NINTH EDITION

Race and Ethnicity in the UNITED STATES

RICHARD T. SCHAEFER

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NINTH EDITION

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To my grandchildren, Matilda and Reuben:
May they grow to flourish
in our multicultural society

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Brief Contents

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Preface

The first two decades of the twenty-first century have witnessed significant social changes. The Latino population in the United States is now larger than the African American population, with the Asian Pacific American population growing faster than either. Meanwhile, White non-Hispanic youth have become a numerical minority when compared to other racial and ethnic groups. Alongside these demographic changes, a series of events have underscored the diversity of the American people.

People cheered on May 1, 2011, upon hearing that Osama bin Laden had been found and killed. However, many American Indian people were troubled to learn that the military had assigned the code name "Geronimo" to the infamous terrorist. The Chiricahua Apache of New Mexico were particularly disturbed to learn that their freedom fighter's name was used in this manner.

Barack Obama, the son of an immigrant, became the first African American president, but Mr. Obama also recognizes other aspects of his ethnicity. On an official state visit to Ireland while president, he made a side trip to the village of Moneygall in County Offaly. His great-great-grandfather Falmouth Kearney, a shoemaker's son, came to the United States from County Offaly in 1850.

Race and ethnicity are an important part of the national landscape and the national agenda. Forty years ago, when writing the first edition of this book, I noted that race is not a static phenomenon. Although race is always a part of the social reality, specific aspects of race and ethnicity change. In the first edition, I noted the presence of a new immigrant group, the Vietnamese, and described the early efforts to define affirmative action. Today, in an increasingly diverse society, we seek to describe the growing presence of Salvadorans, Haitians, Nigerians, Tongans, Somalis, Hmong, and Arab Americans in the United States.

Specific issues may change over time, but they continue to play out against a backdrop of discrimination that is rooted in the social structure and changing composition of the population as influenced by immigration and reproduction patterns. In addition, the breakup of the Soviet Union and changes in Middle Eastern governments have made ethnic, language, and religious divisions even more significant sources of antagonism between and within nations. The old ideological debates about communism and capitalism have been replaced by emotional divisions over religious dogma and cultural traditions.

New to the Ninth Edition

This edition of *Race and Ethnicity in the United States* continues to take full advantage of the most recent data releases from the U.S. Census Bureau through the annual American Community Survey (ACS). The ACS allows each new edition of the text to include updated information (without the ACS, data would be updated only once a decade, based on the results of the ten-year census). Thanks to the ACS, readers will find updated and revised tables, figures, maps, and Internet sources throughout the ninth edition. As one example of the thorough updating, we note that more than 30 percent of the citations in the references are new since the last edition.

Chapter-by-Chapter Changes

As with all previous editions, every line, every source, and every number have been checked for their currency. The goal of *Race and Ethnicity in the United States* has always been to provide the most current information. The following list details the major changes in each chapter.

Chapter 1, Exploring Race and Ethnicity

- New opening examples
- Latest American Community Survey 2014–2015 data update all statistics in the chapter
- Expulsion example of Muslim and Nepali-speaking Bhutanese; also noted in their resettling in Manchester, New Hampshire, in chapter-opening example
- 2014 report on trends in school segregation
- Resistance example added of #BlackLives Matter movement
- Intersectionality coverage added
- Key Terms added: *colorism, eugenics, Eurocentrism, intersectionality*

Chapter 2, Prejudice

- New figure on the rise of hate groups
- Latest census data update all income and wealth statistics
- White privilege illustrated by recent study of bus drivers granting or not granting free bus rides
- Latest reports on racial profiling in traffic stops and New York City ending surveillance program in Muslim neighborhoods
- Recent data on minority representation on television and in motion pictures
- New Research Focus: Virtual Prejudice and Anti-Prejudice
- New Speaking Out: "What Can I Do at Work?" by Southern Poverty Law Center
- Updated figure on foreign-born workers
- Key Term added: *microaggressions*

Chapter 3, Discrimination

- New material on restricting voting rights through banning ex-felons and requiring photo ID
- Latest data on income and wealth by race, ethnicity, and gender
- Latest data on ID voting requirements
- New Research Focus: The Sharing Economy—Another Way to Discriminate
- New Speaking Out: "May America Be True to Her Dream," by Nihad Awad
- The water supply in Flint, Michigan, as an example of the need for environmental justice
- 2016 *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin* Supreme Court decision
- Impact of the Great Recession on Black home ownership
- Key Term added: *sharing economy*

Chapter 4, Immigration

- New opener describing immigration in three towns
- Two figures and map on immigration updated through 2015
- New Speaking Out: "My Parents Were Deported," by Diane Guerrero
- Proposed "DREAMers" policy outlined
- Updated table on immigration benefits and concerns
- New cartoon on immigration reform
- New Research Focus: Arranged Marriages in America
- Expanded section on refugees
- Table on refugees updated to 2015 and contrasted with 2005

- Specific suggestions on how one can help refugees
- Key Terms added: *arranged marriage, sanctuary city*

Chapter 5, Ethnicity, Whiteness, and Religion

- Chapter title rephrased to reflect emphasis on concept of Whiteness
- Initial section "Unpacking Ethnicity" reorganized
- New table on religious groups and political party affiliations
- Impact of recent immigration on Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in the United States
- New section on company exemptions within discussion of the courts and religion
- Key Term added: *respectable bigotry*

Chapter 6, The Nation as a Kaleidoscope

- New table: lists of top ten states with largest concentrations of minorities
- Updated figures on minority school population, changes in schooling, income, and life expectancy
- New Speaking Out: "Black Picket Fences," by Mary Pattillo
- Expanded material on interaction to include online communication

Features to Aid Students

Several features are included in the text to facilitate student learning. **Learning Objectives** at the start of each chapter provide a road map for previewing and mastering chapter content, and an introductory section alerts students to important issues and topics to be addressed in the chapter. Periodically throughout the book, the **Spectrum of Intergroup Relations**, first presented in Chapter 1, is repeated to reinforce major concepts while addressing the unique social circumstances of individual racial and ethnic groups.

Each chapter ends with a **Conclusion** and a **Summary of Learning Objectives**. **Key Terms** are highlighted in boldface when they are introduced and are listed again at the end of each chapter. This edition also includes Review Questions and Critical Thinking Questions at the end of each chapter. The **Review Questions** test students on their understanding of the chapter's major points; the **Critical Thinking Questions** encourage students to think more deeply about some of the major issues raised in the chapter. An extensive illustration program, which includes maps and political cartoons, expands the text discussion and provokes thought. An end-of-book **Glossary** provides definitions of Key Terms.

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INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL AND TEST BANK
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POWERPOINT PRESENTATIONS The PowerPoint presentations are informed by instructional and design theory. You have the option in every chapter of choosing from Lecture and Illustration PowerPoints. The Lecture PowerPoint slides follow the chapter outline and feature images from the textbook integrated with the text. The Illustration PowerPoint slides include each chapter's figures, maps, and images. They are available to adopters via www.pearsonhighered.com/irc.

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About the Author

Richard T. Schaefer grew up in Chicago at a time when neighborhoods were going through transitions in ethnic and racial composition. He found himself increasingly intrigued by what was happening, how people were reacting, and how these changes were affecting neighborhoods and people's jobs. In high school, he took a course in sociology. His interest in social issues caused him to gravitate to more sociology courses at Northwestern University, where he eventually received a B.A. in sociology. He later received his M.A. and Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago.

Dr. Schaefer is the author of the fifteenth edition of *Racial and Ethnic Groups* (Pearson, 2019) and *Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the USA* (Pearson, 2014). He is the general editor of the three-volume *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society* (2008). He is also the author of the thirteenth edition of *Sociology: A Brief Introduction* (2019), the fourth edition of *Sociology: A Modular Approach* (2015), and the seventh edition of *Sociology Matters* (2018). He coauthored with William Zellner the ninth edition of Extraordinary Groups (2015). Schaefer's books have been translated into Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish as well as adapted for use in Canadian colleges and universities.

Chapter 1
Exploring Race and Ethnicity

Nature Collection/Alamy Stock Photo

Learning Objectives

1.1 Explain how people are placed in groups.

1.2 Explain the social construction of race.

1.3 Describe how sociology helps us understand race and ethnicity.

1.4 Explain how subordinate groups are created.

1.5 Summarize the consequences of subordinate-group status.

1.6 Describe how resistance and change occur in racial and ethnic relations.

1.7 Define and describe intersectionality.

"Please pass the momos." That's not something you hear very often, unless you're in Bhutan, a small Asian country tucked in the Himalayas—or in Manchester, New Hampshire. In that New England state capital, one finds a growing population of Bhutanese who love their momos—steamed dumplings filled with pork or chicken, which substitutes for the yak or water buffalo meat used back in Bhutan. This refugee group and their children in Manchester are followers of Hinduism and speakers of Nepali. They were forced out of Bhutan in the 1990s by the Buddhist-controlled monarchy.

It was not a quick journey. Most of the over 100,000 Bhutanese refugees spent 20 years in refugee camps before being relocated, with the majority coming to the United States in 2008, just in time for the Great Recession. Initial adjustment in Manchester was challenging, and the reception by locals was not always warm. Within just three years, the 2,000 new arrivals had higher employment rates, higher high-school graduation rates, and lower welfare rates than long-term residents in this city of 110,000. On a rundown street, the Himalayan General Store sells cracked corn, mango pickles, flattened rice, and bags of shiny black kalonji seeds. These Bhutanese Americans will never be the same, and neither will Manchester.

St. Paul, the capital of Minnesota, would seem an unlikely place for racial strife—after all, isn't Minnesota supposed to be the home of liberals and easygoing, friendly people? Yet, in 2016, Philando Castile, a 32-year old African American school nutritionist, was shot dead in his car by a police officer named Jeronimo Yanez, a 28-year-old Mexican American. Castile's death came after he told the officer he was licensed to carry a weapon and was carrying one in his pants pocket. Castile's girlfriend, who was a passenger in the car, along with their four-year-old daughter, recorded much of the incident. Eventually the officer was charged with manslaughter, but not before many protest marches, some of which came close to the governor's mansion. During the period of protests, many were surprised to learn that neighborhood and school segregation in St. Paul have escalated over the past 20 years. Rates of Black incarceration were among the highest in the nation. The number of African Americans living in high-poverty areas in St. Paul increased by 50 percent from 2000 to 2012.

Trying to make sense of the divide and calm frantic people, African American artist Jeremiah Ellison stepped in. The night after the shooting, he mobilized community residents to create murals on the side of an abandoned warehouse to honor the slain Castile. Deciding to become even more involved in finding solutions, he decided to run for city council in 2017. He grew up in a politically aware household—his father is U.S. Congressman Keith Ellison, the first Muslim to be elected to the House of Representatives.

Diane Bondareff/Invision/AP Images

Hamdi Ulukaya has made a name for himself both as a successful businessman (he is the founder of the successful Chobani yogurt business) and for being an outspoken supporter of immigrants and refugees.

Hamdi Ulukaya is a Turkish immigrant of Kurdish descent. He arrived in the United States in 1994 and started to make and sell feta cheese based on a family recipe. In 2005, using a Small Business Administration loan, he took over a shuttered yogurt plant in upstate New York and transformed and expanded it into the company now known as Chobani. The company employs 2,000 people and has annual sales of $1.5 billion. It is estimated that Ulukaya, the CEO, is worth close to $2 billion.

At a time when many people in the United States were growing suspicious of Muslims—especially Muslim immigrants—Ulukaya decided that he and his company would facilitate immigrant resettlement. His

company actively recruits refugees and offers them English-language classes, along with translators in 11 languages. Despite strong criticism from anti-immigrant activists, Ulukaya has held to his position, pointing to the success of the immigrants working for him. Ulukaya joined Bill Gates and other wealthy people in 2015 by signing the Giving Pledge, which commits them to giving away at least half their money to philanthropic causes (Gelles 2016; Halpern and McKibben 2014; Rhee 2016).

Households upended, suspicion of newcomers, starting over in a new land, violence, community action, hard work, and economic success for immigrants are all aspects of race and ethnicity in the United States today.

One aspect of the struggle for equality is the continuing effort to identify strategies and services to assist minorities in their struggle to overcome prejudice and discrimination. Among the beneficiaries of programs aimed at racial and ethnic minorities are White Americans, many of whom are far from affluent and have also experienced challenges in their lives.

The election and reelection of the nation's first African American president, Barack Obama (who incidentally carried three states of the former Confederacy), presents the temptation to declare that racial inequality is a thing of the past or that racism in the United States is limited to a few troublemakers. Progress has been made, and expressions of explicit racism are rarely tolerated, yet challenges remain for immigrants of any color and for racial, ethnic, and religious minorities (Massey 2011).

The United States is a diverse nation and is becoming even more so, as Table 1.1 shows. In 2015, approximately 41 percent (more than one-third) of the U.S. population were racial minorities or Hispanic.

As Figure 1.1 shows, between 2014 and 2060, the Black, Hispanic (or Latino), Asian Pacific Americans, and Native American population is expected to increase to about 56 percent of the U.S.

