JACKSON
Civil rights leader

Numerous legal battles have been fought over affirmative action. In 1990, a Hispanic student sued the University of Maryland for denying him a scholarship that was limited to black students. A lower court ruled the black scholarship program was unconstitutional and constituted **reverse discrimination**. In 1995, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal, which means that any race-based scholarship in the United States can now be challenged. In Texas, judges ruled that the University of Texas Law School could no longer use race as a factor in its admissions decisions. Voters in California and Washington State passed ballot initiatives prohibiting the consideration of race by public agencies and universities in hiring and admissions. These measures foreshadow the growing trend toward limiting or perhaps even abolishing altogether affirmative action in the United States.

Opponents of affirmative action would view the elimination of affirmative action programs and policies as progress. Others would agree with the comments of Ismael Rivera (2000): “Eliminating affirmative action would halt the progress that the nation has made to end discrimination and would be a giant leap backwards in our journey toward equal opportunity” (p. 2).

Teach tolerance. Because open minds open doors for all our children.

RADIO PUBLIC SERVICE
ANNOUNCEMENT

Educational Strategies

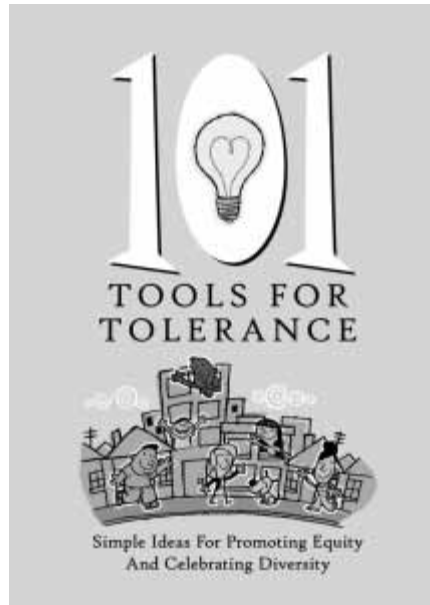
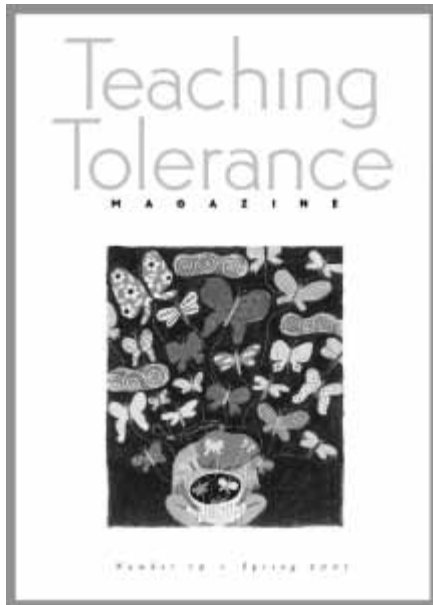
Educational strategies to reduce prejudice, racism, and discrimination have been implemented in schools (primary, secondary, and higher education levels), in communities and community organizations, and in the workplace.

Today, hundreds of colleges and universities recognize the educational value of diversity and view student and faculty diversity as an essential resource for optimizing teaching and learning.

