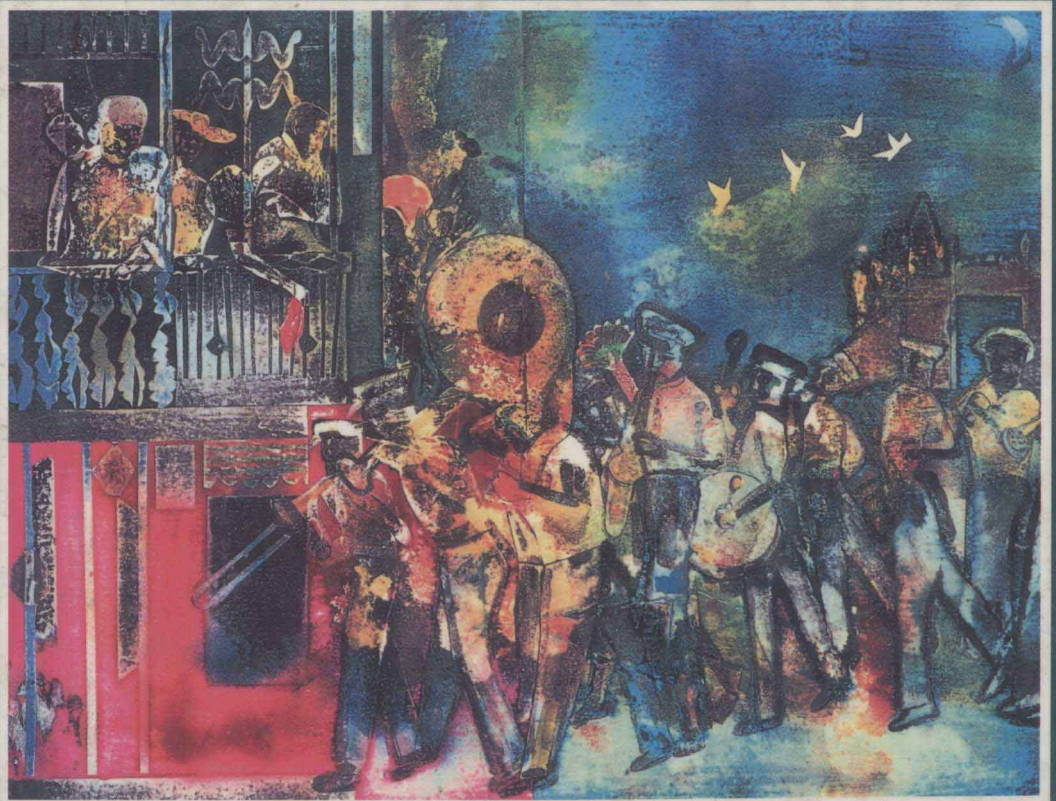


MAJORITY MINORITY RELATIONS

THIRD EDITION



John E. Farley

Third Edition _____

Majority-Minority Relations _____

John E. Farley

Southern Illinois University
at Edwardsville



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This edition is dedicated to the children
of Bosnia and Rwanda: Never again can
we honestly say "never again."



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Preface

This book is designed to enable the reader to understand the principles and processes that shape the patterns of relations between racial, ethnic, and other groups in society. It is not a study of any one racial or ethnic group, though a wide variety of information is indeed 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, thorough understanding of the dynamics of intergroup relations cannot be obtained by looking at only one society. Accordingly, a full chapter is devoted to the examination of intergroup relations in societies other than the United States. There is also attention, particularly in Chapter 13, to 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 using a variety of social-psychological approaches. The concept of prejudice is examined, and various theories about the causes of prejudice are presented and evaluated. There is also attention to ways in which prejudice may be combated and to 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 as a means of understanding 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 the perspectives are tested and refined using this historical material. Also introduced here are the concepts of assimilation and pluralism along with a discussion of their roles in the history of American intergroup relations. The theories are further refined through examination of cross-cultural variations in intergroup relations in the closing chapter of Part II.

