

Fourth Edition

the Meaning of *Difference*

*American Constructions of Race,
Sex and Gender, Social Class,
and Sexual Orientation*

Karen E. Rosenblum

Toni-Michelle C. Travis

THE MEANING OF DIFFERENCE

**American Constructions of Race,
Sex and Gender,
Social Class,
and Sexual Orientation**

A Text/Reader
FOURTH EDITION

Karen E. Rosenblum

George Mason University

Toni-Michelle C. Travis

George Mason University



Boston Burr Ridge, IL Dubuque, IA Madison, WI New York San Francisco St. Louis
Bangkok Bogotá Caracas Kuala Lumpur Lisbon London Madrid Mexico City
Milan Montreal New Delhi Santiago Seoul Singapore Sydney Taipei Toronto



Higher Education

THE MEANING OF DIFFERENCE: AMERICAN CONSTRUCTIONS OF RACE, SEX AND GENDER,
SOCIAL CLASS, AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Published by McGraw-Hill, a business unit of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY, 10020. Copyright © 2006, 2003, 2000, 1996 by The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written consent of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., including, but not limited to, in any network or other electronic storage or transmission, or broadcast for distance learning.

Some ancillaries, including electronic and print components, may not be available to customers outside the United States.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 DOC/DOC 0 9 8 7 6

ISBN: 978-0-07-299746-0

MHID: 0-07-299746-X

Editor in Chief: *Emily Barrosse*

Publisher: *Phillip A. Butcher*

Sponsoring Editor: *Sherith H. Pankratz*

Developmental Editor: *Katherine Blake*

Senior Marketing Manager: *Daniel M. Loch*

Managing Editor: *Jean Dal Porto*

Project Manager: *Ruth Smith*

Associate Designer: *Marianna Kinigakis*

Cover and Interior Design: *Kay Fulton*

Cover Credit: #91 by *Karen Deicas DePodesta, 2002; Art For After Hours/SuperStock, Inc.*

Photo Research Coordinator: *Natalia C. Peschiera*

Senior Media Project Manager: *Nancy Garcia*

Production Supervisor: *Janean A. Utley*

Permissions Editor: *Frederick T. Courtright*

Composition: *by Cengage*

Printing: *45 # New Era Matte Plus, R.R. Donnelley and Sons, Inc./Crawfordsville, IN.*

Credits: The credits section for this book begins on page C-1 and is considered an extension of the copyright page.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Rosenblum, Karen, E.

The meaning of difference : American constructions of race, sex and gender, social class,
and sexual orientation : a text/reader / Karen E. Rosenblum, Toni-Michelle C. Travis [editors]. — 4th ed.
p. cm.

Includes index

ISBN 0-07-299746-X (softcover : alk. paper)

1. United States—Social conditions—1980- 2. Pluralism (Social sciences)—United States.

I. Rosenblum, Karen Elaine. II. Travis, Toni-Michelle, 1947-

HN59.2.M44 2006

306'0973—dc22

2005043763

The Internet addresses listed in the text were accurate at the time of publication. The inclusion of a website does not indicate an endorsement by the authors of McGraw-Hill, and McGraw-Hill does not guarantee the accuracy of the information presented at these sites.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

KAREN E. ROSENBLUM is associate professor of sociology at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. She has served as the university's Vice President for University Life and as director of the Women's Studies Program. Professor Rosenblum received her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Colorado, Boulder. Her areas of research and teaching include sex and gender, language, and deviance.

TONI-MICHELLE C. TRAVIS is associate professor of government and politics at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. She is a faculty member in Women's Studies and also Director of the African American Studies program. Professor Travis received her Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago. Her areas of research and teaching include race and gender dimensions of political participation, urban politics, and American government. She has served as the president of the National Capital Area Political Science Association and the Women's Caucus of the American Political Science Association. A political analyst, she is a frequent commentator on Virginia and national politics.

PREFACE

The Meaning of Difference is an effort to understand how *difference* is constructed in contemporary American culture: How do categories of people come to be seen as “different”? How does being “different” affect people’s lives? What does difference mean at the level of the individual, social institution, or society? What difference does “difference” make? Focusing on the most significant categories of difference in America—race, sex/gender, sexual orientation, social class, and disability—what is *shared* across these categories? What can be learned from their commonalities? That *The Meaning of Difference* is now in its fourth edition makes us hopeful that this comparative approach can be useful in understanding American conceptions and constructions of difference.