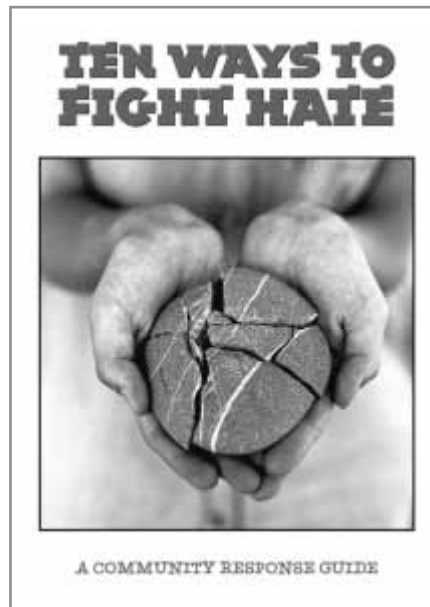
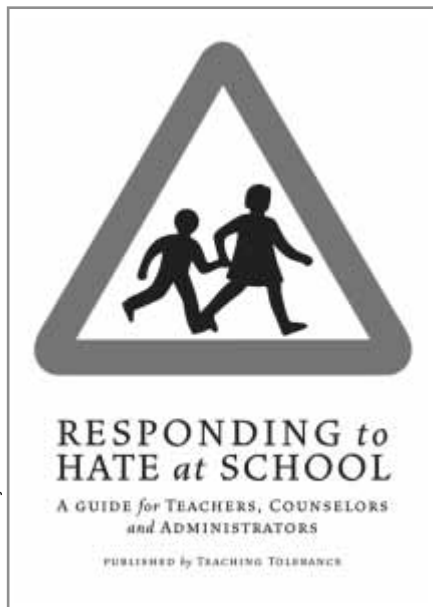
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON
EDUCATION AND AMERICAN
ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY
PROFESSORS

Multicultural Education in Schools and Communities In schools across the nation, **multicultural education**, which encompasses a broad range of programs and strategies, works to dispel myths, stereotypes, and ignorance about minorities, promotes tolerance and appreciation of diversity, and includes minority groups in the school curriculum (see also Chapter 12). With multicultural education, the school curriculum reflects the diversity of American society and fosters an awareness and appreciation of the contributions of different racial and ethnic groups to American culture. The Southern Poverty Law Center’s program “Teaching Tolerance” has published and distributed materials and videos designed to promote better human relations among diverse groups to schools, colleges, religious organizations, and a variety of community groups across the nation.

Many colleges and universities have made efforts to promote awareness and appreciation of diversity by offering courses and degree programs in racial and ethnic studies, and multicultural events and student organizations. A national survey by the Association of American Colleges and Universities found that 54 percent of colleges and universities required students to take at least one course that emphasizes diversity and another 8 percent were in the process of developing such a requirement (Humphreys 2000). Examples of diversity courses include “Intergroup Relations, Conflict and Community” (University of Michigan), “American Pluralism and the Search for Equality” (SUNY-Buffalo), “Sociology and Culture of American Ethnicity” (North Seattle Community College), and “Comparative Race Relations: A History of Race Relations in South Africa, Brazil and the United States” (Rowan University, NJ), to name a few. Evidence suggests a number of positive outcomes for both minority and majority students who take college diversity courses, including increased racial understanding and cultural awareness, increased social interaction with students who have back-



More than 600,000 teachers receive Teaching Tolerance magazine—a free resource for teaching tolerance education in the classroom (Dees 2000). Other materials available free from the Southern Poverty Law Center (www.spl-center.org) include Responding to Hate at School, Ten Ways to Fight Hate, and 101 Tools for Tolerance.



Southern Poverty Law Center

grounds different from their own, improved cognitive development, increased support for efforts to achieve educational equity, and higher satisfaction with their college experience (Humphreys 1999).

Diversification of College Student Populations Efforts to recruit and admit racial and ethnic minorities in institutions of higher education have also been found to foster positive relationships among diverse groups and enrich the educational experience of all students. In the United States, about one in five undergraduates at 4-year colleges is a minority (American Council on Education

and the American Association of University Professors 2000). Research indicates that racial and ethnic diversity on campus provides educational benefits for *all* students—minority and nonminority alike (American Council on Education and the American Association of University Professors 2000). Gurin (1999) found that students with the most exposure to diverse populations during college had the most cross-racial interactions 5 years after leaving college. A poll of law students at Harvard Law School and the University of Michigan found that nearly 90 percent of the students said that diversity in the classroom provided them with a better educational experience (*Race Relations Reporter* 1999). Nearly 90 percent of the law students said that the contact they had with students of different racial or ethnic backgrounds influenced them to change their view on some aspect of civil rights.