The major concern in Part III of the book (Chapters 9–12) is with 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 consists of an extensive discussion of institutional discrimination in America. Analysts of intergroup relations are in relatively broad agreement that institutional discrimination has become more important than individual discrimination in the maintenance of racial and ethnic inequality in America. That fact is not, however, reflected in the content of most 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 of the political, legal, economic, health care, and educational institutions. All of these areas, as well as housing discrimination and its causes and effects, are discussed and analyzed in Chapters 9–12.

In Part IV of this book, key issues, trends, and controversies in the present and future of intergroup relations are explored. Part IV of the book has been ex-

panded from earlier editions and includes two entirely new chapters. Chapter 13 addresses majority-minority relations based on gender, sexual orientation, and disability, with special attention to ways in which racial inequality 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 concerning 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.

For the most part, the basic approach and organization of the first and second editions have been retained. However, the book has been revised extensively, and, as noted above, two entirely new chapters have been added in Part IV. Because of growing attention in our society to majority-minority relations based on social characteristics other than race and ethnicity, a full chapter (Chapter 13) is now devoted to issues of gender, people with disabilities, and sexual orientation. Important new societal trends pertaining to race and ethnic relations that have emerged since the previous edition are addressed in the entirely new Chapter 14. Much of the material that formerly appeared in Chapter 13 now appears in updated form in Chapter 15. Throughout the book, material has been revised to reflect new developments, new research, and up-to-date statistics. Dramatic social changes in the Middle East, South Africa, and eastern Europe have rendered much of what appeared in Chapter 8 of the second edition totally out of date. Large portions of this chapter have been entirely rewritten to reflect new developments, and the coverage of different parts of the world has been both shifted and expanded to cover the ethnic trouble spots of the 1990s. In particular, there is extensive new coverage of ethnic relations in the former Soviet Union and eastern Europe.

While the chapters discussed above represent the biggest changes in the third edition, there are substantial revisions and updates in every chapter. A measure of the amount of new and revised material can be seen in the fact that well over 400 new sources are cited in the third edition. Some of the bigger changes in the third edition include the following: New material on education and simulation exercises as ways of reducing prejudice in Chapter 3; new sections on different varieties of conflict theories about majority-minority relations and on family structure, poverty, and African American families in Chapter 4; a new discussion of recent research on “oppositional identity” in Chapter 6; extensive new material on current trends in Chapter 7 addressing such issues as the 1992 Los Angeles riot, resurgent black nationalism, Afrocentrism, and environmental racism along with expanded and updated coverage of the Nation of Islam. Virtually every statistic in Chapter 9 (The Status of Majority and Minority Groups in the United States Today) is updated, with large sections of the chapter entirely rewritten, including detailed discussion and analysis of the 1990 census. In Chapter 10, there is new material on the effects of discrimination on economic productivity, extensively updated and expanded material on housing segregation and discrimination, and discussion of the possible effects on the Clinton health-care reform proposals on health care for people of color in the United States. New sections in Chapter 12 discuss multiculturalism in

education and immersion schools for students of color, particularly black males; an update on research concerning Head Start and similar early childhood education programs; and numerous updates on the subject of school desegregation.

Finally, new boxed material has been added in several chapters. In Chapter 8, a new box addresses the plight of children in war-torn Bosnia. In Chapter 10, a new box describes one state's innovative efforts to promote residential integration. And in Chapter 13, a box uses the experiences of a successful black journalist returning to his old inner-city neighborhood to illustrate the worsening conditions that people living in many such neighborhoods face.

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.

An undertaking such as the writing of this book would be impossible without the assistance of many people. 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 each read and commented upon 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. The book has benefited greatly from their insightful observations; the shortcomings that remain are entirely the responsibility of the author. Portions of the manuscript 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, I am grateful to Acquisitions Editors Nancy Roberts and Sharon Chambliss for their continued work and commitment on behalf of this book, as well as to Project Manager Virginia Livsey. 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 edition. As usual, support and ideas from my colleagues in the Department of Sociology and Social Work at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville have made an important contribution to the third edition. Finally, the most important support of all is the emotional support that I have received from my daughter Megan, who celebrated her tenth birthday the day before I wrote this revised preface.

