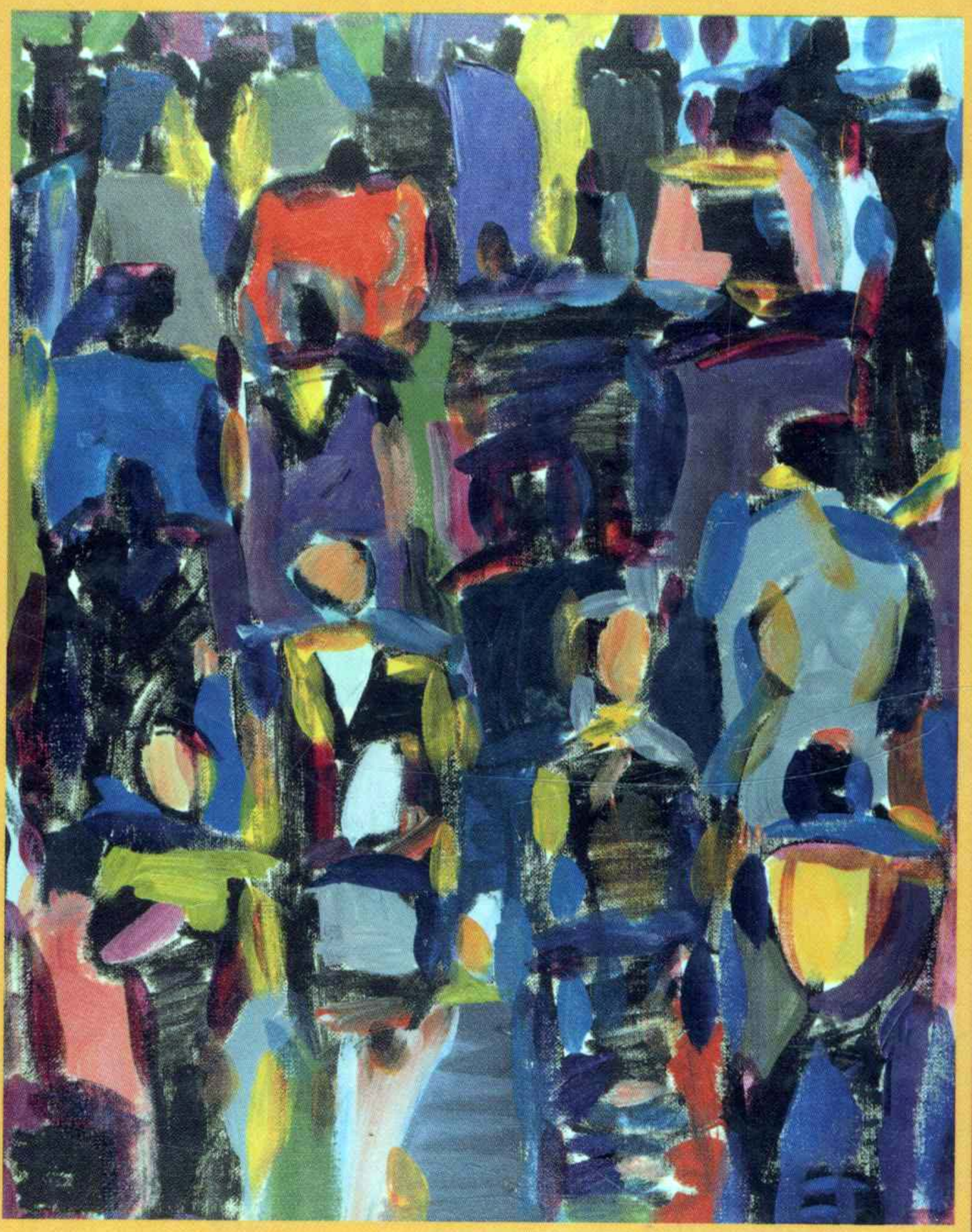
SIXTH EDITION

RACIAL AND ETHNIC



RELATIONS

JOE R. FEAGIN • CLAIRECE BOOHER FEAGIN

RACIAL AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

SIXTH EDITION

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Preface

Over the last two decades, numerous scholars, journalists, and politicians have argued that there is a "declining significance of race" or an "end to racism" in the United States. They have written or spoken optimistically about the decrease in discrimination and the improving character of racial and ethnic relations in this nation. Over the same period of time, however, the scholarly journals and mass media have been filled with accounts of hate crimes targeting people of color, reports of white supremacist groups, discussions of lawsuits over discrimination in employment and public accommodations, research analyses of widespread housing discrimination, descriptions of riots stemming from police brutality, political controversies over affirmative action and other antidiscrimination programs, and intense debates about the character and impact of the recent immigrants, who are mostly Latino and Asian.

Thus, as we move into the twenty-first century, there is much discussion and argument about racial and ethnic discrimination, oppression, and conflict. Contrary to what some scholars and journalists assert, this debate reflects underlying social, economic, and political realities in the United States. As we move into the twenty-first century, many Americans are well aware of the continuing significance of race, racism, and ethnicity, not only in this country but also in other countries—from the Republic of South Africa to the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union. Racial and ethnic oppression and conflict are extraordinarily important in the modern world and have the potential to tear apart any nation, including a highly industrialized one.