Figure 1.1 U.S. Population by Race and Ethnicity, 2014 and 2060 (Projected)

According to projections by the Census Bureau, the proportion of U.S. residents who are White non-Hispanics will decrease significantly by the year 2060. By contrast, the proportion of both Hispanic Americans and Asian Pacific Americans will rise significantly.

SOURCE: Author estimates based on U.S. Census data in Colby and Ortman, 2015:9.

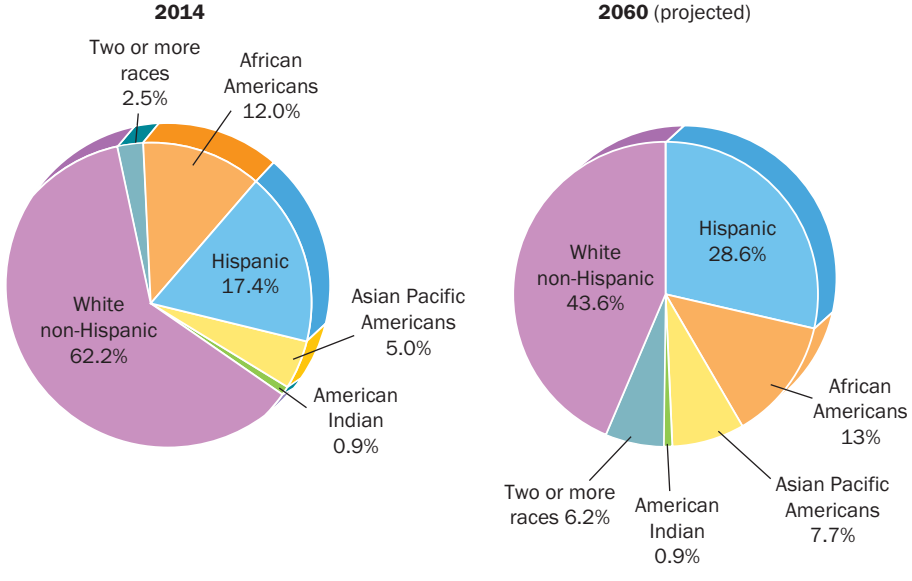


Table 1.1 Racial and Ethnic Groups in the United States, 2015

Classification	Number in Thousands	Percentage of Total Population
RACIAL GROUPS		
Whites (non-Hispanic)	188,568	58.7
Blacks/African Americans	40,695	12.7
Native Americans, Alaskan Natives	2,597	0.8
Asian Pacific Americans	21,118	7.0
Chinese	4,761	1.5
Asian Indians	3,982	1.2
Filipinos	3,899	1.2
Vietnamese	1,980	0.6
Koreans	1,822	0.6
Japanese	1,411	0.2
Pacific Islanders, Native Hawaiians	555	0.1
Other Asian Americans	2,708	0.5
Arab Americans	1,963	0.6
Two or more races	9,982	3.1
ETHNIC GROUPS		
White ancestry	144,960	
Germans	45,526	14.2
Irish	32,713	10.2
English	23,959	7.5
Italians	17,070	5.3
Poles	9,231	2.9
Scottish and Scots-Irish	8,492	2.6
French	7,969	2.5
Jews	7,200	1.8
Hispanics (or Latinos)	56,496	17.6
Mexican Americans	35,797	11.1
Puerto Ricans	5,373	1.7
Salvadorans	2,172	0.7
Cubans	2,107	0.7
Dominicans	1,873	0.6
Guatemalans	1,378	0.4
Colombians	1,082	0.3
Other Hispanics	6,764	2.1
TOTAL (ALL GROUPS)	321,419	

Note: Arab American population excluded from White total. All data are for 2015. Percentages do not total 100 percent, and when subcategories are added, they do not match totals in major categories because of overlap between groups (e.g., Polish American Jews or people of mixed ancestry such as Irish and Italian). Only the seven largest White ancestry groups listed.

SOURCE: American Community Survey 2016a: Tables B02001, B02018, B03001, B03001, B04006; Steinhardt Social Research Institute 2016.

population. This trend toward "majority-minority" became particularly noticeable in 2011, when Latino and non-White babies outnumbered White newborns for the first time in the United States (Bureau of the Census 2012d).

How Are We Grouped?

1.1 Explain how people are placed in groups.

In every society, not all groups are treated or viewed equally. Identifying a subordinate group or a minority in a society seems to be a simple task. In the United States, the groups readily identified as minorities—Blacks and Native Americans, for example—are outnumbered by non-Blacks and non-Native Americans. However, having minority status is not necessarily a result of being outnumbered. A social minority need not be a mathematical one. A **minority group** is a subordinate group whose members have significantly less control or power over their own lives than do the members of a dominant or majority group. In sociology, *minority* means the same as *subordinate*, and *dominant* is used interchangeably with *majority*.

Confronted with evidence that a particular minority in the United States is subordinate to the majority, some people respond, "Why not? After all, this is a democracy, so the majority rules." However, the subordination of a minority group involves more than its inability to rule over society. A member of a subordinate or minority group experiences a narrowing of life's opportunities—for success, education, wealth, the pursuit of happiness—that goes beyond any personal shortcoming he or she may have. A minority group does not share in proportion to its numbers what a given society, such as the United States, defines as valuable.

Being superior in numbers does not guarantee a group has control over its destiny or ensure majority status. In 1920, the majority of people in Mississippi and South Carolina were African Americans. Yet African Americans did not have as much control over their lives—let alone control of the states in which they lived—as did Whites. Throughout the United States today are counties or neighborhoods in which the majority of people are African American, Native American, or Hispanic, but White Americans are the dominant force. Nationally, 50.7 percent of the population is female, but men still dominate positions of authority and wealth well beyond their numbers.

A minority or subordinate group has five characteristics: unequal treatment, distinguishing physical or cultural traits, involuntary membership, awareness of subordination, and in-group marriage (Wagley and Harris 1958):

1. Members of a minority experience unequal treatment and have less power over their lives than members of a dominant group have over theirs. Prejudice, discrimination, segregation, and even extermination create this social inequality.
2. Members of a minority group share physical or cultural characteristics such as skin color or language that distinguish them from the dominant group. Each society has its own arbitrary standard for determining which characteristics are most important in defining dominant and minority groups.
3. Membership in a dominant or minority group is not voluntary: People are born into the group. A person does not choose to be African American or White.

4. Minority-group members have a strong sense of group solidarity. William Graham Sumner, writing in 1906, noted that people make distinctions between members of their own group (the in-group) and everyone else (the out-group). When a group is the object of long-term prejudice and discrimination, the feeling of "us versus them" often becomes intense.
5. Members of a minority generally marry others from the same group. A member of a dominant group often is unwilling to join a supposedly inferior minority by marrying one of its members. In addition, the minority group's sense of solidarity encourages marriage within the group and discourages marriage to outsiders.

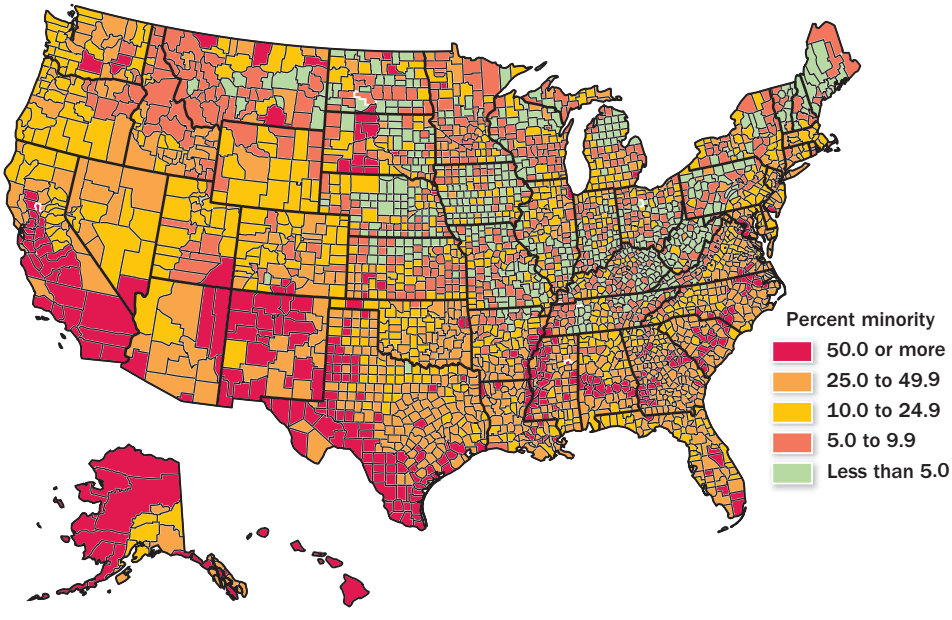
Although "minority" status is not about numbers, there is no denying that the White American majority is diminishing in size relative to the growing diversity of racial and ethnic groups, as Figure 1.2 illustrates.

Using available population projections, which are heavily influenced by estimating future immigration patterns, the White population will be outnumbered by other racial groups and Hispanics by 2044. The move to a more diverse nation—one in which no group is the numerical minority—will have social impact in everything from marriage patterns to housing, politics, health care delivery, and education (Colby and Ortman 2015:13).

Figure 1.2 Minority Population by County

In four states (California, Hawai'i, New Mexico, and Texas) and the District of Columbia, as well as in about one out of every nine counties, minorities constitute the numerical majority.

SOURCE: Data from Jones-Puthoff, 2013, slide 5.



Types of Minority Groups

There are four types of minority or subordinate groups. All four, except where noted, have the five properties previously outlined. The four criteria for classifying minority groups are race, ethnicity, religion, and gender.

RACIAL GROUPS The term **racial group** is reserved for minorities and the corresponding majorities that are socially set apart because of obvious physical differences. Notice the two crucial words in the definition: *obvious* and *physical*. What is obvious? Hair color? Shape of an earlobe? Presence of body hair? To whom are these differences obvious, and why? Each society defines what it finds obvious.

In the United States, skin color is one obvious difference. People in the United States have learned informally that skin color is important. We will return periodically in this book to the social importance that people attach to skin color. **Colorism** is the ranking or judging of individuals based on skin tone. In the United States, a binary categorization is often invoked of "Black" or "White," in which White people are usually advantaged. However, even within same-race categories, judgments are often made about people as being lighter or darker (Banton 2012; Norwood 2014).

Other societies use skin color as a standard but may have a more elaborate system of classification. In Brazil, where hostility between races is less prevalent than it is in the United States, numerous categories identify people on the basis of skin color or tone. In the United States, a person is Black or White. In Brazil, a variety of terms such as *cafuso, mazombo, preto*, and *escuro* are used to describe various combinations of skin color, facial features, and hair texture.

The designation of a racial group emphasizes physical differences such as skin tone, as opposed to cultural distinctions. In the United States, minority races include Blacks, Native Americans (or American Indians), Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, Arab Americans, Filipinos, Hawaiians, and other Asian peoples. The issue of race and racial differences has been an important one, not only in the United States but also throughout the entire sphere of European influence. We should not forget that Whites are a race, too. As we consider in Chapter 4, who is White has been subject to change over history; at one time, certain European groups were considered not worthy of being considered White. Partly to compete against a growing Black population, the "Whiting" of some European Americans has occurred. In Chapter 5, we consider how Italians and Irish, for all intents and purposes, were once considered not to be White by others.

Some racial groups also may have unique cultural traditions, as we can readily see in the many Chinatowns throughout the United States. For racial groups, however, the physical distinctiveness and not the cultural differences generally prove to be the barrier to acceptance by the host society. For example, Chinese Americans who are faithful Protestants and know the names of all the members of the Baseball Hall of Fame may be bearers of American culture. Yet these Chinese Americans are still part of a minority because they are seen as physically different.

ETHNIC GROUPS Ethnic minority groups are differentiated from the dominant group on the basis of cultural differences such as language, attitudes toward marriage and parenting, and food habits. **Ethnic groups** are groups set apart from others because of their national origin or distinctive cultural patterns.

Ethnic groups in the United States include a grouping that we call *Hispanics* or *Latinos*, which, in turn, includes Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other

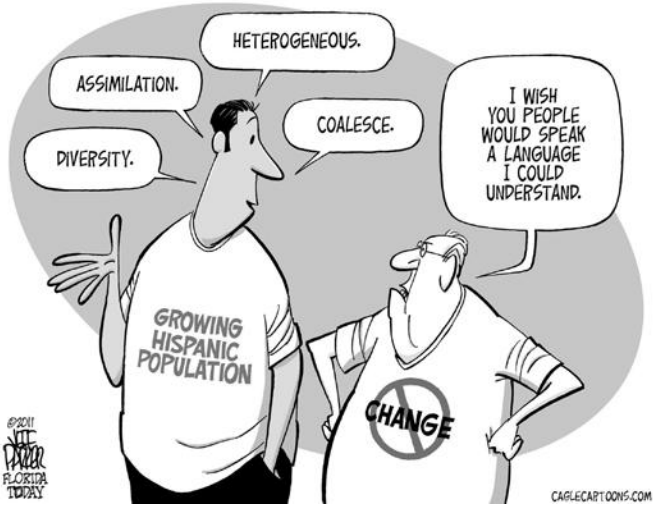
Latin American residents of the United States. Hispanics can be either Black or White, as in the case of a dark-skinned Puerto Rican who may be taken as Black in central Texas but may be viewed as Puerto Rican in New York City. The ethnic group category also includes White ethnic groups such as Irish Americans, Polish Americans, and Norwegian Americans.