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Orientation: Basic Terms and Concepts

WHY STUDY RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS?

At the beginning of the second edition of this book, I commented on an apparent resurgence of hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Order, the Aryan Nations, and the Posse Comitatus. I pointed to that as an indication that race relations in America are perhaps the nation's most intractable problem; simply put, the problem that won't go away. This resurgence is no longer apparent but patently obvious. According to the Klanwatch program, which keeps track of the actions of hate groups like these, there were more bias-motivated murders, assaults, and acts of vandalism—and more cross burnings—in 1992 than in any year since such records were first kept in 1979 (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1993a).

For the first time in my life, I personally witnessed hooded, torch-bearing Klan members when I joined with fellow faculty, staff, and students from the university where I teach to protest a Ku Klux Klan rally held just fifteen miles from campus. A few weeks later, the White Aryan Resistance (WAR), a group whose leader was ordered to pay damages of \$12.5 million for inciting a group of skinheads to murder an African college student in Oregon, surreptitiously plastered the campus with racist literature, then sent letters filled with racial slurs to people who dared to speak out against them. The same group also placed its calling cards on the windshields of people attending a local racial-harmony meeting. All of these events occurred within a two-month period in the fall of 1992.

Such events are not peculiar to the town where I live or the campus where I teach. Rather, they are simply the local manifestations of the national trend described in the Klanwatch report. Similar events occurred in other cities and towns and on other college campuses throughout the United States. The results were some-

times deadly: In St. Louis, for example, two white men ran over a black man with their pickup truck for no reason other than that the man was black. And as everyone knows, the violence of 1992 took other forms as well. In Los Angeles, the deadliest riot of the twentieth century followed the acquittal of four police officers in the videotaped beating of Rodney King. Serious outbreaks of violence occurred in several other cities as well. Preliminary studies indicate that this violence was directed toward individual civilians to a far greater extent than was the case in the riots of the 1960s (McPhail, 1993).

Hate violence in 1992 was not always racial. The year brought record numbers of attacks on gay and lesbian Americans, including a fatal beating administered to a gay man by off-duty naval enlistees. Nor was the violence limited to the United States. In fact, America's intergroup violence, although the worst in decades, paled in comparison with that of a number of other countries. In former Yugoslavia, for example, systematic genocide was practiced in ways that brought chilling reminders of Nazi Germany, and in Germany itself, violent attacks against Turks, Gypsies, refugees from former Yugoslavia, and other minorities and immigrants caused scores of deaths and left hundreds of people homeless.

The fact is that conflict, discrimination, and inequality among racial and ethnic groups are deeply entrenched in American society, as they are in many other multiethnic and multiracial societies. In the United States, this remains true in spite of a decline in open discrimination; in spite of hundreds of civil rights laws, ordinances, and court decisions at the federal, state, and local levels; and in spite of the fact that conditions have substantially improved for some minority group members. In spite of all this, the aggregate pattern remains one of racial and ethnic inequality. This is true whether we talk about income, education, political representation, or any other measure of status in American society. Furthermore, for many minority group members conditions have not improved, and for some they have actually gotten worse.

These basic facts carry serious implications for all Americans. For some minority group members, they mean that life is a day-to-day struggle for survival. For all minority group members, they mean facing socially imposed disadvantages that they would not face if they were white. For majority group members, they mean the continued dilemma of living in a society that preaches equality but in large part fails to practice it. Furthermore, they mean facing the near certainty of turmoil and social upheaval in the future. As long as the fundamental inequalities that have led to past and present upheavals remain, the potential—indeed the strong likelihood—of future turmoil remains. All that is needed is the right mix of precipitating social conditions to set off the spark. The conclusion is inescapable: The issue of racial and ethnic relations will somehow affect the life of nearly every American in the coming years.