ORGANIZATION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The Meaning of Difference is divided into four sections. Each section includes an opening Framework Essay and a set of readings, with the Framework Essay providing the conceptual structure by which to understand the readings. Thus, the Framework Essays are not simply introductions to the readings; they are the “text” portion of this **text/reader**.

The first section’s Framework Essay and readings describe how categories of difference are *created*; the second considers the *experience* of difference; the third examines the *meanings* assigned to difference by law, politics, public policy, the economy, science, popular culture, and language; and the fourth describes what people can do to *challenge and change these constructions* of difference.

Each of the readings included in the volume have been selected by virtue of their applicability to multiple categories of difference. For example, F. James Davis’s conclusions about the construction of race (Reading 1), could be applied to a discussion of sexual identity or disability. How much of “x” does it take to locate someone as gay or straight, abled or disabled? Ira

Berkow's description of the experience of a white quarterback on the football team of a black university (Reading 27) might make one curious about others' experience of being the "only one" in a particular setting. Similarly, Beverly Daniel Tatum's discussion of the development of racial identity (Reading 26) inevitably makes us think about the development of all the other identities so important to people's lives. In all, our aim has been to select readings that help identify both what is unique and what is shared across our experiences of difference.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

Four features make *The Meaning of Difference* distinctive:

- First, it offers a conceptual framework by which to understand the commonalities among these categories of difference. This encompassing conceptual approach makes *The Meaning of Difference* unique.
- Second, no other book provides an accessible and historically grounded discussion of the Supreme Court decisions critical to the creation of these differences.
- Third, *The Meaning of Difference* has been designed with an eye toward the pedagogic difficulties that often accompany this subject matter. Our experience has been that when the topic is *simultaneously* race, sex and gender, social class, sexual orientation, and disability no one group can be easily cast as victim or victimizer.
- Finally, no other volume offers a detailed discussion and set of readings on how to challenge and change the constructions of difference. This is a new section in the book, responding to the needs expressed by instructors and students.

CHANGES IN THE FOURTH EDITION

The fourth edition includes **39 new readings** and an entirely **new section entitled "Bridging Differences."** Addressing the sense of powerlessness that often accompanies the study of difference, this section describes steps that students can take to move beyond that feeling and proceed with the work of social change.

Also, in this edition, there are:

- more readings on the **impact of race on Latino identities;**
- more readings on **popular culture;**
- all new readings in the sections on **sex and gender, sexual orientation, the economy, and science;**
- a more **accessible layout** of the readings in Section II, Experiencing Difference;
- coverage of the **2003 Supreme Court decision on the University of Michigan's** use of race in admissions to the undergraduate and law school programs;

- coverage of the **2003 Supreme Court decision on disabled people's access to public buildings**;
- **discussion questions** for each reading;
- four new **Personal Accounts**;
- a **more detailed index** of the topics in the readings and framework essays.

This edition covers **many new and important topics**, including:

- The re-segregation of American public schools, despite the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court ruling (Reading 43)
- The experience of multi-racial families (Reading 6) and multi-racial individuals (Reading 23)
- The movement to compel states to provide adequate funding for all public schools (Reading 46)
- Race and ethnic ambiguity as a fashion trend in advertising (Reading 53 and 54)
- How inequalities affect health and even mortality rates (Reading 52)
- Whether it is time for all sexual identity categories to disappear (Reading 20)
- The stigma faced by young girls whose breasts develop early (Reading 31)
- The social consequences of an American economy that offers both economic growth and job insecurity (Reading 15)
- The Cold War impetus behind America's minority rights revolution (Reading 44)
- The 2003 Supreme Court decision on the University of Michigan's use of race-based admissions (Reading 41)
- The 2003 Supreme Court decision on disabled people's access to public buildings (Reading 41)
- Life as a low-wage worker (Reading 16)
- How those with privilege and power can be allies to those facing discrimination (Readings 61, 62, 63, and 64)
- Media depictions of black men (Reading 56)
- The features of the workplace that continue to contribute to sex discrimination (Reading 47)
- How substantial racial inequalities could remain despite decades of civil rights law (Reading 48)
- The nature and consequences of the myth of Asian Americans as the model minority (Reading 49)
- The impact of the images of masculinity on young boys (Reading 32)
- Popular culture's "race is over" theme (Reading 55)
- The images of Native Americans conveyed by the names of sports teams (Reading 59)
- The impact of race on Latino identities (Readings 5 and 24)
- Determining who is "really" a Native American (Reading 4)
- How to pursue "everyday activism" (Reading 61)
- Racial identity development in adolescence (Reading 26)