One result of a reinvigorated interest in racial and ethnic matters in many circles is the creation of college and university courses that focus on racial-ethnic divisions or cultural diversity in the United States. We have revised this edition of *Racial and Ethnic Relations* with this continuing interest in U.S. racial and ethnic heritages and conflicts in mind. This book is designed both for sociology and other social science courses titled Racial and Ethnic Relations, Race Relations, Minority Groups, and Minority Relations, and also for various other courses on

cultural diversity, multiculturalism, and racial and ethnic groups offered in college, university, and business settings.

One purpose of this book is to provide readers with access to the important literature on racial and ethnic groups in the United States and, to a lesser extent, in other countries around the globe. We have drawn on a broad array of sources, including articles, books, and other data analyses by sociologists, political scientists, social psychologists, anthropologists, historians, economists, investigative journalists, and legal scholars. We have limited space, so we have not been able to deal with all the important racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Instead, we have focused on a modest number of major racial and ethnic groups, preferring to accent depth rather than breadth in analyses. In recent decades, social science analyses have begun to dig deeper into the "what," "why," and "how" of racial and ethnic oppression and conflict. We draw heavily on this ever-growing research.

The introduction to Part I looks briefly at the origins of the racial and ethnic mosaic that is the United States. It serves as an introduction to Chapters 1 and 2, which discuss major concepts and theories in the study of racial and ethnic relations. The introduction to Part II sketches the political and economic history of the United States to provide the context for understanding the adaptation and oppression of certain immigrant groups that, voluntarily or involuntarily, came to U.S. shores. Only one major group, Native Americans, cannot be viewed as relatively recent immigrants; indeed, as the original inhabitants they were the victims of the stream of immigrants from outside North America. The situations and experiences of Native American societies and the various groups that have immigrated to North America are considered in Chapters 3–13. Chapter 14 moves away from the United States to look at patterns of racial and ethnic relations in several other countries around the world: South Africa, Brazil, France, Russia, and Bosnia. Here, we examine how global patterns of racial oppression and conflict have been implemented or fostered by European colonizers and their descendants during the colonial and decolonization periods in the histories of these countries.

This sixth revised edition of *Racial and Ethnic Relations* updates each chapter with new materials and research, such as the research on housing discrimination and segregation discussed in Chapter 8. In several chapters we give expanded attention to new conceptual approaches to racial and ethnic relations. For example, in Chapter 2 and elsewhere, we note the utility of the new segmented assimilation theory in making sense of recent patterns of immigration. We explore, too, how new theorizing about assimilation is forcing deeper probing of the dimensions and variations in adaptation patterns, as well as the sometimes negative consequences of integration into mainstream U.S. culture. In Chapter 2 we have added a new section that attempts to move power–conflict theorizing toward a more comprehensive framework for understanding racial oppression. Where possible in the group chapters, we have given attention to current events and issues, such as the case of Tiger Woods, the first American of African ancestry to win the Masters golf tourney. In addition, in Chapter 13 we deal with the increasingly multiracial and multicultural character of U.S. society. We examine some of the

implications of the forecasts by demographers that over the course of the twenty-first century the United States will become a nation whose population majority is composed of Latino, African, Asian, and Native Americans.

In writing this and previous editions of this textbook, we have received useful comments and suggestions from numerous colleagues, students, teachers, correspondents, editors, and reviewers. We are indebted to those whose advice, suggestions, and insights have made this a better book. Among these are Joane Nagel, Howard Winant, Edna Bonacich, Karyn McKinney, Eileen O'Brien, Leslie Inniss, Richard Alba, Yanick St. Jean, Debra Van Ausdale, Robert Parker, Daniel Duarte, Teun Van Dijk, Harriett Romo, Alice Littlefield, Wendy Ng, John R. Sosa, Jaime Martinez, Bud Khleif, Howard Leslie, Larry Horn, Doris Wilkinson, Anthony Orum, James Button, Ward Churchill, Edward Múrguía, S. Dale McLemore, Nestor Rodríguez, Melvin Sikes, Hernan Vera, Gideon Sjoberg, Gilberto Cardenas, Nikitah Imani, David Roth, John Butler, Andrew Greeley, Joseph Lopreato, Graham Kinloch, Eric Woodrum, Lester Hill, Chad Oliver, Marcia A. Herndon, Rogelio Nuñez, Tom Walls, Samuel Heilman, Phylis Cancilla Martinelli, José Limon, Devon Peña, Diana Kendall, Robena Jackson, Mark Chesler, David O'Brien, and Bradley Stewart. We would also like to thank the students of several sociology colleagues, including Professor Yanick St. Jean, for their helpful comments in revising this book. We are also indebted to Pinar Batur-Vanderlippe of Vassar College for revising Chapter 14.

