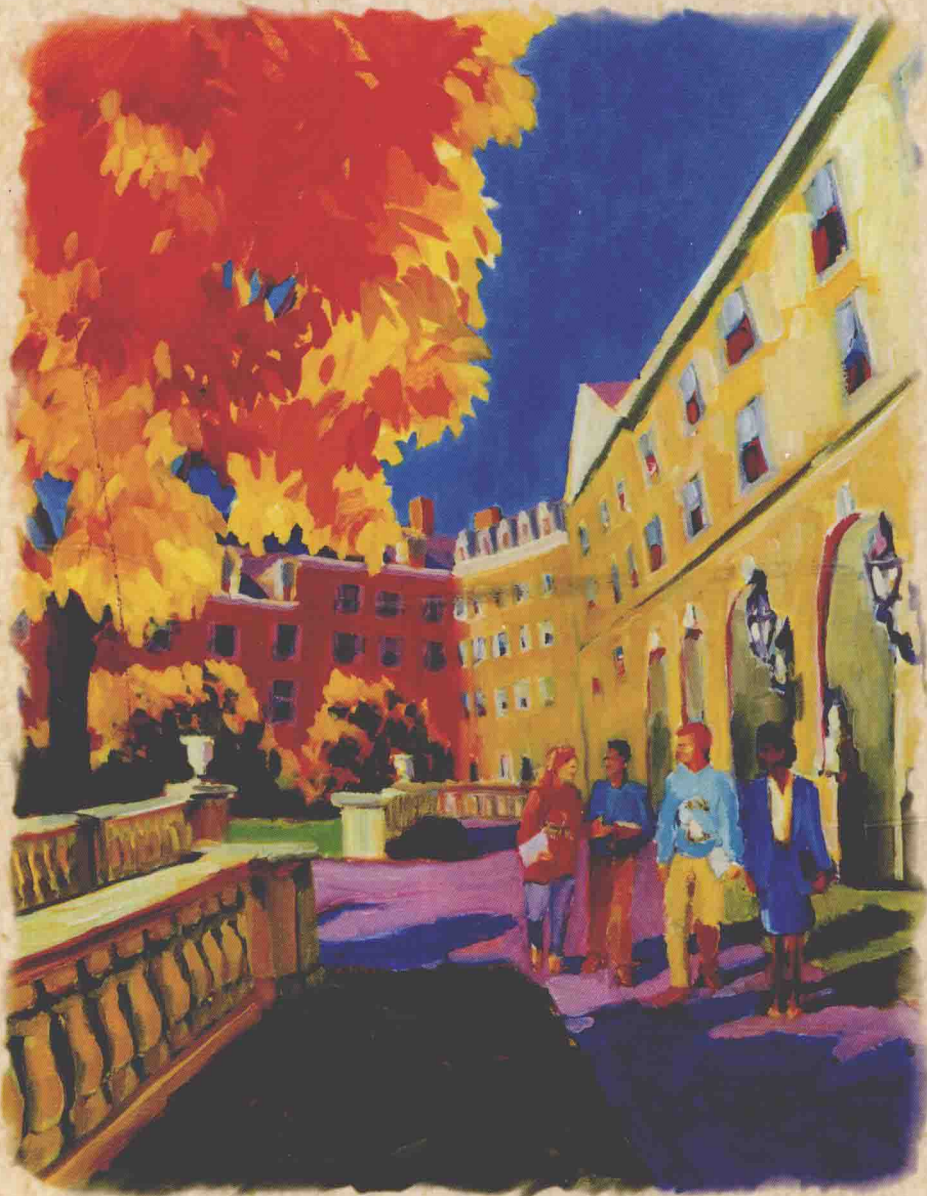


MAJORITY-MINORITY RELATIONS

Fourth Edition



John E. Farley

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fourth edition

Majority-Minority Relations

John E. Farley

Southern Illinois University
at Edwardsville

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Preface

ABOUT THE BOOK

This book is designed to enable the reader to understand the principles and processes that shape the patterns of relations among racial, ethnic, and other groups in society. It is not a study of any one racial or ethnic group, although a wide variety of information is provided about a number of groups. Rather, it is intended to enhance the reader's understanding of why such groups interact as they do. The primary emphasis is on the relationships between dominant (majority) and subordinate (minority) racial and ethnic groups in the United States. However, because a thorough understanding of the dynamics of intergroup relations cannot be obtained by looking at only one country, a full chapter is devoted to intergroup relations in other societies. There is also discussion, particularly in Chapter 13, of minority groups other than racial and ethnic ones.