The cultural traits that make groups distinctive usually originate from their homelands or, for Jews, from a long history of being segregated and prohibited from becoming a part of a host society. In the United States, an immigrant group may maintain distinctive cultural practices through associations, clubs, and worship. Ethnic enclaves such as a Little Haiti or a Greektown in urban areas also perpetuate cultural distinctiveness.

Ethnicity and race have been long recognized as important sources of differentiation. More than a century ago, African American sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois, addressing an audience at a world antislavery convention in London in 1900, called attention to the overwhelming importance of the color line throughout the world. The Speaking Out feature reprints remarks by Du Bois, who was the first Black person to receive a doctorate from Harvard and later helped to organize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Du Bois's observations give us a historic perspective on the struggle for equality. We can look ahead, knowing how far we have come and speculating on how much farther we have to go.

We also should appreciate the context of Du Bois's insights. He spoke of his "color-line" prediction in light of then-contemporary U.S. occupation of the Philippines and the relationship of "darker to lighter races" worldwide. So today, he would see race matters not only in the sporadic hate crimes we hear about but also in global conflicts (Roediger 2009).

RELIGIOUS GROUPS Association with a religion other than the dominant faith is the third basis for minority-group status. In the United States, Protestants, as a group, outnumber members of all other religions. Roman Catholics form the largest minority religion. For people who are not a part of the Christian tradition, such as followers of Islam, allegiance to their faith often is misunderstood and used to stigmatize them. This stigmatization became especially widespread and legitimated by government action in the aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001.



Jeff Parker/Cagle Cartoons

The changing landscape of the United States is hard to miss, but not all people equally embrace it.

Religious minorities include groups such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormons), Jehovah's Witnesses, Amish, and Buddhists. Cults or sects associated with practices such as animal sacrifice, doomsday prophecies, demon worship, or the use of snakes in a ritualistic fashion also constitute religious minorities. Jews are excluded from this category

Speaking Out

The Problem of the Color Line

W. E. B. Du Bois

MPI/Archive Photos/Getty Images

W. E. B. Du Bois

In the metropolis of the modern world, in this the closing year of the nineteenth century, there has been assembled a congress of men and women of African blood, to deliberate solemnly upon the present situation and outlook of the darker races of mankind. The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the question as to how far differences of race—which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and the texture of the hair—will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization.…

To be sure, the darker races are today the least advanced in culture according to European standards. This has not, however, always been the case in the past, and certainly the world's history, both ancient and modern, has given many instances of no despicable ability and capacity among the blackest races of men.

In any case, the modern world must remember that in this age when the ends of the world are being brought so near together, the millions of black men in Africa, America, and Islands of the Sea, not to speak of the brown and yellow myriads elsewhere, are bound to have a great influence upon the world in the future, by reason of sheer numbers and physical contact. If now the world of culture bends itself towards giving Negroes and other dark men the largest and broadest opportunity for education and self-development, then this contact and influence is bound to have a beneficial effect upon the world and hasten human progress. But if, by reason of carelessness, prejudice, greed, and injustice, the black world is to be exploited and ravished and degraded, the results must be deplorable, if not fatal—not simply to them, but to the high ideals of justice, freedom and culture which a thousand years of Christian civilization have held before Europe.…

Let the world take no backward step in that slow but sure progress which has successively refused to let the spirit of class, of caste, of privilege, or of birth, debar from life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness a striving human soul.

Let not color or race be a feature of distinction between White and Black men, regardless of worth or ability.…

Thus we appeal with boldness and confidence to the Great Powers of the civilized world, trusting in the wide spirit of humanity, and the deep sense of justice of our age, for a generous recognition of the righteousness of our cause.

Source: Du Bois 1900 [1969a]: 20–21, 23.

and placed among ethnic groups. Culture is a more important defining trait for Jewish people worldwide than is religious doctrine. Jewish Americans share a cultural tradition that goes beyond theology. In this sense, it is appropriate to view them as an ethnic group rather than as members of a religious faith.

GENDER GROUPS Gender is another attribute that creates dominant and subordinate groups. Men are the social majority; women, although numerous, are relegated to the

position of the social minority. Women are considered a minority even though they do not exhibit all the characteristics outlined earlier (e.g., there is little in-group marriage). Women encounter prejudice and discrimination and are physically distinguishable from men. Group membership is involuntary, and many women have developed a sense of sisterhood.

Women who are members of racial and ethnic minorities face special challenges to achieving equality. They suffer from greater inequality because they belong to two separate minority groups: a racial or ethnic group plus a subordinate gender group.

OTHER SUBORDINATE GROUPS This book focuses on groups that meet a set of criteria for subordinate status. People encounter prejudice or are excluded from full participation in society for many reasons. Racial, ethnic, religious, and gender barriers are the main ones, but there are others. Age, disability status, physical appearance, and sexual identity are among the factors that are used to subordinate groups of people.

The Social Construction of Race

1.2 Explain the social construction of race.

We see people all around us—some of whom may look quite different from us. Do these differences matter? The simple answer is no, but because so many people have for so long acted as if differences in physical characteristics, geographic origin, and shared culture do matter, distinct groups have been created in people's minds. Race has many meanings for many people. Often these meanings are inaccurate and based on theories that scientists discarded generations ago. As we will see, race is a socially constructed concept (Young 2003).

Biological Meaning

The term *race* as applied to human beings lacks any scientific basis. Distinctive physical characteristics for groups of human beings cannot be identified in the same way that scientists distinguish one animal species from another. The idea of **biological race** is based on the mistaken notion of a genetically isolated human group.

ABSENCE OF PURE RACES Even past proponents of the belief that sharp scientific divisions exist among humans had endless debates over what the world's races were. Given people's frequent migration, exploration, and invasions, pure genetic types have not existed for some time, if they ever did. There are no mutually exclusive races. Skin tone among African Americans varies tremendously, as it does among White Americans. There is even an overlapping of dark-skinned Whites and light-skinned African Americans. If we grouped people by genetic resistance to malaria and by fingerprint patterns, then Norwegians and many African groups would be the same race. If we grouped people by lactose intolerance, some Africans, Asians, and southern Europeans would belong to one group, and West Africans and northern Europeans would belong to another (Leehotz 1995; Shanklin 1994).

Biologically, no pure, distinct races exist. Despite this scientific fact, people at different times have advocated **eugenics**, the belief that human genetic quality can be improved by selective breeding. Eugenics has taken many forms, including sterilizing

people with mental illnesses, banning interracial marriages, and, as in the Holocaust, attempting to exterminate entire groups of people judged to be inferior.

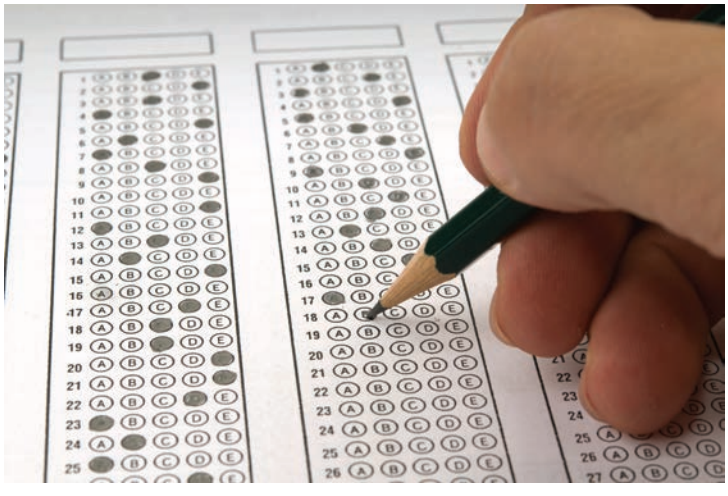
Research as a part of the Human Genome Project mapping human deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) has served to confirm genetic diversity only, with differences *within* traditionally regarded racial groups (e.g., Black Africans) much greater than those *between* groups (e.g., between Black Africans and Europeans). Contemporary studies of DNA on a global basis have determined that about 90 percent of human genetic variation is within "local populations," such as within the French or within the Afghan people. The remaining 10 percent of total human variation is what we think of today as constituting races and accounts for skin tone, hair texture, and nose shape (Cohen 2016; Feldman 2010).

It is no surprise that the question of whether races have different innate levels of intelligence has led to some of the most explosive controversies (Bamshad and Olson 2003; El-Haj 2007).

INTELLIGENCE TESTS Typically, intelligence is measured as an **intelligence quotient (IQ)**, which is the ratio of a person's mental age to his or her chronological age, multiplied by 100, with 100 representing average intelligence and higher scores representing greater intelligence. It should be noted that there is little consensus over just what intelligence is, other than as defined by such IQ tests. Intelligence tests are adjusted for a person's age so that 10-year-olds take a different test than 20-year-olds. Although research shows that certain learning strategies can improve a person's IQ, generally IQ remains stable as one ages.

A great deal of debate rages over the accuracy of IQ tests. Are they biased toward people who come to the tests with knowledge similar to that of the test writers? Skeptics argue that questions in IQ tests do not truly measure intellectual potential. The question of cultural bias in tests remains a concern. The most recent research shows that differences in intelligence scores between Blacks and Whites are almost eliminated when adjustments are made for social and economic characteristics (Lindsey 2013).

Back in 1994, an 845-page book unleashed another national debate on the issue of IQ. The research efforts of psychologist Richard J. Herrnstein and social scientist Charles Murray, published in *The Bell Curve* (1994), concluded that 60 percent of IQ is inheritable and that racial groups offer a convenient means to generalize about differences in intelligence. Unlike most other proponents of the race–IQ link, the authors offered policy suggestions that included ending welfare to discourage births among low-IQ poor women and changing immigration laws so that the average IQ in the United States is not diminished. Herrnstein and Murray even made generalizations about IQ levels among Asians and Hispanics—two groups that often intermarry—in the United States.



uwimages/Fotolia

In spite of *The Bell Curve* "research," it is not possible to generalize about absolute differences between groups, such as Latinos versus Whites, when almost half of Latinos in the United States marry non-Hispanics.

More than a decade later, the mere mention of the "bell curve" still signals a belief in a racial hierarchy, with Whites toward the top and Blacks near the bottom. The research presented then and repeated today points to the difficulty in definitions: What is intelligence, and what constitutes a racial group, given generations (and sometimes centuries) of intermarriage? How can we speak of definitive inherited racial differences if there have been intermarriages between people of every color? Furthermore, as people on both sides of the debate have noted, regardless of the findings, we would still want to strive to maximize the talents of each individual. All research shows that the differences within a group are much greater than any alleged differences between group averages.

Why does such IQ research occasionally reemerge when it is clear that the data are subject to different interpretations? The argument that "we" are superior to "them" is appealing to the dominant group. It justifies receiving opportunities that are denied to others. We can anticipate that the debate over IQ and the allegations of significant group differences will continue. Policymakers need to acknowledge the difficulty in treating race as a biologically significant characteristic.

Race as a Social Construction

If race does not distinguish humans from one another biologically, then why does it seem to be so important? It is important because of the social meaning people have attached to it. The 1950 (UNESCO) Statement on Race maintains that race is not a biological phenomenon (Montagu 1972:118).

Race is a social construction that benefits the oppressor, who defines which groups of people are privileged and which groups are not. The acceptance of race in a society as a legitimate category allows racial hierarchies to emerge to the benefit of the dominant "races." For example, inner-city drive-by shootings, which are mostly carried out by people of color, are viewed as a race-specific problem to be remedied by local officials cleaning up troubled neighborhoods. Yet school shootings, which are largely carried out by Whites, are viewed as a societal concern and placed on the national agenda.

People could speculate that if human groups have obvious physical differences, then they could also have corresponding mental or personality differences. No one disagrees that people differ in temperament, potential to learn, and sense of humor, among other characteristics. In its social sense, race implies that groups that differ physically also bear distinctive emotional and mental abilities or disabilities. These beliefs are based on the notion that humankind can be divided into distinct groups. We have already seen the difficulties associated with pigeonholing people into racial categories. Despite these difficulties, belief in the inheritance of behavior patterns and in an association between physical and cultural traits is widespread. When this belief is coupled with the belief that certain groups or races are inherently superior to others, the result is racism. **Racism** is a doctrine of racial supremacy that sees one race as superior to another (Bash 2001; Bonilla-Silva 1996).