Another reason that racial and ethnic relations continue to be of concern can be found in the changing racial and ethnic composition of the United States. For a number of reasons, a growing percentage of the American population will be composed of racial and ethnic minorities in coming years. Of particular importance is the growing percentage of Spanish-speaking ethnic groups. Increasingly, the United States—particularly in certain regions—may become a bilingual society. This is something largely new to this country, a situation that will require sizable adjustments. It will also require a greater understanding by all Americans of the ethnic and cultural issues that are raised when two linguistically different groups interact in one society.

As America becomes more diverse—and as it continues to face increased international competition in the world economy—every American has a growing economic stake in reducing racial inequality in the United States. Today, the talents of millions of Americans are being wasted. Poor education, concentrated poverty, and rising unemployment in the country's predominantly black and Hispanic inner cities are making it increasingly difficult for the people who live there to develop the skills needed in today's high-tech economic environment. Conditions on many Indian reservations, as well as for rural African Americans, Hispanics, and poor whites, are as bad or worse. Moreover, the situation of those people of color who live in areas of concentrated poverty has become increasingly bleak since the 1970s (Wilson, 1987, 1991a; Massey, 1990). In addition to the potential for social turmoil that this creates, it has a direct bearing on our present and future productivity. Today, about 25 percent of the American population is composed of people of color (African Americans, Hispanic or Latino Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans). By 2020, this is projected to increase to 35 percent, and by 2050, to over 45 percent (O'Hare, 1992; Passel and Edmonston, 1992; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992a). As pointed out in the *Workforce 2000* report (U.S. Department of Labor, 1987), failing to fully utilize the human resources of a group this large will seriously harm America's productivity precisely at a time when international competition is at an all-time high—and continuing to increase. The consequences of such a decline in competitiveness in today's global economy are clear: Fewer people will buy American products, with the result that jobs will be lost and wages will fall. This will affect all Americans, not just people of color. One recent study estimated the cost of racial discrimination to the U.S. economy (in the form of reduced gross domestic product) in 1991 at \$215 billion—nearly ten times what it was in 1967 (Brimmer, 1993). And as the minority share of the population grows and international competition intensifies, this cost can only grow.

For all of these reasons, there remains a critical need for understanding racial and ethnic dynamics in America. The goal of this book is to contribute to such understanding. In the remainder of this chapter, we describe the emphases of the book and the approaches to the study of racial and ethnic relations that it stresses. Finally, we define and discuss some basic concepts that will be used throughout the book and that one must thoroughly understand to study racial and ethnic relations effectively.

EMPHASIS AND APPROACH OF THE BOOK

As is evident by now, the primary emphasis of this book is on race and ethnic relations in the United States. Nonetheless, this is not exclusively a book about American race relations. The fundamental objective of the book is to understand the dynamics of race and ethnic relations. This could never be accomplished by looking at only one society. How ethnic groups interact with one another varies from one society to another according to the social, economic, cultural, and political conditions found in those societies. Racial and ethnic relations—including those in America—can therefore be best understood by comparing what has happened in different times and places. Moreover, patterns and problems similar to some of those in the United States are evident in a number of other industrialized countries with diverse populations. For all these reasons, the emphasis of this book on the American situ-

ation cannot and does not exclude a comparative analysis of racial and ethnic relations in other societies.

A second major characteristic of this book is that it is concerned with analysis and explanation rather than merely description. In other words, the major concern is with understanding *why* race relations work the way they do, not merely with describing the pattern of American race relations or with presenting a detailed descriptive history of various ethnic groups. (The size of the book would not permit us to do justice to the varied and rich histories of the multiplicity of American ethnic groups, in any case.)¹ If we are to understand and deal with racial and ethnic problems, we must know not only what those problems are, but how they developed and what the social forces are that cause them to persist. Thus, ours is a search for principles and regularities in patterns of ethnic relations: For example, what are the social conditions under which segregation develops? What changes are associated with declines in segregation? Only through this approach, which stresses the *whys* of race relations, can we begin to understand and deal with the problems we face today.