The book is divided into four major parts. In Part I (Chapters 2 and 3) the attitudes and beliefs of the individual concerning intergroup relations are explored

through a variety of social-psychological approaches. The concept of prejudice is examined, as well as various theories about its causes, ways in which it may be combated, and the relationship between intergroup attitudes and intergroup behavior. In Part II (Chapters 4–8) the emphasis shifts to the larger societal arena. Two major sociological perspectives, order and conflict, are introduced here. These perspectives, and more specific kinds of theories arising from them, are used throughout the book to understand intergroup relations in society. In the balance of Part II, the history of U.S. majority-minority relations is explored and analyzed using the two perspectives, and the theories arising from them are tested and refined. Also introduced here are the concepts of assimilation and pluralism and their roles in the history of American intergroup relations. The theories are further refined through the examination of cross-cultural variations in intergroup relations in the closing chapter of Part II.

The major concern in Part III (Chapters 9–12) is present-day intergroup relations

in the United States. This part begins with a compilation of data concerning the numbers, characteristics, and social statuses of a wide range of American racial and ethnic groups. The remainder of Part III is an extensive discussion of institutional discrimination, which has become at least as important as individual discrimination in the maintenance of racial and ethnic inequality in America. That fact, however, is not reflected in many of the general works on intergroup relations now available. This book attempts to remedy that deficiency through extensive discussion of processes that create or maintain such inequality in political, legal, economic, health-care, and educational institutions. All of these areas, as well as housing discrimination and its causes and effects, are analyzed in Chapters 9–12. The purpose of this coverage is not to deny the reality of individual discrimination; in fact the book addresses many ways in which this continues to occur, even today, at the beginning of a new century. Rather, the purpose is to help students understand the reality of institutional forms of discrimination, which are often more subtle and harder to see than individual acts of discrimination.

Part IV explores key issues, trends, and controversies in the present and future of intergroup relations. Chapter 13 addresses majority-minority relations based on gender, sexual orientation, and disability, with special attention to the ways in which racial and gender inequality interact and overlap, thus presenting special concerns and dilemmas for women and men of color. Chapter 14 addresses current trends in majority-minority relations, including diversity and multiculturalism in work and education; the resurgence of hate group activity and hate crime in the 1990s; debates about how to combat hatred, including issues centering around speech codes and “political correctness”; and the discrimination-testing movement. Chapter 15 explores selected issues in the future of race and ethnic relations in the United States, including the continuing controversy over affirmative action; debates over the desirability of assimilation,

pluralism, and separatism; the relative importance of race and class in American society; and the current and future immigration policy of the United States.

To enhance the reader’s awareness of essential concepts used throughout the book, important new terms are defined in a glossary at the end of the book. Major ideas throughout the book have been illustrated photographically, and the substantial list of references has been grouped together at the end of this book so any reference can be easily located. For the instructor, a test item file is also available.

CHANGES IN THE FOURTH EDITION

For the most part, the basic approach and organization of this book has been retained through all four editions. However, the content has been revised and updated extensively with each edition, with substantial new material added to every chapter for this fourth edition.

In Chapter 1, there is new material on the social construction of race and on the debate over whether or not race is a meaningful concept. Similarly, changing public thought about multiracial categories is discussed, including the U.S. Census Bureau’s decision to allow people to mark more than one racial category in the 2000 census. In Chapter 2, new material has been added, updating research on several theories about the causes of prejudice, including authoritarianism, social learning, and effects of educational levels and complexity of thinking. In Chapter 3, material has been added on the growth of diversity education during the past decade, and on extensive new research on its effectiveness in reducing prejudice. Discussions of research on each of several approaches to reducing prejudice have been updated, and entirely new material has been added on tensions and conflicts among and between different minority groups.