- Being “the only one”: the experience of a white quarterback on the football team of a black university (Reading 27)
- How the children of lesbian and gay couples react to the prospect of their parents’ marriage (Reading 35)
- Trying to get around if you are disabled: cabs and mass transit experiences (Reading 39)

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE FOURTH EDITION

Several readings from the previous edition have been retained not only because of their wide popularity among students and faculty, but also because they have become classics in the field. Foremost in this category is **F. James Davis’s**, “Who is Black? One Nation’s Definition” and two articles by **Marilyn Frye**, “Oppression” and “To Be and Be Seen: The Politics of Reality.” “Asian American Panethnicity,” by **Yen Le Espiritu** and “Whiteness as an ‘Unmarked’ Category,” by **Ruth Frankenberg** hold this rank as well. Certainly, **John Larew’s** “Why Are Doves of Unqualified, Unprepared Kids Getting into our Top Colleges” has been eye-opening for students trying to understand affirmative action policies. **Robert Moore’s** “Racism in the English Language” paints a vivid, and still relevant, picture of the values embedded in the language of color; **Laurel Richardson Walum** accomplishes the same for gender in her article, “Gender Stereotyping in the English Language.”

Every section of the fourth edition also includes new readings, and some sections have been entirely revised. There are several new readings that we think have the potential to become classics. One is “Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria,” which is a chapter from **Beverly Daniel Tatum’s** national bestseller. “The Minority Quarterback,” by **Ira Berkow**, was part of the 2001 *New York Times* Pulitzer-Prize-winning series “How Race is Lived in America.” Both **Barbara Ehrenreich’s** “Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America” and **Bert Archer’s** “The End of Gay (and the Death of Heterosexuality)” are extracts from books that have received significant comment and praise. “A World of Their Own,” by **Liza Mundy** was included in Oliver Sack’s edition, *Best American Science Writing of 2003*.

SUPPLEMENTS

Instructor’s Manual/Test Bank

Jamey Piland, a colleague at Trinity College in Washington, D.C., has used *The Meaning of Difference* in several interdisciplinary courses and, from that experience, has produced a thoughtful Instructor’s Manual that focuses especially on how to teach this material. Few instructors have had the experience of teaching *all* of these topics—let alone all of them in a single course—as Professor Piland has. Andrea Herrera at the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs, did an excellent job revising Jamey’s work for this new edition.

New for the fourth edition is the addition of a Test Bank that will be combined with the Instructor's Manual. The Test Bank, developed by Susan Weldon of Eastern Michigan University, includes multiple-choice and true-false questions for the Framework Essays and each of the 64 readings. Susan also developed the Website practice tests for students' use.

Race/Class/Gender/Sexuality SuperSite

This companion Website provides information about the book, including an overview, summaries of key features and what's new in the third edition, information about the authors, and Practice Test Questions.

Non-text-specific content on this site includes an annotated list of Weblinks to useful sites; a list of professional resources (e.g., professional journals); links to Websites offering Census 2000 information; a glossary; flashcards; and a comprehensive list (annotated and listed by category) of films and videos in the areas of race, class, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality.

Visit the SuperSite by going to either

www.mhhe.com/rosenblum

or

www.mhhe.com/raceclassgender

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many colleagues and friends have helped us clarify the ideas we present here. David Haines has been unfailingly available to help Karen think through conceptual, technical, and ethical dilemmas. She could not imagine a colleague more supportive or wise. Theodore W. Travis provided insight on Supreme Court decisions, their relationship to social values, and their impact on American society. As always, this edition has benefited enormously from the comments of our colleagues at George Mason. Since this project first emerged over a decade ago, Victoria Rader has been generous in sharing her insights as a teacher and writer. Her wisdom especially guided our development of the book's new section, "Bridging Differences." Two other colleagues—Rose Pascarell and Jamey Piland—merit special thanks both for their feedback and the good work they accomplish with students. As a friend and friendly editor, none could be better than Sheila Barrows. Finally, we owe special thanks to our students at George Mason University for sharing their experiences with us.