We hope that you find this revised edition informative and intellectually stimulating. We welcome comments, especially in regard to future editions. Please write to us at the Department of Sociology, Box 117330, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, 32611–2036.

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Clairece Booher Feagin

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PART I

The Racial and Ethnic Mosaic

More than two hundred years ago, the new United States severed its colonial ties with Europe. Born in revolution, this new nation was portrayed as centrally dedicated to freedom and equality. Over the next two centuries a vigorous nation would emerge, with great racial and ethnic diversity. Yet the new society had its seamy side. Racial and ethnic oppression and conflict were also imbedded in the founding period and in the history of the new republic. The European immigrants often took the lands of Native Americans by force. By the end of the seventeenth century, the enslavement of Africans and African Americans was fundamental to the economy of the North American colonies, and resistance and revolt by these enslaved Americans were recurring problems for white slaveholders. In succeeding centuries other non-European peoples, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican Americans, would suffer serious yokes of oppression. But non-Europeans were not the only ones to face oppressive conditions. Discrimination against white immigrant groups was part of the sometimes forgotten history of both the pre- and post-revolutionary periods.

In the earliest period the colonial population on the prospering Atlantic coast was predominantly English in its origins and basic social institutions. Because of England's huge appetite for raw materials and new markets, English authorities encouraged non-English immigration to the colonies. Yet there was popular opposition, verbal and violent, to the long line of new white immigrants. "Foreigners" soon became a negative category for many colonists. "Despite the need for new settlers English colonials had mixed feelings about foreign arrivals. Anglo-Saxon mobs attacked Huguenots in Frenchtown, Rhode Island, and destroyed a Scotch-Irish frontier settlement in Worcester, Massachusetts."[1] In the 1700s, colonies such as Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island attempted to restrict non-British immigrants.[2]

The basic documents of the new republic reflect its patterns of racial relations and racial subordination, and some of the republic's first laws were aimed at hampering groups of non-English origin. The otherwise radical Declaration of Independence, prepared mostly by Thomas Jefferson, originally contained language accusing King George of pursuing slavery, of waging "cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating them and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in the transportation thither."[3] Jefferson further noted that the English king had not attempted to prohibit

the slave trade and had encouraged enslaved Africans to "rise in arms" against white colonists. But because of pressure from white slaveholding interests in the South and white slave-trading interests in New England, this critique of slavery was omitted from the final version of the Declaration. Even in this revolutionary period, the doctrines of freedom and equality could not be extended to the African American population, for criticism of King George on the issue of slavery was in fact criticism of the North American social and economic system. Jefferson himself was a major slaveholder whose wealth was tied to an oppressive, slaveholding agricultural system.

The U.S. Constitution explicitly recognized racial subordination in several places. First, as a result of a famous compromise between northern and southern representatives to the Constitutional Convention, Article I originally stipulated that three-fifths of a given state's enslaved population was to be counted among the total in apportioning the state's legislative representation—that is, each enslaved American was officially viewed as three-fifths of a person. Interestingly, in this case southern slaveowners pressed for full inclusion of the enslaved African Americans in the population count, while northern interests were opposed.

In addition, a section was added to Article I permitting the slave trade to continue until 1808. The Constitution also incorporated a fugitive slave provision that required the return of runaways to their owners, a provision opposed by few whites at the time.[4] Neither the statement in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal" nor the Constitution's Bill of Rights was seen as applying to Americans of African descent. Slavery, ironically, would last much longer in the new "democratic" republic than in aristocratic Britain.[5]

African Americans were not the only group to suffer from government action. Numerous other non-English groups continued to find themselves less than equal under the law. Anti-immigrant legislation in the late 1700s and early 1800s included the Alien, Sedition, and Naturalization Acts.[6] Irish, German, and French immigrants were growing in number by the late eighteenth century, and concern with the liberal political sentiments of the new immigrants was great. The Naturalization Act stiffened residency requirements for citizenship from five to fourteen years; the Alien Act gave the president the power to expel foreigners. President John Adams was pressed to issue orders deporting immigrants under the Alien Act and did so in two cases. Shiploads of foreign immigrants left the country out of fear of exclusion.

Inequality in life chances along racial and ethnic lines was a fundamental fact of the new nation's institutions. At first, liberty and justice were for men of British descent only. This situation did not go unchallenged. By the late eighteenth century many Irish and German immigrants had come into the colonies. Indeed, a significant proportion of the 4 million persons enumerated in the first United States census were of non-English origins.

Over the next two centuries, English domination was modified by the ascendance of other northern Europeans. These groups in turn were challenged by southern and eastern European and non-European groups trying to move up in the social, economic, and political systems. Gradually, the new nation became an unprecedented mixing of diverse peoples.

Most in the non-British immigrant groups gradually came to adopt the English language and adjust to English institutions, seen by many as the core society and culture. Most entering groups adapted, to some degree, to the dominant culture and ways. White immigrant groups eventually gained substantial power and status in the process.

In contrast to white immigrants, the voluntary and involuntary immigrants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, as well as Native Americans, have generally remained subordinate to white Americans in political, cultural, and economic terms. Racial and eth-