Diversity Training in the Workplace Increasingly, corporations have begun to implement efforts to reduce prejudice and discrimination in the workplace through an educational approach known as diversity training. Broadly defined, **diversity training** involves “raising personal awareness about individual ‘differences’ in the workplace and how those differences inhibit or enhance the way people work together and get work done” (Wheeler 1994, 10). Diversity training may address such issues as stereotyping and cross-cultural insensitivity, as well as provide workers with specific information on cultural norms of different groups and how these norms affect work behavior and social interactions.

In a survey of 45 organizations that provide diversity training, Wheeler (1994) found that for 85 percent of the respondents, the primary motive for offering diversity training was to enhance productivity and profits. In the words of one survey respondent, “The company’s philosophy is that a diverse work force that recognizes and respects differing opinions and ideas adds to the creativity, productivity, and profitability of the company” (p. 12). Only 4 percent of respondents said they offered diversity training out of a sense of social responsibility.

Religion’s Role in Promoting Racial Harmony

Beginning in the early 1990s, a racial reconciliation movement emerged among various religious organizations. Religious organizations that have launched initiatives advocating racial harmony include the Southern Baptist Convention, the National Association of Evangelicals, the Promise Keepers, and the United Methodist Church. Efforts by religious organizations to promote racial harmony include the following (Glynn 1998; Snyder 2000):

- In 1995, the Southern Baptist Convention passed a resolution apologizing for past support of slavery and racism.
- In the same year, the president of the National Association of Evangelicals publicly confessed and repented past racism by white evangelicals.
- In 1996, the Promise Keepers organization sponsored a gathering of more than 39,000 male pastors of diverse racial, ethnic, and denominational backgrounds under the theme “Breaking Down the Walls.” One of the seven promises that members of Promise Keepers make is a promise to overcome racial and denominational differences. “Promise Keepers materials encourage members to go out of their way to engage with those of different races and ethnic groups for purposes of advancing reconciliation” (Glynn 1998, 840–41).

Politics strives to transform people by altering the structure of society; religion strives to change society by transforming individuals.

PATRICK GLYNN
*Institute for Communitarian
 Policy Studies,
 George Washington University*

- In 2000, the United Methodist Church announced plans to change its constitution to include a commitment to racial justice. United Methodist leaders declared that the denomination is committed to creating “one America” for all people, regardless of race (Snyder 2000).

Unlike political strategies to promote racial harmony, religious-based racial reconciliation efforts provide a spiritual imperative. The religious reconciliation movement promotes belief in God’s ability to provide healing and forgiveness for past racism. Glynn (1998) suggests that “the mere belief in the possibility of divine forgiveness and in divine aid at arriving at reconciliation could provide a strong psychological impetus for positive group interaction” (p. 840).

Given the recentness of the religious racial reconciliation movement, the extent and duration of the effects of this movement are not known. Glynn (1998) predicts that social change will come increasingly from grassroots community and religious activists, “who strive to change the nature of society one community, and one soul, at a time” (p. 841).

Understanding *Race and Ethnic Relations*

After considering the material presented in this chapter, what understanding about race and ethnic relations are we left with? First, we have seen that racial and ethnic categories are socially constructed; they are largely arbitrary, imprecise, and misleading. Although some scholars suggest we abandon racial and ethnic labels, others advocate adding new categories—multiethnic and multiracial—to reflect the identities of a growing segment of the U.S. and world population.

Conflict theorists and functionalists agree that prejudice, discrimination, and racism have benefited certain groups in society. But racial and ethnic disharmony has created tensions that disrupt social equilibrium. Symbolic interactionists note that negative labeling of minority group members, which is learned through interaction with others, contributes to the subordinate position of minorities.

Prejudice, racism, and discrimination are debilitating forces in the lives of minorities. In spite of these negative forces, many minority group members succeed in living productive, meaningful, and prosperous lives. But many others cannot overcome the social disadvantages associated with their minority status and become victims of a cycle of poverty (see Chapter 10). Minorities are disproportionately poor, receive inferior education, and with continued discrimination in the workplace, have difficulty improving their standard of living.