We disproved the biological significance of race in the previous section. In modern, complex industrial societies, we find little adaptive usefulness in the presence or absence of prominent chins, the epicanthic eye fold associated with eastern and central Asian peoples, or the comparative amount of melanin in the skin. It is of little

importance that people are genetically different; what is important is that they approach one another with dissimilar perspectives. It is in the social setting that race is decisive. Race is significant because people have given it significance.

Race definitions are crystallized through what Michael Omi and Howard Winant (2015) called **racial formation**, a sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed. Those in power define groups of people in a way that depends on a racist social structure. As in the United States, these definitions can become systematic and embedded in many aspects of society for a significant length of time. No one escapes the extent and frequency to which we are subjected to racial formation. The creation of the reservation system for Native Americans in the late 1800s is an example of racial formation. The federal American Indian policy treated previously distinctive tribes as a single group.

With rising immigration from Latin America in the latter part of the twentieth century, the fluid nature of racial formation is evident. As if it happened in one day, people in the United States have spoken about the Latin Americanization of the United States or stated that the biracial order of Black and White has been replaced with a *triracial* order of Black, White, and Hispanic. Yet even this assertion is overly simplistic given the presence of tribal groups and growing numbers of Asian Pacific Americans. We examine the social context of the changing nature of diversity to understand how scholars have sought to generalize about intergroup relations in the United States and elsewhere (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2011; Biagas Jr. and Bianchi 2015).

In the southern United States, the social construction of race was known as the "one-drop rule." This tradition stipulated that if a person had even a single drop of "Black blood," that person was defined and viewed as Black. Today, children of biracial or multiracial marriages try to build their own identities in a country that seems intent on placing them in a single, traditional category—a topic we examine next.

Biracial and Multiracial Identity: Who Am I?

People are now more willing to accept and advance identities that do not fit neatly into mutually exclusive categories. That is, increasing numbers of people are identifying themselves as biracial or multiracial or, at the very least, explicitly viewing themselves as reflecting a diverse racial and ethnic identity. Barack Obama is perhaps the most visible person with a biracial background. President Obama has explicitly stated he sees himself as a Black man, although his mother was White and his White grandparents largely raised him. In 2010, he chose to check the "Black, African American, or Negro" box on his household's census form. Obviously, *biracial* does not mean *biracial identity.*

The diversity of the United States today has made it more difficult for many people to place themselves on the country's traditional and inflexible racial and ethnic landscape. This difficulty reminds us that racial formation continues to take place. As we have seen, the racial and ethnic landscape is constructed not naturally but socially and, therefore, is subject to change and different interpretations. Although our focus is on the United States, almost every nation faces the same challenges.

The United States tracks people by race and ethnicity for myriad reasons, ranging from attempting to improve the status of oppressed groups to diversifying classrooms. But how can we measure the growing number of people whose ancestry is mixed by anyone's definition? In the Research Focus feature, we consider how the U.S. Bureau of the Census deals with this issue.

Research Focus

Multiracial Identity

Approaching Census 2000, a movement began among those who were frustrated by government questionnaires that forced them to identify themselves by only one race. Take the case of Stacey Davis in New Orleans. The young woman's mother is Thai and her father is Creole, a blend of Black, French, and German. People often think Stacey is a Latina, Filipina, or Hawaiian. Officially, she has been "White" all her life because she looks White. Census 2000 for the first time gave people the option to check off one or more racial groups. (However, "biracial" or "multiracial" was not an option.) In other words, Census 2000 was the first time the U.S. government officially recognized different social constructions of racial identity—for example, that a person could be Asian American *and* White.

Most people did select one racial category in Census 2000 and again in 2010. Overall, approximately 9 million people, or 2.9 percent of the total population, selected two or more racial groups in 2010. As Figure 1.3 shows, White and African American was the most common multiple identity, with about 1.8 million people selecting that response. As a group, American Indians were the most likely to select a second category, and Whites were the least likely—further evidence that race is socially defined.

The possible real size of the multiracial population is significantly larger. A 2015 research report found that when one considers the background of grandparents and parents, the size of the U.S. multiracial population is closer to 7 percent, not 2.9 percent.

Complicating the situation is the fact that the Census asks people separately whether they are Hispanic or non-Hispanic. So a Hispanic person can be any race. In the 2010 Census, 94 percent of Hispanics indicated they were one race, but 6 percent indicated two or more races; this proportion was twice as high as it was among non-Hispanics. Therefore, Latinos are more likely than non-Hispanics to indicate a multiracial ancestry.

Changes in measuring race and ethnicity are not necessarily over. For Census 2020, bureau officials are considering adding categories for people of Middle Eastern, North African, or Asian descent. "Hispanic" may even be added as a "race category" along with White, African American, Asian, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Pacific Islander.

Regardless of government definitions, we know that some people do change their racial identity over time, choosing to self-identify as something different. This fluidity in individual self-definition could increase if the nation as a whole appears to be more accepting of biracial and multiracial categories.

The Census Bureau's decision does not necessarily resolve the frustration of hundreds of thousands of people, such as Stacey Davis, who daily face people trying to place them in some convenient racial or ethnic category. However, it does underscore the complexity of social construction and trying to apply arbitrary definitions to the diversity of the human population. A symbol of this social construction of race can be seen in Barack Obama, born of a White woman and a Black immigrant from Kenya. Although he has always identified himself as a Black man, it is worth noting that he was born in Hawai'i, a state in which 23.6 percent of people see themselves as more than one race, compared to the national average of 2.9 percent.

Sources: DaCosta 2007; Humes, Jones, and Ramirez 2011: 2–11; Pew Research Center 2015; Saperstein and Penner 2012; Saulny 2011; Welch 2011; Williams 2005.

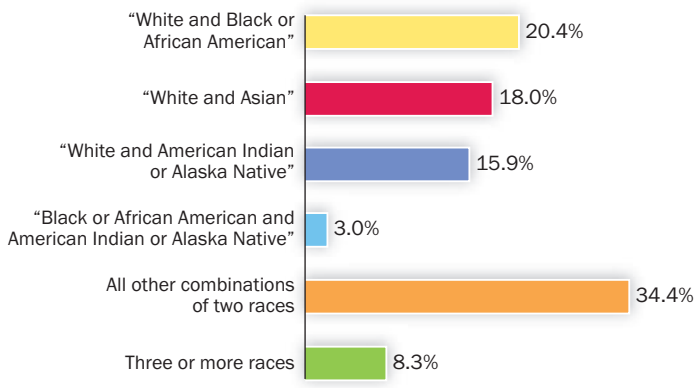


Figure 1.3 Multiple-Race Choices in Census 2010

This figure shows the percentage distribution of the 9 million people who chose two or more races (out of the total U.S. population of 309 million).

SOURCE: Data from Humes, Jones, and Ramirez 2011:10.

Besides the increasing respect for biracial identity and multiracial identity, group names undergo change as well. Within little more than a generation during the twentieth century, labels that were applied to subordinate groups changed from *Negroes* to *Blacks* to *African Americans*, from *American Indians* to *Native Americans* or *Native Peoples*. However, more Native Americans prefer the use of their tribal name, such as *Seminole*, instead of a collective label. The old 1950s statistical term of "people with a Spanish surname" has long been discarded, but there is disagreement over a new term: *Latino* or *Hispanic*. Like Native Americans, Hispanic Americans avoid such global terms and prefer their native names, such as *Puerto Ricans* or *Cubans*. People of Mexican ancestry indicate preferences for a variety of names, such as *Mexican American, Chicano*, or simply *Mexican*.

In the United States and other multiracial, multiethnic societies, **panethnicity**, the development of solidarity among related ethnic subgroups, has emerged. The coalition of tribal groups as Native Americans or American Indians to confront outside forces, notably the federal government, is one example of panethnicity. Hispanics or Latinos and Asian Americans are other examples of panethnicity. Although it is rarely recognized by the dominant society, the very terms *Black* and *African American* represent the descendants of many different ethnic or tribal groups, such as African groups of Fulani and Yoruba, as well as Afro Caribbeans (Brown and Jones 2015).

Is panethnicity a convenient label for "outsiders" or a term that reflects a mutual identity? Certainly, many people outside the group are unable or unwilling to recognize ethnic differences and prefer umbrella terms such as *Asian Americans*. For some small groups, combining with others is emerging as a useful way to make themselves heard, but there is always a fear that their own distinctive culture will become submerged. Although many Hispanics share the Spanish language and many are united by Roman Catholicism, only one in four native-born people of Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Cuban descent prefers a panethnic label to nationality or ethnic identity. Yet the growth of a variety of panethnic associations among many groups, including Hispanics, continues into the twenty-first century (Espiritu 1992; Mora 2014).

Another challenge to identity is **marginality**: the status of being between two cultures, as in the case of a person whose mother is a Jew and whose father a Christian. A century ago, Du Bois (1903) spoke eloquently of the "double consciousness" that Black Americans feel—being citizens of the United States but viewed as something quite apart

from the dominant social groups in society. Incomplete assimilation by immigrants also results in marginality. Although a Filipina woman migrating to the United States may take on the characteristics of her new host society, she may not be fully accepted and may, therefore, feel neither Filipina nor American. Marginalized individuals often encounter social situations in which their identities are sources of tension, especially when the expression of multiple identities is not accepted, and they find themselves being perceived differently in different environments, with varying expectations (Park 1928; Stonequist 1937; Townsend, Markos, and Bergsieker 2009).

Yet another type marginality is that experienced by children of biracial or multiracial parental backgrounds and children adopted by parents of a different racial or ethnic background. For these children or adolescents, developing their racial or ethnic identity requires them to negotiate society's desire to put labels on them (Fryer et al. 2012).

As we seek to understand diversity in the United States, we must be mindful that ethnic and racial labels are just that: labels that have been socially constructed. Yet these social constructs can have a powerful impact, whether they are self-applied or applied by others.

Sociology and the Study of Race and Ethnicity

1.3 Describe how sociology helps us understand race and ethnicity.

Before proceeding further with our study of racial and ethnic groups, let us consider several sociological perspectives that provide insight into dominant–subordinate relationships. **Sociology** is the systematic study of social behavior and human groups, so it is well suited to enlarging our understanding of intergroup relations. The study of race relations has a long, valuable history in sociology. Admittedly, it has not always been progressive; indeed, at times it has reflected the prejudices of society. In some instances, sociology scholars who are members of racial, ethnic, and religious minorities, as well as women, have not been permitted to make the contributions they are capable of making to the field.

Stratification by Class and Gender

That some members have unequal amounts of wealth, prestige, or power is a characteristic of all societies. Sociologists observe that entire groups may be assigned less or more of what a society values. The hierarchy that emerges is called stratification. **Stratification** is the structured ranking of entire groups of people that perpetuates unequal rewards and power in a society.

Much discussion of stratification identifies the **class**, or social ranking, of people who share similar wealth, according to sociologist Max Weber's classic definition. Mobility from one class to another is not easy to achieve. Movement into classes of greater wealth may be particularly difficult for subordinate-group members faced with lifelong prejudice and discrimination (Banton 2008; Gerth and Mills 1958).

Recall that the first property of subordinate-group standing is unequal treatment by the dominant group in the form of prejudice, discrimination, and segregation.

Stratification is intertwined with the subordination of racial, ethnic, religious, and gender groups. Race has implications for the way people are treated; so does class. One also must add the effects of race and class together. For example, being poor and Black is not the same as being either one by itself. A wealthy Mexican American is not the same as an affluent Anglo American or Mexican Americans as a group.

Public discussion of issues such as housing or public assistance often is disguised as a discussion of class issues, when, in fact, the issues are based primarily on race. Similarly, some topics such as the poorest of the poor or the working poor are addressed in terms of race when the class component should be explicit. Nonetheless, the link between race and class in society is abundantly clear (Winant 2004).

Another stratification factor that we need to consider is gender. How different is the situation for women as contrasted with men? Returning again to the first property of minority groups—unequal treatment and less control—women do not receive the same treatment as men. Whether the issue is jobs or poverty, education or crime, women typically have more difficult experiences. In addition, the situations women face in areas such as health care and welfare raise different concerns than they do for men. Just as we need to consider the role of social class to understand race and ethnicity better, we also need to consider the role of gender.

Theoretical Perspectives

Sociologists view society in different ways. Some see the world as a stable and ongoing entity. They note the endurance of a Chinatown, the general sameness of male–female roles over time, and other common aspects of intergroup relations. Other sociologists see society as composed of many groups in conflict, competing for scarce resources. Within this conflict, some people or even entire groups may be labeled or stigmatized in a way that blocks their access to what a society values. We examine three theoretical perspectives that are widely used by sociologists today: the functionalist, conflict, and labeling perspectives.

FUNCTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE In the view of a functionalist, a society is like a living organism in which each part contributes to the survival of the whole. The **functionalist perspective** emphasizes how the parts of society are structured to maintain its stability. According to this approach, if an aspect of social life does not contribute to a society's stability or survival, then it will not be passed on from one generation to the next.