A third important characteristic of this book is that it will enable us to examine race and ethnic relations on both the individual and societal levels. Some people who study race relations look mainly at the behaviors and prejudices of individuals, asking why a person is prejudiced and what we can do about it. Others look mainly at groups and societies, stressing economic and political systems or such trends as urbanization and industrialization, asking how these large-scale factors influence the interaction of the ethnic groups in a society. This book begins at the individual level then moves to analyzes on a larger scale. We shall examine theory and research about individual thinking and behavior regarding race and ethnicity, then theories and research about the larger societal factors and their relationship to race and ethnicity. Having laid this groundwork, we will consider the status of various racial and ethnic groups in American society today and the ways in which major American social institutions influence the status of these groups. The book concludes with an examination of contemporary trends in majority-minority relations and issues likely to shape future intergroup relations in the United States.

BASIC TERMS AND CONCEPTS

In any field of study, one must understand certain terms and concepts to make sense of the subject. The field of racial and ethnic relations is certainly no exception. Unfortunately, in this field more than most, any particular term may be given a wide variety of meanings by different scholars. Therefore, it is probably impossible to come up with definitions on which all would agree. Still, we must know what is meant by the terms we are using. Accordingly, we present the following definitions with the understanding that

1. It is unlikely that every social scientist who studies race and ethnic relations would agree on all of these definitions, or on any set of definitions.

¹For those interested in historical information on a wide variety of racial and ethnic groups in America, an excellent source is the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Thernstrom et al., 1980).

2. The definitions, insofar as possible, reflect current trends in common usage among those who study race and ethnic relations.
3. The reasons for using a particular definition will be explained.
4. The definitions are stated in such a way that, once they are understood, it should be quite possible for any reader to say who or what fits the definition and who or what does not.

Race and Ethnicity

A **race** can be defined as a group of people who (1) are generally considered to be physically distinct in some way, such as skin color, hair texture, or facial features, from other groups and (2) are generally considered by themselves and/or others to be a distinct group. Thus, the concept of race has two components: physical and social. The physical component involves the fact that every race is generally regarded as being somehow different in appearance from other races. The social component involves group identity: The group must in some way be recognized by its own members or by others as a distinct group, or at least as having some characteristics (physical and perhaps other characteristics) in common. Without such social recognition, a group of people will not be identified as a race.

This sense of the term conflicts with that used by many members of the general public (and, at one time, many scientists as well). **Race was considered entirely a matter of physical or biological characteristics**, something that is genetically determined. Although it is true, as we have seen, that race is *partly* a matter of physical characteristics, that it is not entirely physical or genetic can be readily shown. The best illustration of this is the inability of geneticists, anthropologists, or sociologists to agree on how many races there are in the world's population. The estimates range anywhere from the common notion of three races (black, white and yellow) to thirty-four races (Dobzhansky, 1962) to over a hundred. Furthermore, the particular physical characteristics that are used to define a race are arbitrary and vary from one classification scheme to the next. Finally, long-term interbreeding between races has in many cases made the notion of race as a discrete biological category meaningless. All in all, it is hard to avoid concluding that social factors are at least as important as physical or biological ones in determining the meaning of race. Physical characteristics partially define race, but only in the context of a decision by society to consider those physical characteristics relevant. This illustrates an important fact: Race is a *socially constructed concept*. In other words, race is meaningless as a purely biological concept; rather, it is based upon societal choices about what physical characteristics to pay attention to and how to classify people on the basis of those characteristics. Such societal choices can and do vary over time and from one society to another.

Some social scientists make a distinction between a race and a **racial group**. This distinction is illustrated by Spencer (1979, p. 274), who presents the example of an Eskimo girl raised in a white American family in the South, never exposed to Eskimo culture or society. This girl's race might be considered Eskimo (she has physical features and parentage that would define her as Eskimo), but she is not part of Eskimo society or culture and would not, on first contact with Eskimo society, understand it any more than anyone else in the South would. She would not, therefore, be considered a member of the Eskimo racial group. Thus, a racial group can be defined as a group of people of the same race who interact with one another and who develop some common cultural characteristics. In practice, however, many sociolo-