For this edition, we again convey our appreciation to Joan Lester and the Equity Institute of Emeryville, California, for their understanding of the progress that can be made through a holistic analysis.

Kathy Blake of McGraw-Hill shepherded this volume to completion with the same good organization and insight she provided on previous editions.

And, as in previous editions, McGraw-Hill proved itself committed to a thorough review process by putting together a panel of accomplished scholars with broad expertise. All offered detailed, insightful, and invaluable critiques, and we are much in their debt:

Edward Jankowski, William Paterson University

Andrea O'Reilly Herrera, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs

Henry M. Codjoe, Dalton State College

Blanche M. Hughes, Colorado State University

Dan Pence, California State University, Chico

Juliet C. Rothman, University of California, Berkeley

Karen Rosenblum

Toni-Michelle Travis

George Mason University

CONTENTS

Preface

xiii

SECTION I—CONSTRUCTING CATEGORIES OF DIFFERENCE

Framework Essay

2

WHAT IS RACE?

1. Who Is Black? One Nation's Definition
F. James Davis 37
2. The Evolution of Identity
Washington Post 45
3. Census 2000: Seventeen Questions from the Long Form 46
4. Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America
Eva Marie Garroutte 49
5. Latinos in the U.S. Race Structure
Clara E. Rodríguez 57
- Personal Account: What's in a Name?
Ruth C. Feldsberg 63
6. Tripping on the Color Line: Black-White Multiracial Families in a
Racially Divided World
Heather M. Dalmage 64
- Personal Account: The Best of Both Worlds
Mindy Peral 70
7. Asian American Panethnicity
Yen Le Espiritu 69
- Personal Account: I Thought My Race Was Invisible
Sherri H. Pereira 79
8. Whiteness as an "Unmarked" Cultural Category
Ruth Frankenberg 80

WHAT IS SEX? WHAT IS GENDER?

9. The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough
Anne Fausto-Sterling 87
10. The Berdache Tradition
Walter L. Williams 91
11. The Gendered Society
Michael S. Kimmel 100
- Personal Account: Basketball
Andrea M. Busch 108
12. It's Your Gender, Stupid!
Riki Wilchins 109

WHAT IS SOCIAL CLASS?

13. What's Class Got to Do with It?
Michael Zweig 115
14. Getting Ahead: Economic and Social Mobility in America
Daniel P. McMurrer and Isabel V. Sawhill 118
- Personal Account: Lucky Americans
LeiLani Page 125
15. America's Economic Transformation
Nancy Wiefek 126
- Personal Account: I Am a Pakistani Woman
Hoorie I. Siddique 134
16. Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America
Barbara Ehrenreich 135
17. This Hard-Earned Money Comes Stuffed in Their Genes
Dusty Horwitt 146

WHAT IS SEXUAL ORIENTATION?

18. The Hazards of Naming Sexual Attraction
Michael R. Kauth 148
- Personal Account: Living Invisibly
Tara S. Ellison 153
19. Is Homosexual a Noun?
Paul R. Abramson and Steven D. Pinkerton 153
20. The End of Gay (and the Death of Heterosexuality)
Bert Archer 156

SECTION II—EXPERIENCING DIFFERENCE

-
- Framework Essay** 165
21. Oppression
Marilyn Frye 194

RACE AND ETHNICITY

22. What Are You?
Joanne Nobuko Miyamoto 199
23. Everybody's Ethnic Enigma
Jelita McLeod 200
24. Ethnic Identity and Racial Formations: Race and Racism
American-Style and a lo Latino
Marta Cruz-Janzen 201
25. The Cost of Whiteness
Thandeka 207
- Personal Account: Play Some Rolling Stones
Mark Donald Stockenberg 213
26. "Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?"
Beverly Daniel Tatum 213
27. The Minority Quarterback
Ira Berkow 223
28. A Day in the Life of Two Americas
Leonard Steinhorn and Barbara Diggs-Brown 234
29. At a Slaughterhouse, Some Things Never Die
Charlie LeDuff 238
30. Diversity and Its Discontents
Arturo Madrid 247