It seems reasonable to assume that bigotry between races offers no such positive function, and so we ask: Why does it persist? Although agreeing that racial hostility is hardly to be admired, the functionalist would point out that it serves some positive functions from the perspective of the racists. We can identify five functions that racial beliefs have for the dominant group:

1. Racist ideologies such as the belief in the inherent inferiority of entire groups of people provide a moral justification for maintaining a society that routinely deprives a group of its rights and privileges.
2. Racist beliefs discourage subordinate people from attempting to question their lowly status and why they must perform "the dirty work"; to do so is to question the very foundation of the society.

3. Racial ideologies not only justify existing practices but also serve as a rallying point for social movements, as seen in the rise of the Nazi party or present-day Aryan movements.
4. Racist myths encourage support for the existing order. Some argue that if there were any major societal change, the subordinate group would suffer even greater poverty, and the dominant group would suffer lower living standards.
5. Racist beliefs relieve the dominant group of the responsibility to address the economic and educational problems faced by subordinate groups.

As a result, racial ideology grows when a value system (e.g., that underlying a colonial empire or slavery) is being threatened (Levin and Nolan 2011:115–145; Nash 1962).

Prejudice and discrimination also cause definite dysfunctions. **Dysfunctions** are elements of society that may disrupt a social system or decrease its stability. Racism is dysfunctional to a society, including to its dominant group, in six ways:

1. A society that practices discrimination fails to use the resources of all individuals. Discrimination limits the search for talent and leadership to the dominant group.
2. Discrimination aggravates social problems such as poverty, delinquency, and crime, and it places the financial burden of alleviating these problems on the dominant group.
3. Society must invest a good deal of time and money to defend the barriers that prevent the full participation of all members.
4. Racial prejudice and discrimination undercut goodwill and friendly diplomatic relations between nations. They also negatively affect efforts to increase global trade.
5. Social change is inhibited because change may assist a subordinate group.
6. Discrimination promotes disrespect for law enforcement and for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

That racism has costs for the dominant group as well as for the subordinate group reminds us that intergroup conflict is exceedingly complex (Bowser and Hunt 1996; Feagin, Vera, and Batur 2000; Rose 1951).

CONFLICT PERSPECTIVE In contrast to the functionalists' emphasis on stability, conflict sociologists see the social world as being in continual struggle. The **conflict perspective** assumes that the social structure is best understood in terms of conflict or tension between competing groups. The result of this conflict is significant economic disparity and structural inequality in education, the labor market, housing, and health care. Specifically, society is in a struggle between the privileged (the dominant group) and the exploited (the subordinate group). Such conflicts need not be physically violent and may take the form of immigration restrictions, real-estate practices, or disputes over cuts in the federal budget.

The conflict model is often used today to examine race and ethnicity because it readily accounts for the presence of tension between competing groups. According to the conflict perspective, competition takes place between groups with unequal amounts of economic and political power. The minorities are exploited or, at best,

ignored by the dominant group. The conflict perspective is more radical and activist than functionalism because conflict theorists emphasize social change and the redistribution of resources.

Those who follow the conflict approach to race and ethnicity have remarked repeatedly that the subordinate group is criticized for its low status. That the dominant group is responsible for subordination is often ignored. William Ryan (1976) calls this phenomenon **blaming the victim**: portraying the problems of racial and ethnic minorities as their fault rather than recognizing society's responsibility.

Conflict theorists consider the costs that come with residential segregation. Besides the more obvious cost of reducing housing options, racial and social class isolation reduces for people (including Whites) all available options in schools, retail shopping, and medical care. People, however, can travel to access services and businesses, and it is more likely that racial and ethnic minorities will have to make that sometimes costly and time-consuming trip.

Q-Images/Alamy Stock Photo

From the conflict perspective, the emphasis should not be primarily on the attributes of the individual (i.e., blaming the victim) but on structural factors such as the labor market, affordable housing, and availability of programs to assist people with addiction or mental-health issues.

LABELING THEORY Related to the conflict perspective and its concern over blaming the victim is **labeling theory**, a concept introduced by sociologist Howard Becker to explain why certain people are viewed as deviant while others engaging in the same behavior are not. Students of crime and deviance have relied heavily on labeling theory. According to labeling theory, a youth who misbehaves may be considered and treated as a delinquent (deviant) if he or she comes from the "wrong kind of family." Another youth from a middle-class family who commits the same misbehavior might be given another chance before being punished.

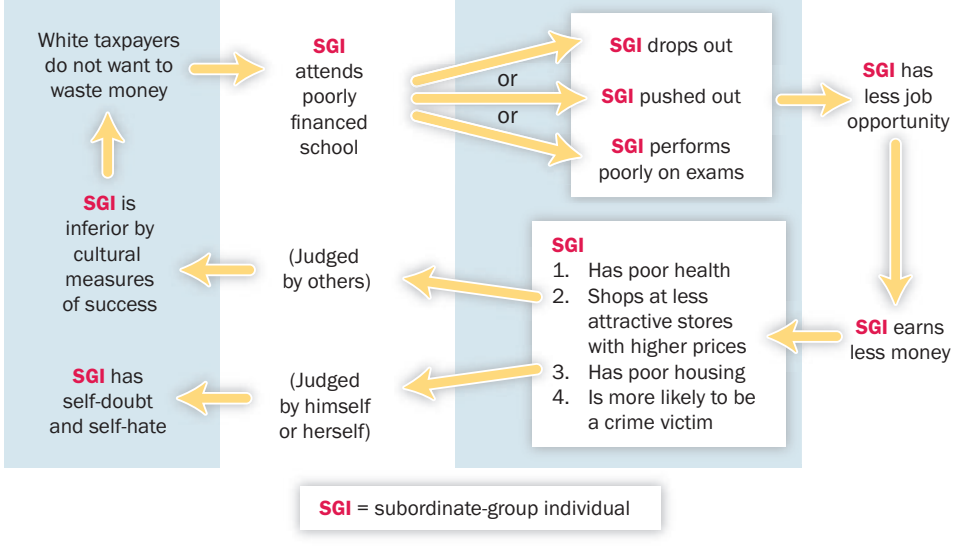
The labeling perspective directs our attention to the role that negative stereotypes play in race and ethnicity. The image that prejudiced people maintain of a group toward which they hold ill feelings is called a stereotype. **Stereotypes** are unreliable generalizations about all members of a group that do not take individual differences into account. The warrior image of Native American (American Indian) people is perpetuated by the frequent use of tribal names or even names such as "Indians" and "Redskins" for sports teams. This labeling is not limited to racial and ethnic groups, however. For instance, age can be used to exclude a person from an activity in which he or she is qualified to engage. Groups are subjected to stereotypes and discrimination in such a way that their treatment resembles that of social minorities. Social prejudice as a result of stereotyping exists toward ex-convicts, gamblers, alcoholics, transgender people, lesbians, gay men, prostitutes, people with AIDS, and people with disabilities, to name a few.

The labeling approach points out that stereotypes, when applied by people in power, can have negative consequences for people or groups. A crucial aspect of the relationship between dominant and subordinate groups is the prerogative of the dominant group to define society's values. U.S. sociologist William I. Thomas (1923), an early critic of racial and gender discrimination, saw that the "definition of the situation" could mold the personality of the individual. In other words, Thomas observed that people respond not only to the objective features of a situation (or person) but also to the meaning these features have for them. So, for example, a lone walker seeing a young Black man walking toward him may perceive the situation differently than if the oncoming person is an older woman. Sociologist Elijah Anderson (2011) has long seen passersby scrutinize him and other African American males more closely and suspiciously than they would women or White males. In other words, people can create false images, definitions, or stereotypes that have real social consequences.

In certain situations, we may respond to negative stereotypes and act on them, with the result that false definitions become accurate. This result is known as a **self-fulfilling prophecy**. A person described as having particular characteristics begins to display the very traits attributed to him or her. Thus, a child who is praised for being a natural comic may focus on learning to become funny to gain approval and attention. In other words, dominant-group definitions of minority groups may have a self-validating effect.

Self-fulfilling prophecies can be devastating for minority groups. For example, as Figure 1.4 shows, the subordinate-group individual may attend a poorly financed school that leaves him or her unequipped to perform jobs that offer high status and pay. He or she then gets a low-paying job and must settle for a much lower standard of living. The rationale of the dominant society is that these minority people 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

Figure 1.4 Self-Fulfilling Prophecy



(SGIs), who are then locked into society's inferior jobs. As a result, the false definition of the self-fulfilling prophecy becomes real. The subordinate group becomes inferior because it was defined at the start as inferior and was, therefore, prevented from achieving the levels attained by the majority.

Because of this vicious circle, talented SGIs may come to see the fields of entertainment and professional sports as their only hope for achieving wealth and fame. Thus, it is no accident that successive waves of Irish, Jewish, Italian, African American, and Hispanic performers and athletes have made their mark on culture in the United States. Unfortunately, these very successes may convince the dominant group that its original stereotypes were valid—that these are the only areas of society in which subordinate-group members can excel. Furthermore, athletics and the arts are highly competitive areas. For every LeBron James and Jennifer Lopez who makes it, many, many more SGIs will end up disappointed.

The Creation of Subordinate-Group Status

1.4 Explain how subordinate groups are created.

Three situations are likely to lead to the formation of a relationship between a subordinate group and the dominant group. A subordinate group can emerge through migration, annexation, and/or colonialism.

Migration

People who emigrate to a new country often find themselves a minority in that new country. Cultural or physical traits or religious affiliation may set the immigrant apart from the dominant group. Immigration from Europe, Asia, and Latin America has been a powerful force in shaping the fabric of life in the United States. **Migration** is the general term used to describe any transfer of population. **Emigration** (by emigrants) means leaving a country to settle in another country. **Immigration** (by immigrants) denotes coming into the new country. As an example, from Vietnam's perspective, the "boat people" were emigrants from Vietnam to the United States, but in the United States they were counted as U.S. immigrants.

Although some people migrate because they want to, leaving one's home country is not always voluntary. Millions have been transported as slaves against their will. Conflict and war have displaced people throughout human history. The twentieth century saw huge population movements caused by two world wars; revolutions in Spain, Hungary, and Cuba; the partition of British India; conflicts in Southeast Asia, Korea, and Central America; and confrontations between Arabs and Israelis. Involuntary migration guarantees a subordinate role for the migrating group. Although enslavement has a long history, all industrialized societies today prohibit slavery. Of course, many contemporary societies, including the United States, bear the legacy of slavery.

In all types of movement, even when a U.S. family moves from Ohio to Florida, but especially regarding emigration, two sets of forces operate: push factors and pull factors. *Push factors* discourage a person from remaining where he or she lives. Religious persecution and economic factors such as dissatisfaction with employment opportunities are

common push factors. *Pull factors* encourage a person to move to a new location. Pull factors that attract an immigrant to a particular country include a better standard of living, friends and relatives who have already emigrated, and a promised job.

Migration has taken on new significance in the twenty-first century partly because of **globalization**, or the worldwide integration of government policies, cultures, social movements, and financial markets through trade and the exchange of ideas. The increased movement of people and money across borders has made the distinction between temporary and permanent migration less meaningful. Even after they have relocated, people maintain global linkages to their former country and with a global economy (Richmond 2002).

Annexation

Nations, particularly during wars or as a result of war, incorporate or attach land through the process of **annexation**. This new land is contiguous to the nation's existing border, as in the German annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939 and in the U.S. Louisiana Purchase of 1803. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War in 1848, gave the United States California, Utah, Nevada, most of New Mexico, and parts of Arizona, Wyoming, and Colorado. The indigenous peoples in some of this huge territory were dominant in their society one day, only to become minority-group members the next.

When annexation occurs, the dominant power generally suppresses the language and culture of the minority. Such was the practice of Russia with the Ukrainians and Poles, and of Prussia with the Poles. Minorities often try to maintain their cultural integrity despite annexation. In the twentieth century, Poles inhabited an area divided into territories ruled by three countries but maintained their own culture across political boundaries.

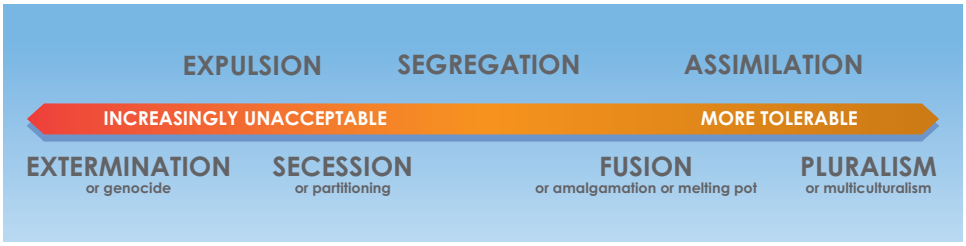
Colonialism

Colonialism has been the most common way for one group of people to dominate another. **Colonialism** is the maintenance of political, social, economic, and cultural dominance over people by a foreign power for an extended period (Bell 1991). Colonialism is rule by outsiders, but unlike annexation, it does not involve actual incorporation into the dominant people's nation. The long-standing control that was exercised by the British Empire over much of North America, parts of Africa, and India is an example of colonial domination.