Chapter 4 presents new research findings on the relationship between family type and African-American poverty, an issue

that is used to illustrate debates between the functionalist and conflict perspectives. Included is new research showing that effects of family type may vary among different racial groups, and research comparing the attitudes and aspirations of African-American single mothers to those of mothers in two-parent families. In Chapter 5, new material places U.S. slavery in the larger context of plantation-based slavery in other parts of the Western hemisphere, drawing on the research of Philip Curtin and others. In Chapter 6, new material has been added to draw more directly on the insights of internal colonialism theory to explain why today's Asian Americans and European Americans usually enjoy a more advantaged social status than that of African Americans, Mexican Americans, and American Indians. New material has also been added on the long-term effects of Reconstruction and on how economic conditions influenced the incidence of racial lynchings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. New and expanded material has also been added about the role of government in promoting racial segregation and discrimination in the early and mid-twentieth century. In Chapter 7, material on public opinion among African Americans and Latinos has been extensively updated, including recent opinion polls and continuing debates about approaches stressing self-improvement versus demands for social change.

In Chapter 8, discussions have been added on the 1998 peace agreement in Northern Ireland and the subsequent election of its first elected parliament, as well as the 1995 Quebec independence referendum, which failed by a razor-thin margin, and its aftermath. Also, the discussion of ethnic tensions in the former Soviet Union has been updated to cover the rebellion in Chechnya. In Chapter 9, all data have been extensively updated. The availability of many official sources of data on the Internet has made it possible to provide more current data than ever before. This chapter also includes new material on whiteness as a racial identity, drawing on Omi and Winant's work

on racial formation, and the growing body of recent theory and research on whiteness. There is also new discussion and analysis of the nature and causes of racial and ethnic gaps in family income, with a specific focus on African Americans and Latinos.

Chapter 10 begins with new material on race and asset ownership. The section on housing segregation and discrimination has been thoroughly updated, including a discussion of recent books by John Yinger and by Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, as well as of my own recently published research—which reaffirms that racial, not economic, factors are the main cause of housing segregation. New data from the U.S. Census Bureau on segregation of Asian and Hispanic Americans are also discussed. Data on several health-care issues have been updated, including new research showing that minority doctors are more likely than other doctors to locate in medically underserved areas. In Chapter 11, a major new section on welfare reform has been added, as well as a section on wage and labor law, minorities, and the growing income gap. Also added is a discussion of the disproportionate impact of the “war on drugs” on minority groups. In Chapter 12, the discussions of bilingual education and school desegregation have been thoroughly updated, incorporating both new research and information on policy shifts and political debates in recent years. New topics include the detracking movement and new school programs designed to foster high expectations of all students, regardless of race or class. The discussion of Black English has been expanded and updated, including the “Ebonics” controversy in Oakland and new research findings on the effectiveness of using Black English to teach standard English.

In Chapter 13, new material has been added on the different relationships between gender and labor force participation and between gender and occupation among different racial and ethnic groups. The chapter also updates public opinion data on gay rights and the impact of the “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy. In Chapter 14, the discussion of workplace diversity initia-

tives has been expanded and updated, as has the discussion of hate group activity, which has been expanded to include militia and “patriot” groups. New material has been added on the isolation and hostility that students of color often encounter on predominantly white college campuses. Also added is new research on the effectiveness of campus diversity initiatives and evidence of support for them by the U.S. population. Finally, the discussion of discrimination testing has been expanded to include home insurance, including the \$100 million damage award in 1998 against Nationwide Insurance Company in Richmond, Virginia. In Chapter 15, the discussion of assimilation, pluralism, and separatism has been expanded and updated, including discussion of Gitlin’s *The Twilight of Common Dreams* and of the Million Man March, the Million Woman March, and the Nation of Islam. Major new research on affirmative action by William Bowen and Derek Bok, Barbara Reskin, and others is addressed in the chapter’s expanded coverage of affirmative action, as is the changing political and legal environment surrounding that issue. In fact, the coverage of affirmative action has been so substantially expanded that several new sections have been added to the chapter, whose title has been adjusted to reflect this increased emphasis. New material from Feagin and Sikes’ *Living with Racism* has been added to the discussion of race and class, documenting the continuing problem of racial discrimination encountered by middle-class African Americans.

Throughout the book, extensive material has been added on issues of current and recent interest, including reactions of whites and African Americans to the O.J. Simpson trial, hate activity on the Internet, the Million Man March and Million Woman March, and attacks on bilingual education and school desegregation. The attacks on affirmative action in Texas, California, Washington State, and elsewhere, along with the shifting debate on affirmative action, constitute a major development in U.S. intergroup relations that is discussed and applied to relevant topics throughout the book. In addition,

the discussion of this topic has been extensively revised, increased, and updated in the expanded and retitled Chapter 15.