Alterations in the structure of society that increase opportunities for minorities—in education, employment and income, and political participation—are crucial to achieving racial and ethnic equality. In addition, policy makers concerned with racial and ethnic equality must find ways to reduce the racial/ethnic wealth gap and foster wealth accumulation among minorities (Conley 1999). As noted earlier, access to wealth affects many dimensions of well being.

Civil rights activist Lani Guinier (1998) suggests that “the real challenge is to . . . use race as a window on issues of class, issues of gender, and issues of fundamental fairness, not just to talk about race as if it’s a question of individual

The problem is . . . we don’t believe we are as much alike as we are. Whites and blacks, Catholics and Protestants, men and women. If we saw each other as more alike, we might be very eager to join in one big human family in this world, and to care about that family the way we care about our own.

MORRIE SCHWARTZ
Sociologist (from Tuesdays with Morrie)

One of the great divides in this country is between those Americans who see only blatant racism and those who see the subtle forms as well.

DAVID K. SHIPLER
Author, researcher

bigotry or individual prejudice. The issue is more than about making friends—it's about making change." But, as Shipler (1998) alludes to, making change requires that members of society recognize that change is necessary, that there is a problem that needs rectifying.

One has to perceive the problem to embrace the solutions. If you think racism isn't harmful unless it wears sheets or burns crosses or bars blacks from motels and restaurants, you will support only the crudest anti-discrimination laws and not the more refined methods of affirmative action and diversity training. (p. 2).

Finally, it is important to consider the role of class in race and ethnic relations. bell hooks (2000) warns that focusing on issues of race and gender can deflect attention away from the larger issue of class division that increasingly separates the "haves" from the "have-nots." Addressing class inequality must, suggests hooks, be part of any meaningful strategy to reduce inequalities suffered by minority groups.

Critical Thinking

1 At colleges and universities around North America, a number of professors are endorsing Holocaust denial, race-based theories of intelligence, and other racist ideas. For example, Associate Professor Arthur Butz of Northwestern University publically rejects the claim that millions of Jews were exterminated in the Holocaust ("Hate on Campus" 2000). Professor Edward M. Miller of the University of New Orleans has concluded that blacks are "small-headed, over-equipped in genitalia, oversexed, hyper-violent and . . . unintelligent" (p. 9). Professor Glayde Whitney of Florida State and Professor J. Philippe Rushton of the University of Western Ontario have both described blacks as having smaller brains. How should institutions of higher learning respond to such racist claims made by faculty members? What role does the right to free speech and academic freedom play?

2 Women, most of whom are white, are the largest category designated to benefit from affirmative action. Yet, a survey of 35 introductory sociology texts published in the 1990s found that nearly 90 percent of the texts did not mention affirmative action in their sections on gender inequality, and only 20 percent of texts included women in their definitions of affirmative action (Beeman et al. 2000). Why do you think many textbooks overlook or minimize the benefits women may receive from affirmative action?

3 Should race be a factor in adoption placements? Should people be discouraged from adopting a child that is of a different race than the adoptive parents? Why or why not?

4 Under Swedish law, giving Nazi salutes is a crime (Lofthus 1998). Do you think that the social benefits of outlawing racist expressions outweigh the impingement of free speech? Do you think such a law should be proposed in the United States? Why or why not?

5 Do you think that the time will ever come when a racial classification system will no longer be used? Why or why not? What arguments can be made for discontinuing racial classification? What arguments can be made for continuing it?

Key Terms

acculturation	expulsion	populations
adaptive discrimination	frustration-aggression theory	prejudice
affirmative action	genocide	primary assimilation
amalgamation	hate crime	race
antimiscegenation laws	individual discrimination	racial steering
assimilation (primary and secondary)	institutional discrimination	racism
authoritarian-personality theory	Jim Crow laws	redlining
aversive racism	marital assimilation	refugees
bias-motivated crimes	melting pot	restrictive home covenants
colonialism	modern racism	reverse discrimination
de facto segregation	multicultural education	scapegoating theory
de jure segregation	naturalized citizen	secondary assimilation
discrimination	one drop of blood rule	segregation
diversity training	overt discrimination	slavery
ethnicity	pluralism	stereotype
	population transfer	

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