Societies gain power over a foreign land through military strength, sophisticated political organization, and investment capital. The extent of power may also vary according to the dominant group's scope of settlement in the colonial land. Relations between the colonizing nation and the colonized people are similar to those between a dominant group and exploited subordinate groups. Colonial subjects generally are limited to menial jobs and the wages from their labor. The natural resources of their land benefit the members of the ruling class.

By the 1980s, colonialism, in the sense of political rule, had become largely a phenomenon of the past, yet industrial countries of North America and Europe still dominated the world economically and politically. Drawing on the conflict perspective, sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) described today's global economic system as very similar to the economic system that prevailed at the height of colonialism.

Figure 1.5 Spectrum of Intergroup Relations



Wallerstein advanced the **world systems theory**, which views the global economic system as divided between nations that control wealth and those that provide natural resources and labor. The limited economic resources available in developing nations worsen many of the ethnic, racial, and religious conflicts noted at the beginning of this chapter. In addition, the presence of massive inequality between nations only serves to encourage immigration generally and, more specifically, the movement of many of the most skilled workers from developing nations to the industrial nations.

The Spectrum of Intergroup Status

Relationships between and among racial, ethnic, and religious groups, as well as other dominate-subordinate relationships, are not static. These relations change over time, sometimes in one's own lifetime. To illustrate this idea, we can use the Spectrum of Intergroup Relations in Figure 1.5. These relationships can be viewed along a continuum from those largely unacceptable to the subordinate group (such as extermination and expulsion) to those that are more tolerated (such as assimilation and pluralism).

The Consequences of Subordinate-Group Status

1.5 Summarize the consequences of subordinate-group status.

A group with subordinate status faces several consequences. These differ in their degree of harshness, ranging from physical annihilation to absorption into the dominant group. In this section, we examine seven consequences of subordinate-group status: extermination, expulsion, secession, segregation, fusion, assimilation, and pluralism.

Extermination

The most extreme way to deal with a subordinate group is to eliminate it. **Genocide** is the deliberate, systematic killing of an entire people or nation. This term is often used in reference to the Holocaust, Nazi Germany's extermination of 12 million European Jews and other ethnic minorities during World War II. The **Holocaust** was the state-sponsored systematic persecution and annihilation of European Jews by Nazi Germany and its collaborators. The move to eliminate Jews from the European continent started slowly, with Germany gradually restricting the rights of Jews: for

example, by preventing them from voting, living outside the Jewish ghetto, and owning businesses. Much anti-Semitic cruelty was evident before the beginning of the war. *Kristallnacht*, or the "Night of Broken Glass," in Berlin on November 9, 1938, was a turning point toward genocide. Ninety Berlin Jews were murdered, hundreds of homes and synagogues were set on fire or ransacked, and thousands of windows were broken in Jewish-owned stores. Despite the obvious intolerance they faced, Jews desiring to immigrate were often turned back by government officials in Europe and the Americas. In 1994, a genocidal war between the Hutu and Tutsi people in Rwanda left 300,000 school-age children orphaned (Chirot and Edwards 2003; Naimark 2004; Institute for Jewish and Community Research 2008; DellaPergola 2007).

The term **ethnic cleansing** refers to the forced deportation of people, accompanied by systematic violence, including death. The term was introduced in 1992 when ethnic Serbs instituted a policy intended to "cleanse"—eliminate—Muslims from parts of Bosnia.

Genocide also appropriately describes White policies toward Native Americans in the nineteenth century. In 1800, the American Indian population in the United States was approximately 600,000; by 1850, it had been reduced to 250,000 through warfare with the U.S. Army, disease, and forced relocation to inhospitable environments, all of which led to the death of many Native Americans.

In 2008, the Australian government officially apologized for its past brutality toward and neglect of its native people, the Aboriginal population. The government's policies led to a quarter of Aboriginal children, the so-called lost generation, being taken from their families and placed in orphanages or foster homes, or being put up for adoption by White Australians, until the policies were finally abandoned in 1969 (Johnston 2008).

Expulsion

Dominant groups may choose to force a specific subordinate group to leave certain areas or even vacate a country. Expulsion, therefore, is another extreme consequence of minority-group status. European colonial powers in North America and eventually the U.S. government itself drove almost all Native Americans off their tribal lands and into unfamiliar territory.

Marc Greiner/Maxppp/ZUMApress/Newscom

Stigmatizing and expelling minority groups are not actions of the distant past. Here, police in Paris round up Roma (Gypsies) for subsequent expulsion from the country.

In the 1990s, the monarchy in Bhutan, which was sympathetic to Buddhists, expelled 107,000 Nepali-speaking Hindus from the southern part of the country. Languishing for nearly 20 years in refugee camps, they eventually were resettled. Some went to Australia or Canada, but the majority (approximately 70,000) came to the United States to communities like Manchester, New Hampshire, as described at the beginning of this chapter.

More recently, beginning in 2009, France expelled over 10,000 ethnic Roma (Gypsies), forcing them to return to their home countries of Bulgaria and Romania. This expulsion appeared to violate the European Union's (EU) ban against targeting ethnic groups, as well as the EU's policy of "freedom of movement." In 2011, the EU withdrew its threat of legal action against France when the government said it would no longer expel Roma in particular but only those living in "illegal camps," which many observers see as a technicality that allows France to get around long-standing human-rights policies.

Secession

A group ceases to be a subordinate group when it secedes to form a new nation or moves to an already-established nation, where it becomes dominant. After Great Britain withdrew from Palestine, Jewish people achieved a dominant position in 1948, attracting Jews from throughout the world to the new state of Israel. Similarly, Pakistan was created in 1947 during the Indian partition. The predominantly Muslim areas in the north became Pakistan, making India predominantly Hindu.

Throughout the twentieth century, minorities repudiated dominant customs, and they continue to do so. For example, the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Armenian peoples, not content to be merely tolerated by the majority, all seceded to form independent states after the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991. In 1999, ethnic Albanians fought bitterly for their cultural and political recognition in the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia.

Some African Americans have called for secession. Suggestions dating back to the early 1700s supported the return of Blacks to Africa as a solution to racial problems. The American Colonization Society suggested resettling Blacks in Liberia, but proposals were also advanced to establish settlements in other areas. Territorial separatism and the emigrationist ideology were recurrent and interrelated themes among African Americans from the late nineteenth century well into the 1980s. The Black Muslims, or Nation of Islam, once expressed the desire for complete separation in their own state or territory within the modern borders of the United States.

Segregation

Segregation is the physical separation of two groups in residence, workplace, and social functions. Generally, the dominant group imposes segregation on a subordinate group. Segregation is rarely complete, however. Intergroup contact inevitably occurs even in the most segregated societies.

Sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton wrote *American Apartheid* (1993), which described segregation in U.S. cities on the basis of 1990 census data. The title of their book was meant to indicate that segregation in U.S. neighborhoods resembled **apartheid**, the rigid government-imposed racial segregation that prevailed for so long in the Republic of South Africa.

Analysis of census data shows continuing segregation in the United States despite the country's racial and ethnic diversity. Scholars use a *segregation index* to measure separation. This index ranges from 0 (complete integration) to 100 (complete segregation), where the value indicates the percentage of the minority group that needs to move for the minority group to be distributed exactly like Whites. Thus a segregation index of 60 for Blacks–Whites would mean that 60 percent of all African Americans would have to move to have the same residential pattern as Whites.

Table 1.2 lists the most segregated metropolitan areas with large African American, Latino, and Asian American populations. Blacks and Whites are most separated from each other in Milwaukee/Waukesha/West Allis. The Los Angeles/Long Beach/Anaheim metropolitan area finds Whites and Latinos most living apart, and the Edison/New Brunswick, New Jersey, area is where Asians and Whites are most segregated from each other. Typically half to three-quarters of the people would have to move to achieve even distribution throughout the city and surrounding suburbs.

Table 1.2 Segregated Metro America

BLACK–WHITE	
1. Milwaukee/Waukesha/West Allis	81.0
2. New York/Newark/Jersey City	77.0
3. Chicago/Naperville/Elgin	76.0
4. Detroit/Warren/Dearborn	74.0
5. Cleveland/Elyria	73.0
6. Buffalo/Cheektowaga/Niagara Falls	73.0
7. St. Louis	72.0
8. Los Angeles/Long Beach/Anaheim	68.0
HISPANIC–WHITE	
1. Los Angeles/Long Beach/Anaheim	61.0
2. New York/Newark/Jersey City	61.0
3. Providence/Warwick, RI	60.0
4. Boston/Cambridge/Newton, MA	60.0
5. Hartford/West Hartford/East Hartford, CT	58.0
6. Milwaukee/Waukesha/West Ellis	57.0
7. Miami/Ft. Lauderdale/West Palm Beach	56.0
8. Chicago/Naperville/Elgin	56.0
ASIAN–WHITE	
1. Edison/New Brunswick, NJ	53.7
2. New York/White Plains	49.5
3. Houston	48.7
4. Los Angeles/Long Beach	47.6
5. Boston	47.4
6. Sacramento, CA	46.8
7. San Francisco	46.7
8. Warren/Farmington Hills, MI	46.3

Note: The higher the value, the more segregated the metropolitan area. Data are 2011–2015 except for Asian–White data, which are for 2010.

SOURCE: Frey 2016; Logan and Stults 2011.

Over the past 40 years, Black–White segregation has declined modestly. Hispanic–White segregation, while lower, has not grown over the last 40 years. Asian–White segregation is even a bit lower but also has been mostly unchanged. Even when we consider social class, the patterns of minority segregation persist. Despite the occasional multiracial neighborhood, segregation prevails (Massey 2016; Rugh and Massey 2014).

This focus on metropolitan areas should not cause us to ignore the continuing legally sanctioned segregation of Native Americans on reservations. Although the majority of our nation's first inhabitants live outside these tribal areas, the reservations play a prominent role in the identity of Native Americans. Although it is easier to maintain tribal identity on the reservation, economic and educational opportunities are more limited in these areas, which are segregated from the rest of society.

A particularly troubling pattern has been the emergence of **resegregation**, or the physical separation of racial and ethnic groups reappearing after a period of relative integration. Resegregation has occurred in neighborhoods and schools after a transitional period of desegregation. For example, in 1954, only one in 100,000 Black students attended a majority White school in the South. Thanks to the civil rights movement and a series of civil rights measures, by 1968, Black student attendance in White-majority schools rose to 23 percent and then to 47 percent by 1988. The latest analysis, however, shows continuing racial isolation. A 2014 report documents that nationwide, school segregation prevails. As the minority population has grown, such as in the suburbs recently, segregation has soared (Orfield and Frankenberg 2014).

Given segregation patterns, many Whites in the United States have limited contact with people of other racial and ethnic backgrounds. One study of 100 affluent powerful White men looked at their experiences, past and present, and determined that they had lived in a "White bubble"—their neighborhoods, schools, elite colleges, and workplaces were overwhelmingly White. The continuing pattern of segregation in the United States means our diverse population grows up in very different nations. For many urban Blacks and Latinos, segregation in neighborhoods with limited job opportunities is a social fact (Bonilla-Silva and Embrick 2007; Feagin and O'Brien 2003; Massey 2012).

Segregation by race, ethnicity, religion, tribal or clan affiliation, and sometimes even language grouping occurs throughout the world. The most dramatic government-engineered segregation in recent history was in South Africa. In 1948, Great Britain granted South Africa its independence, and the National Party, dominated by a White minority, assumed control of the government. The rule of White supremacy, well under way as the custom in the colonial period, became more and more formalized into law. To deal with the multiracial population, the Whites devised a policy called apartheid to ensure their dominance. *Apartheid* (in Afrikaans, the language of the White Afrikaners, it means *separation* or *apartness*) came to mean a policy of separate development, euphemistically called *multinational development* by the government. Black South Africans were relegated to impoverished urban townships or rural areas, and their mobility within the country was strictly regulated. Events took a significant turn in 1990, when the South African prime minister legalized once-banned Black organizations and freed Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC), after 27 years of imprisonment. Soon afterward, Mandela became head of the government, and a half-century of apartheid came to an end.

Fusion

Fusion occurs when a minority and a majority group combine to form a new group. This combining can be expressed as A + B + C → D, where A, B, and C represent the groups present in a society and D signifies the result, an ethnocultural–racial group that shares some of the characteristics of each initial group. Mexican people are an example of fusion, originating as they do from the mixing of Spanish and indigenous Indian cultures. Theoretically, fusion does not entail intermarriage, but it is very similar to **amalgamation**, the process by which a dominant group and a subordinate group combine through intermarriage into a new people. In everyday speech, the words *fusion* and *amalgamation* are rarely used, but the concept is expressed in the notion of a human **melting pot** in which diverse racial or ethnic groups form a new creation, a new cultural entity (Newman 1973).