Changes have been made to improve the organization of the book, including new headings and subheadings in several parts of the book, as well as the addition of summary lists (e.g., characteristics of effective efforts to reduce prejudice). Finally, new boxed material has been added in several chapters. In Chapter 1, a new box covers the U.S. Census Bureau’s changing definitions of race, including the new practice of allowing more than one race to be selected in the year 2000 census. In Chapter 4, a new box illustrates the influence of culture of poverty theory on recent welfare reform legislation. To illustrate more clearly the nature of the slave codes, a new box in Chapter 5 reproduces a portion of the Alabama Slave Code of 1833. Another new box, also in Chapter 5, discusses Neil Foley’s award-winning book, *The White Scourge*, showing how racial divisions kept tenants and sharecroppers from unifying on the basis of their class interests. In Chapter 7, there is a new box on interracial dating, marriage, and relationships and, in Chapter 12, one on Herrnstein and Murray’s *The Bell Curve*. In Chapter 14, a new box explores diversity initiatives at Allstate Insurance Company, which proved to be good not only for intergroup relations but also for the company’s bottom line.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

An undertaking such as this book would be impossible without the assistance of many people. This assistance goes back to the first edition and has continued with each revision. In the early stages of developing ideas for this book I received encouragement and helpful advice from Hugh Barlow, Joel Charon, and Charles Tilly. Donald Noel, Howard Schuman, Lyle Shannon, Richard Cramer, David Willman, Katherine O’Sullivan See, and Betsey Useem read and commented on part or all of earlier versions of the manuscript. Reviewers for the second

edition were Darnell F. Hawkins of the University of Illinois at Chicago and Katherine O'Sullivan See of Michigan State University. Portions of the manuscript for the first edition were typed by Sherrie Williams, Kathy Howlatt, Lynn Krieger, Krista Wright, and Marilyn Morrison. Brenda Eich assisted in the compilation of the reference list. The capable editorial staff at Prentice Hall, including past sociology editors Ed Stanford and Bill Webber, their assistants Irene Fraga and Kathleen Dorman, and past production editors Alison Gnerre and Marianne Peters, have been a pleasure to work with.

In the third edition, acquisitions editors Nancy Roberts and Sharon Chambliss, as well as project manager Virginia Livsey, were most helpful with their continued work and commitment on behalf of this book. Helpful suggestions on portions of the book were received from Thomas D. Hall, DePauw University; David N. Lawyer, Jr., Santa Barbara City College; Pranab Chatterjee, Case Western Reserve University; Alan Siman, San Diego State University; and Vernon McClean, William Paterson College. I am grateful to graduate students Craig Hughey, Cheryl Riggs, and Michelle Ruffner for library assistance during the revision of the third edition, and to Michelle Ruffner and Gina Goodwin for assistance in combining

the new references for the third edition with the reference list from the second.

In the fourth edition, it was a pleasure to continue to work with Prentice Hall sociology editor Sharon Chambliss. The production editor for this edition, Rob DeGeorge, was very helpful in clearing up the many minor glitches that inevitably occur in an undertaking of this magnitude. For this edition, helpful suggestions were received from Lori A. Brown, Meredith College; and Michael Pearson, University of North Carolina at Charlotte. As with earlier editions, comments and suggestions from faculty and students who have used the book were also helpful in the revision. My E-mail address is *jfarley@siue.edu*, so please keep sending me your comments and suggestions. For this edition, I am also grateful to SIUE graduate student Zhong Lan Yang for assistance in getting the electronic reference file properly styled and formatted. As usual, support and ideas from my colleagues in the Department of Sociology at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville have made an important contribution to the fourth edition. Finally, the most important support of all is the emotional support that I have received from my daughter, Megan, and from my wife, Alice. To them, to everyone else mentioned here, and to anyone I may have forgotten, many thanks.