SEX AND GENDER

31. Fast Girls: Teenage Tribes and the Myth of the Slut
Emily White 252
- Personal Account: Just Something You Did as a Man
Francisco Hernandez 258
32. How Do We Know What Manhood Really Is?
John Stoltenberg 258
- Personal Account: He Hit Her
Tim Norton 262
33. Chappals and Gym Shorts: An Indian-Muslim Woman
in the Land of Oz
Almas Sayeed 263

SEXUAL ORIENTATION

34. Anti-gay Slurs Common at School: A Lesson in Cruelty
Laura Sessions Stepp 267
- Personal Account: An Opportunity to Get Even
Gillian Carroll 269
35. For Children of Gays, Marriage Brings Joy
Patricia Leigh Brown 270

SOCIAL CLASS

36. All Souls
Michael Patrick MacDonald 272
37. Stupid Rich Bastards
Laurel Johnson Black 276
- Personal Account: That Moment of Visibility
Rose B. Pascarell 282
38. Why are Doves of Unqualified, Unprepared Kids Getting
into Our Top Colleges? Because Their Dads Are Alumni
John Larew 283

DISABILITY

39. Public Transit
John Hockenberry 288
- Personal Account: I Am Legally Blind
Beth Omansky 295
40. “Can You See the Rainbow?” The Roots of Denial
Sally French 296

SECTION III—THE MEANING OF DIFFERENCE

Framework Essay 304

LAW, POLITICS, AND POLICY

41. Thirteen Supreme Court Cases and the Civil War Amendments 321
42. Social Movements and the Politics of Difference
Cheryl Zarlenga Kerchis and Iris Marion Young 349
43. After *Brown*: The Rise and Retreat of School Desegregation
Charles T. Clotfelter 361
44. The Minority Rights Revolution
John D. Skrentny 371
45. The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People
Profit from Identity Politics
George Lipsitz 378
46. What’s Good Enough?
Peter Schrag 383

ECONOMY

47. Gender Discrimination in the Workplace
Jeanette N. Cleveland, Margaret Stockdale, and Kevin R. Murphy 387

48. The Bankruptcy of Virtuous Markets: Racial Inequality, Poverty, and “Individual Failure” <i>Michael K. Brown, Martin Carnoy, Elliott Currie, Troy Duster, David B. Oppenheimer, Marjorie M. Schultz, and David Wellman</i>	396
Personal Account: Just Like My Mama Said <i>Anthony McNeill</i>	403
49. The Model Minority: Asian American “Success” as a Race Relations Failure <i>Frank Wu</i>	404
Personal Account: Let Me Work for It <i>Isabelle Nguyen</i>	411
SCIENCE	
50. A World of Their Own <i>Liza Mundy</i>	412
51. Disability Definitions: The Politics of Meaning <i>Michael Oliver</i>	418
52. Cause of Death: Inequality <i>Alejandro Reuss</i>	422
POPULAR CULTURE	
53. Generation E.A.: Ethnically Ambiguous <i>Ruth La Ferla</i>	425
54. Patriarchy Gets Funky: The Triumph of Identity Marketing <i>Naomi Klein</i>	427
55. Is Race Over? <i>David R. Roediger</i>	432
56. Black Men: How to Perpetuate Prejudice without Really Trying <i>Barry Glassner</i>	438
57. Racism in the English Language <i>Robert B. Moore</i>	445
58. Gender Stereotyping in the English Language <i>Laurel Richardson</i>	452
59. Let’s Spread the “Fun” Around: The Issue of Sports Team Names and Mascots <i>Ward Churchill</i>	458
60. To Be and Be Seen: The Politics of Reality <i>Marilyn Frye</i>	460

SECTION IV—BRIDGING DIFFERENCES

Framework Essay	468
61. Influencing Public Policy <i>Jeanine C. Cogan</i>	476
62. What Can We Do? Becoming Part of the Solution <i>Allan G. Johnson</i>	486
Personal Account: Parents' Underestimated Love <i>Octavio N. Espinal</i>	490
63. In Defense of Rich Kids <i>William Upski Wimsatt</i>	491
64. Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice <i>Paul Kivel</i>	494
Personal Account: Where Are You From? <i>C.C.</i>	499
Permissions	P-1
Index	I-1

CONSTRUCTING CATEGORIES OF DIFFERENCE