The analogy of the cauldron, the "melting pot," was first used to describe the United States by the French observer Crèvecoeur in 1782. The phrase dates back to the Middle Ages, when alchemists attempted to change less-valuable metals into gold and silver. Similarly, the idea of the human melting pot implied that the new group would represent only the best qualities and attributes of the different cultures contributing to it. The belief in the United States as a melting pot became widespread in the early twentieth century. This belief suggested that the United States had an almost divine mission to destroy artificial divisions and create a single kind of human. However, the dominant group had indicated its unwillingness to welcome such groups as Native Americans, Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, Asians, and Irish Catholics into the melting pot. It is a mistake to think of the United States as an ethnic melting pot. Although superficial signs of fusion are present, as in a cuisine that includes sauerkraut and spaghetti, most contributions of subordinate groups are ignored (Gleason 1980).

While still not typical, more couples are crossing racial and ethnic boundaries in the United States today than in any previous generation. Clearly, this trend will increase the potential for their children to identify as biracial or multiracial rather than in a single category.

Sirtravelalot/Shutterstock

Marriage patterns indicate the resistance to fusion. People are unwilling, in varying degrees, to marry outside their own ethnic, religious, and racial groups. Until relatively recently, interracial marriage was outlawed in much of the United States. At the time that President Barack Obama's White mother and Black father were married in Hawai'i, their union would have been illegal in 22 other states. Surveys show that 20 to 50 percent of various White ethnic groups report single ancestry. When White ethnics do cross boundaries, they tend to marry within their religion and social class. For example, Italians are more likely to marry Irish, who are also Catholic, than they are to marry Protestant Swedes.

Although it may seem that interracial matches are everywhere, there is only modest evidence of a fusion of races in the United States. Nonetheless, racial

intermarriage has been increasing. In 1980, there were 651,000 interracial marriages, but by 2010, there were 5.4 million. By 2015, about 10 percent of people married someone of a different race or ethnicity. Among unmarried couples, the number rises to 14 percent and among same-sex couples to 15 percent.

Among couples in which at least one member is Hispanic, marriages with a non-Hispanic partner account for 28 percent. Taken together, all interracial and Hispanic–non-Hispanic marriages account for 10 percent of married opposite-sex couples today. But this number includes people who have been married for decades. Among new couples, about 17 percent of marriages are between people of different races or between Hispanics and non-Hispanics (Bialik 2017; Bureau of the Census 2010a: Table 60; Lofquist et al. 2012).

Assimilation

Assimilation is the process by which a subordinate individual or group takes on the characteristics of the dominant group and is eventually accepted as part of that group. Assimilation is a majority ideology in which A + B + C → A. The majority (A) dominates in such a way that the minorities (B and C) become indistinguishable from the dominant group. Assimilation dictates conformity to the dominant group, regardless of how many racial, ethnic, or religious groups are involved (Newman 1973:53).

To be complete, assimilation must entail an active effort by the minority-group individual to shed all distinguishing actions and beliefs and the unqualified acceptance of that individual by the dominant society. In the United States, dominant White society encourages assimilation. The assimilation perspective tends to devalue alien culture and to treasure the dominant. For example, assimilation assumes that whatever is admirable among Blacks was adapted from Whites and that whatever is bad is inherently Black. The assimilation solution to Black–White conflict has been typically defined as the development of a consensus around White American values.

Assimilation is very difficult. The person being assimilated must forsake his or her cultural tradition to become part of a different, often antagonistic culture. However, cross-border movement is often preceded by adjustments and awareness of the culture that awaits the immigrant. Furthermore, the dominant group, White Americans in this case, totally defines what is an acceptable level of assimilation (Schachter 2016, Skrentny 2008).

Assimilation does not occur at the same pace for all groups or for all individuals in the same group. Typically, the assimilation process is not completed by the first generation—the new arrivals.

Joe Raedle/Getty Images

One aspect of assimilation is immigrants' attempt to learn the language of the host society, as shown in this adult bilingual education class.

Assimilation is not a smooth process (Warner and Srole 1945) and tends to take longer under the following conditions:

- The differences between the minority and the majority are large.
- The majority is not receptive, or the minority retains its own culture.
- The minority group arrives over a short period of time.
- The minority-group residents are concentrated rather than dispersed.
- The arrival is recent, and the homeland is accessible.

Segmented assimilation describes the outcome of immigrants and their descendants moving into different classes of the host society. It emphasizes that there is not a single, uniform lifestyle in the United States and that much assimilation is into the working or even lower classes. For a very small number of people, such as high-level and elite engineers and other professionals, the movement might be into the higher reaches of class divisions. However, for many, assimilation may be into a lower class than that enjoyed in their home country and may represent downward mobility even while assimilation progresses (Haller, Portes, and Lynch 2011).

Many people view assimilation as unfair or even dictatorial. However, most members of the dominant group believe it is reasonable that subordinate people shed their distinctive cultural traditions. In public discussions today, assimilation is the ideology of the dominant group in forcing people how to act. Consequently, the social institutions in the United States—the educational system, economy, government, religion, and medical establishment—all push toward assimilation, with only occasional references to the pluralist approach, which we discuss next.

The Pluralist Perspective

Thus far, we have concentrated on how subordinate groups cease to exist (removal) or take on the characteristics of the dominant group (assimilation). The alternative to these relationships between the majority and the minority is pluralism. **Pluralism** implies that various groups in a society have mutual respect for one another's culture, a respect that allows minorities to express their own culture without suffering prejudice or discrimination. Whereas the assimilationist or integrationist seeks the elimination of ethnic boundaries, the pluralist believes in maintaining many of them.

There are limits to cultural freedom. A Romanian immigrant to the United States cannot expect to avoid learning English and still move up the occupational ladder. To survive, a society must have a consensus among its members on basic ideals, values, and beliefs. Nevertheless, there is still plenty of room for variety. Earlier, fusion was described as A + B + C → D and assimilation as A + B + C → A. Using this same scheme, we can think of pluralism as A + B + C → A + B + C, with groups coexisting in one society (Manning 1995; Newman 1973; Simpson 1995).

In the United States, cultural pluralism is more an ideal than a reality. Although there are instances of cultural pluralism—in the various ethnic neighborhoods in major cities, for instance—the general progression has been for subordinate groups to assimilate. Yet as the minority becomes the numerical majority, the ability to live one's identity becomes a bit easier. African Americans, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asian Pacific Americans already outnumber Whites in most of the largest U.S. cities.

The trend is toward even greater diversity. Nonetheless, the cost of cultural integrity throughout the nation's history has been high. The various Native American tribes have succeeded to a large extent in maintaining their heritage, but the price has been bare subsistence on federal reservations.

The United States is experiencing a reemergence of ethnic identification by groups that had previously expressed little interest in their heritage. Groups that make up the dominant majority also are reasserting their ethnic heritages. Various nationality groups are rekindling interest in almost-forgotten languages, customs, festivals, and traditions. In some instances, this expression of the past has taken the form of a protest against exclusion from the dominant society. For example, some Chinese youths chastise their elders for forgetting the old ways and accepting White American influence and control.

The most visible expression of pluralism is language use. As of 2015, more than one in every five people in the United States (21.5 percent) over age five spoke a language other than English at home (American Community Survey 2016a: Table B16001).

Facilitating a diverse and changing society affects just about every aspect of that society. Yet another nod to pluralism, although not nearly so obvious to the general population as language, are the changes within the funeral industry. Where Christian and Jewish funeral practices once dominated, funeral home professionals are now being trained to accommodate a variety of practices. Latinos often expect 24-hour viewing of their deceased, whereas Muslims may wish to participate in washing the deceased before burial in a grave pointing toward Mecca. Hindu and Buddhist requests to participate in cremation are now being respected (Brulliard 2006).

Resistance and Change

1.6 Describe how resistance and change occur in racial and ethnic relations.

By virtue of wielding power and influence, the dominant group may define the terms by which all members of society operate. This power is particularly evident in a slave society, but even in contemporary industrialized nations, the dominant group has a disproportionate role in shaping immigration policy, school curricula, and media content.

Subordinate groups do not merely accept the definitions and ideology proposed by the dominant group. A continuing theme in dominant–subordinate relations is the minority group's challenge to its subordination. Resistance by subordinate groups is well documented as they seek to promote change that will bring them more rights and privileges, if not true equality. Often, traditional notions of racial formation are overcome not only through panethnicity but also because Black people, along with Latinos and sympathetic Whites, join in the resistance to subordination (Moulder 1996; Winant 2004).

Resistance can be seen in efforts by racial and ethnic groups to maintain their identity through newspapers and organizations and in today's technological age through cable television stations, blogs, and Internet sites. Resistance manifests itself in social movements such as the civil rights movement, the feminist movement, and gay rights efforts. The passage of such legislation as the Age Discrimination Act or the Americans with Disabilities Act marks the success of oppressed groups in lobbying on their own behalf.

Octavio Jones/ZUMA Press Inc/Alamy Stock Photo

Through recent efforts of collective action, African Americans and others sympathetic to the #BlackLivesMatter campaign have drawn attention to violence against Black youth, as in this demonstration in Tampa in 2016.

Resistance efforts may begin with small actions. For example, residents of an American Indian reservation may question why a toxic waste dump is to be located on their land. Although the dump may bring in money, the reservation's residents question the wisdom of such a move. Their concerns lead to further investigations of the extent to which American Indian lands are used disproportionately as containment areas for dangerous materials. This action in turn leads to a broader investigation of the ways in which minority-group people often find their neighborhoods "hosting" dumps and incinerators. These local efforts eventually lead the Environmental Protection Agency to monitor the disproportionate placement of toxic facilities in or near racial and ethnic minority communities.

Social media platforms provide a new vehicle for resistance and change. For example, the 2013 acquittal of a man who shot to death Trayvon Martin, an unarmed African American youth, mobilized Blacks and other groups concerned about violence against Black youth. A national survey at the time showed that only 9 percent of African Americans were "satisfied" with the verdict, compared to 25 percent of Hispanics and 49 percent of Whites. Some 60 percent of Whites felt that race was got more attention than it deserved in news coverage of the story.

People throughout the United States organized to call attention to the perceived indiscriminate shooting deaths of Black youths. An activist movement using the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter surfaced and continued to gain strength with each ensuing incident that seemingly showed that a Black life did not matter to a law-enforcement officer. One such incident was the death of Philando Castile in St. Paul, Minnesota, described at the beginning of this chapter (Pew Research Center for the People and the Press 2013).

Change has occurred. At the beginning of the twentieth century, lynching of Blacks was practiced in many parts of the country. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, laws punishing hate crimes are increasingly common and cover a variety of stigmatized groups. Although this social progress should not be ignored, the nation still must focus concern on the significant social inequalities that remain.

An even more basic form of resistance is to question societal values. In this book, we avoid using the term *American* to describe people of the United States because geographically, Brazilians, Canadians, and El Salvadorans are Americans as well. It is easy to overlook how members of the dominant group and social institutions have shaped our understanding of history. African American studies scholar Molefi Kete Asante (2007, 2008, 2015) has called for an **Afrocentric perspective** that emphasizes the customs of African cultures and how they have pervaded the history, culture, and behavior of Blacks

in the United States and around the world. Afrocentrism seeks to balance **Eurocentrism** and works toward a multiculturalist or pluralist orientation in which no viewpoint is suppressed. The Afrocentric approach could become part of our school curriculum, which has not adequately acknowledged the importance of this heritage (King and Swartz 2015).

The Afrocentric perspective has attracted much attention in education. Opponents view it as a separatist view of history and culture that distorts both past and present. Its supporters counter that African peoples everywhere can come to full self-determination only when they are able to overthrow the dominance of White or Eurocentric intellectual interpretations (Conyers 2004).

The remarkable efforts by members of racial and ethnic minorities working with supportive White Americans beginning in the 1950s through the early 1970s successfully targeted overt racist symbols, as well as racist and sexist actions. Today's targets are more intractable and tend to emerge from institutional discrimination. Sociologist Douglas Massey (2011) argued that a central goal must be to reform the criminal justice system by demanding repeal of the following: the three-strikes law, mandatory minimum sentencing, and harsher penalties for crack than for powdered cocaine. Such targets are quite different from laws that prevented Blacks and women from serving on juries.

Intersectionality

1.7 Define and describe intersectionality.

Race and ethnicity, as well as other social identifiers, are important and define relationships of power (or lack of power). Yet they do not exist in isolation. Rather, they coexist with religion, gender, age, disability status, and sexual identity (among other identities). **Intersectionality** refers to the overlapping and interdependent system of advantage and disadvantage that positions people in society on the basis of race, class, gender, and other characteristics (Collins and Bilge 2016; Crenshaw 1989).