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chapter 1

Orientation: Basic Terms and Concepts

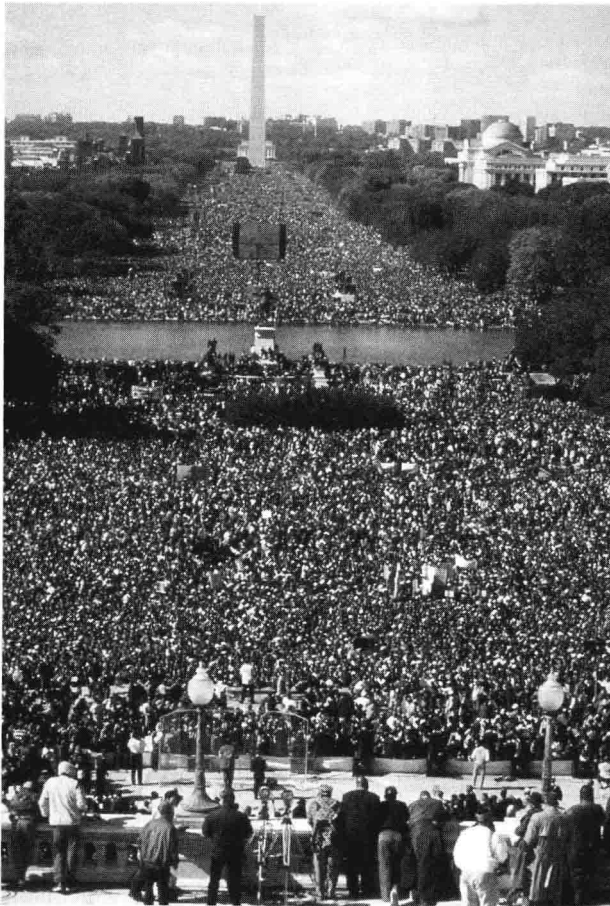
WHY STUDY RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS?

It has now been more than two decades since I began work on the first edition of this book. As the book now enters its fourth edition, and as the world enters a new millennium, conflict, tension, inequality, and misunderstanding among racial and ethnic groups continue to plague our society and others around the world. In early editions, I pointed out that race relations in America are perhaps this nation's most intractable problem; simply put, it is the problem that won't go away. Events since have repeatedly borne this out. As the third edition took shape in 1995, we had just witnessed, in Los Angeles, the deadliest incident of racial violence of the twentieth century and a resurgence everywhere of hate crime and hate group activity. Twice, in 1992 and 1994, I saw this activity in my own backyard, as the Ku Klux Klan held public rallies in my county for the first time in many decades. And, as noted in the 1995 edition, these incidents were not limited to any one area. According to the Klan-watch program, which keeps track of the actions of hate groups like these, there were more bias-motivated murders, assaults, and acts of vandalism, as well as more cross burnings, in 1992 than in any year since such records were first kept in 1979 (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1993c).

Since then, a better economy has slowed the growth of hate crime, though many violent and disturbing incidents have continued to occur, including several incidents in Denver, Colorado, in 1997. In two incidents a week apart, racist skinheads killed a West African immigrant and a city police officer (Boyle, 1997). Several incidents also occurred in 1998. An African American man was dragged to his death behind a pickup truck by whites near Jasper, Texas, and a black Marine was permanently paralyzed as a result of a beating by whites near San Diego, California. Also in 1998, a gay student at the University of Wyoming was beaten to death, at least

partly because of his sexual orientation. In addition, there has been a surge of domestic terrorism by extreme-right antigovernment and militia groups, most tragically evident in the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995, which took 168 lives. Although not all of this terrorism is overtly racist, much of it has racist undertones. Many antigovernment groups are followers of a book entitled *The Turner Diaries*, by William Pierce of Virginia, which tells a story of inciting race war through terrorist acts. In addition, many, though not all, of the antigovernment groups are linked to white-supremacist groups such as the Aryan Nations. Others advocate the establishment of a white Christian nation in the United States and are suspected of involvement in such incidents as the bombings of a gay bar and abortion clinic in Atlanta and the Atlanta Olympic bombing (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1997).

In the meantime, other incidents have repeatedly reminded us of how racially divided we remain. One of the most dramatic was the differing response of black and white Americans to the trial of O. J. Simpson. Although all were looking at the same evidence, each group saw something different. Most African Americans,



The continued salience of race relations in U.S. society at the century's end is illustrated by the Million Man March, held in October 1995. It was the largest rally ever held in Washington, DC. *Al Stephenson/Woodfin Camp & Associates.*