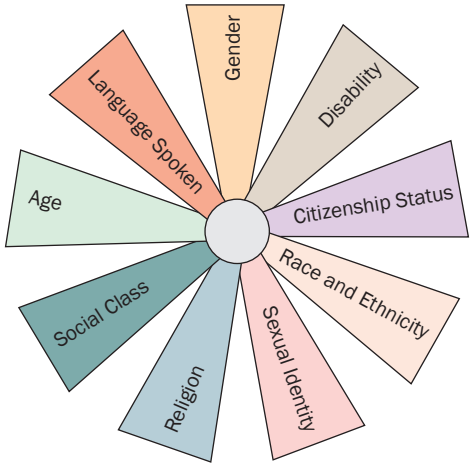
Awareness of intersectionality grew as female scholars noted that an emphasis on race could ignore other related processes of domination. For example, many women experience social inequality not only because of their gender but also because of their race and ethnicity. These citizens face a double or triple subordinate status based on their intersecting identities. A disproportionate share of this low-status group also is poor. African American feminist Patricia Hill Collins (2000, 2013:232–234) views intersectionality as creating a *matrix of domination* (Figure 1.6). Whites dominate non-Whites, men dominate women, and the affluent dominate the poor—race, class, and gender are interconnected.

Gender, race, and social class are not the only systems of oppression, but they do profoundly affect women and people of color in the United States. Other forms of categorization and stigmatization can also be included in this matrix. If we turn to the global stage, we can add citizenship status and being perceived as a "colonial subject" even long after colonialism has ended.

Critics argue that intersectionality is all about people who are obsessed with "identity politics" and who form alliances based on allegedly shared social groupings. Yet intersectionality is not so much about the identities themselves but rather how society uses and abuses these identities to exclude and privilege different groups. Addressing exclusion and acknowledging privilege are not easy; they require change (Crenshaw 2015).

Figure 1.6 Intersectionality and the Matrix of Domination

Intersectionality illustrates how several social factors—including gender, social class, language spoken, and race and ethnicity—intersect and overlap to create a cumulative impact on a person's social standing.



Feminists have addressed themselves to the needs of minority women, but the oppression of these women because of their sex is overshadowed by the subordinate status that White men and White women impose on them because of their race or ethnicity. The question for the Latina (Hispanic woman), African American woman, Asian Pacific American woman, Native American woman, and so on appears to be whether she should unify with her brothers against racism or challenge them for their sexism. The answer is that society cannot afford to let up on the effort to eradicate sexism, racism, and the other forces that create social inequality.

Conclusion

One hundred years ago, sociologist and activist W. E. B. Du Bois took another famed Black activist, Booker T. Washington, to task for saying that the races could best work together apart, like fingers on a hand. Du Bois felt that Black people had to be a part of all social institutions and not create their own. With an African American having been elected and reelected to the presidency of the United States, Whites, African Americans, and other groups continue to debate what form society should take. Should we seek to bring everyone together into an integrated whole? Or do we strive to maintain as much of our group identities as possible while working as cooperatively as necessary?

In considering the inequalities present today, as we do in the chapters that follow, it is easy to forget how much change has taken place and how much progress has been made. Much of the resistance to prejudice and discrimination in the past, either to slavery or to women's prohibition from voting, came from the members of the dominant group. The indignities still experienced by subordinate groups continue to be resisted as subordinate groups and their allies in the dominant group seek further change.

In this chapter, we have attempted to organize our approach to subordinate–dominant relations in the United States. We observed that subordinate groups do not necessarily contain fewer members than the dominant group. Subordinate groups are classified into racial, ethnic, religious, and gender groups. Biological differences of race are not supported by scientific data. Yet as the continuing debate over standardized tests demonstrates, attempts to establish a biological meaning of race have not been swept entirely into the dustbin of history. The social meaning attached to physical differences remains very significant. The dominant group has defined racial differences in such a way as to encourage or discourage the progress of certain groups.

Subordinate-group members' reactions include the seeking of an alternative avenue to acceptance and success: "Why should we give up what we are, to be accepted by them?" In response to this question, individual ethnic identification remains strong. As a result of this maintenance of ethnic and racial identity, complementary and occasionally competing images of what it means to be a productive member of a single society persist. Pluralism describes a society in which several different groups coexist, with no dominant or subordinate groups. People individually choose which cultural patterns to keep and which to let go.

Subordinate groups have not and do not always accept their second-class status passively. They may protest, organize, revolt, and resist society as defined by the dominant group. Patterns of race and ethnic relations are changing, not stagnant. Indicative of the changing landscape, biracial and multiracial children present us with new definitions of identity emerging through a process of racial formation, reminding us that race is socially constructed. In addition, we assume or have placed upon us multiple social identities that intersect in a manner that may lead to social inequality.

Society is not static, but dynamic and evolving. In the twenty-first century, we are facing new challenges to cooperation. There has been such a marked increase in the population of minority racial and ethnic groups in the United States that these groups will be in the majority well before today's college students reach 40 years of age. Little wonder that scholars are now talking about "super-diversity" and considering whether past notions of race and ethnicity are passé (Bobo 2013).

Continuing immigration and the explosive growth of the Hispanic population—which has more than doubled since 1990—fuel this growth. Latinos are now such a significant portion of the U.S. population that the Spanish-language Telemundo network has introduced English-language subtitles to ensure that its Latino viewers can fully comprehend its programming.

Barack Obama's presidency was a significant period in U.S. history. The fact that he was the first African American (and also the first non-White man) to serve as president demonstrates how much progress the United States has achieved with regard to race relations. It also underscores how long it has taken to make this progress and how much more needs to be accomplished before the United States can truly be "a more perfect union," as stated in the Constitution.

Yet the issues are exceedingly complex. The #BlackLivesMatter movement has brought attention to wrongful deaths of African Americans at the hands of law enforcement and to the needs of the less powerful to be heard. As African American writer Ralph Ellison wrote, "I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me." Black filmmaker Spike Lee supports the movement but believes we must also talk about the "self-inflicted genocide" of Black-on-Black crime (Smith 2015).

The problems are complex, as are the solutions, but this reality should not freeze us into inaction. The two significant forces that are absent in a truly pluralistic society are prejudice and discrimination. In an assimilation society, prejudice disparages out-group differences, and discrimination financially rewards those who shed their past. In the next two chapters, we explore the nature of prejudice and discrimination in the United States.

Summary of Learning Objectives

1.1 Explain how people are placed in groups.

1. When sociologists define a minority group, they are concerned primarily with the economic and political power, or powerlessness, of the group.
2. A racial group is set apart from others primarily by physical characteristics; an ethnic group is set apart primarily by national origin or cultural patterns.

1.2 Explain the social construction of race.

3. People cannot be sorted into distinct racial groups, so race is best viewed as a social construct that is subject to different interpretations over time.
4. A small but still significant number of people in the United States—more than 9 million—readily see themselves as having a biracial or multiracial identity.

1.3 Describe how sociology helps us understand race and ethnicity.

5. The study of race and ethnicity in the United States often considers the role played by class and gender.
6. We can use three sociological schools of thought to gain insight into racial and ethnic groups and their relationships to the dominant society: the functionalist perspective, the conflict perspective, and labeling theory.

1.4 Explain how subordinate groups are created.

7. Subordinate-group status has emerged through migration, annexation, and colonialism.
8. The Spectrum of Intergroup Relations illustrates the patterns between racial and ethnic groups ranging from those that are extremely harsh to those that are more tolerated.

1.5 Summarize the consequences of subordinate-group status.

9. The social consequences of subordinate-group status include extermination, expulsion, secession, segregation, fusion, assimilation, and pluralism.

1.6 Describe how resistance and change occur in racial and ethnic relations.

10. Racial, ethnic, and other minorities maintain a long history of resisting efforts to restrict their rights.

1.7 Define and describe intersectionality.

11. The intersectionality of overlapping identities plays a role in placing a person in a society's hierarchy.

Key Terms

Afrocentric perspective, *page 32*
amalgamation, *page 28*
annexation, *page 22*
apartheid, *page 25*
assimilation, *page 29*
biological race, *page 10*
blaming the victim, *page 19*
class, *page 16*
colonialism, *page 22*

colorism, *page 7*
conflict perspective, *page 18*
dysfunction, *page 18*
emigration, *page 21*
ethnic cleansing, *page 24*
ethnic group, *page 7*
eugenics, *page 10*
Eurocentrism, *page 33*
functionalist perspective, *page 17*
fusion, *page 28*
genocide, *page 23*
globalization, *page 22*
Holocaust, *page 23*
immigration, *page 21*
intelligence quotient (IQ), *page 11*
intersectionality, *page 33*
labeling theory, *page 19*
marginality, *page 15*
melting pot, *page 28*
migration, *page 21*
minority group, *page 5*
panethnicity, *page 15*
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racial formation, *page 13*
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racism, *page 12*
resegregation, *page 27*
segmented assimilation, *page 30*
segregation, *page 25*
self-fulfilling prophecy, *page 20*
sociology, *page 16*
stereotype, *page 19*
stratification, *page 16*
world systems theory, *page 23*

Review Questions

1. What are the characteristics of subordinate and minority groups?
2. Distinguish between racial groups and ethnic groups.
3. How do biracial and multiracial categories call into question traditional groupings in the United States?
4. How do the conflict, functionalist, and labeling approaches apply to the social construction of race?
5. How do subordinate groups emerge?
6. Characterize the range of intergroup relations from those that are most tolerated to those that are most unacceptable to minority groups. Provide a brief definition of each point along the spectrum of intergroup relations.
7. What roles do subordinate groups play in their own destiny?
8. What is meant by "intersectionality"?

Critical Thinking

1. How do the concepts of "biracial" and "multiracial" relate to W. E. B. Du Bois's notion of a "color line"?
2. How diverse is your town or city? Can you see evidence that some group is being subordinated? What social construction of categories do you see that may be different in your community compared to elsewhere?
3. Select a racial or ethnic group and apply the Spectrum of Intergroup Relations. Can you provide an example today or in the past where each relationship occurs?
4. Identify some protest and resistance efforts by subordinated groups in your area. Have they been successful? Even though some people say they favor equality, why may they be uncomfortable with such efforts? How can people unconnected with such efforts either help or hinder such protests?
5. How does intersectionality enhance our understanding of race and ethnicity?

Chapter 2
Prejudice

Timothy Jacobsen/AP Images

Learning Objectives

2.1 Differentiate between prejudice and discrimination.

2.2 Explain White privilege.

2.3 Summarize the theories of prejudice.

2.4 Define and explain stereotyping.

2.5 Understand color-blind racism.

2.6 Discuss how members of subordinate groups respond to prejudice.

2.7 Explain the ways prejudice can be reduced.

Finding a job with a living wage can be a challenge. Government funds to help the jobless get by while they look for work or training opportunities are limited. So, imagine you are in charge of allocating government assistance, and you want the money to be effective.

A recent study gave a nationwide sample of 1,000 participants the choice to extend $1,500 of assistance to applicants—some with an excellent work ethic, others with a poor work ethic—based on a completed questionnaire. Study participants also had the alternative not to spend the money and thereby help to reduce the state's budget deficit—another very real challenge. Oh, and the study participants received another piece of information besides the assessment of the person's work ethic: the applicants' names—either Laurie and Latoya or Emily and Keisha.

The results of the study were clear. Not surprisingly, hard workers were given more assistance than those judged to be low-quality workers. Faced with a "lazy" recipient, the hypothetical decision-makers were more likely to use the money to offset the budget deficit. However, what seemed to make the real difference was the name on the application. Hardworking Emily was given ten times as much money as hardworking Keisha. Similarly, lazy Laurie received much more than lazy Latoya. In fact, money allocated to the lazy applicant with the White-sounding name came close to what the hardworking Black could expect to be awarded.

In summary, Keisha and Latoya were not evaluated as positively as Emily and Laurie, and the applicants with Black-sounding names were more likely to have assistance withheld (DeSante 2013).

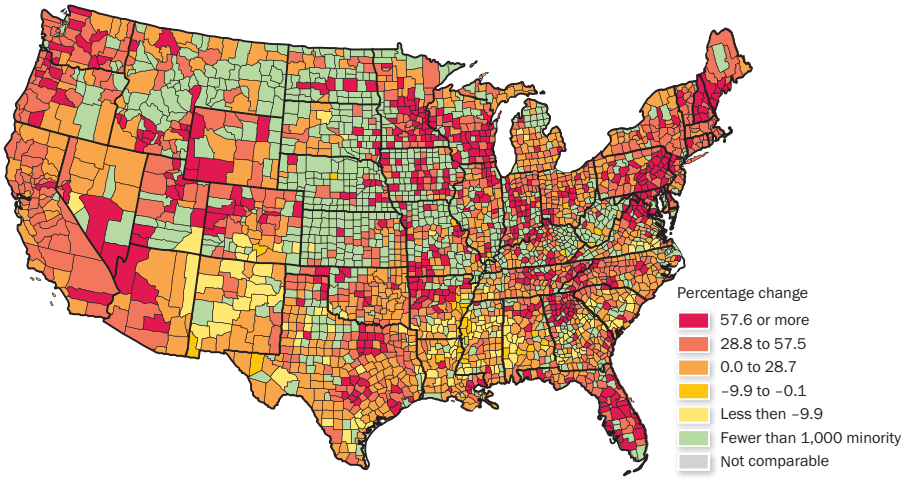
Prejudice is so prevalent that it is tempting to consider it inevitable or, even more broadly, part of human nature. Such a view ignores its variability from individual to individual and from society to society. Not everyone punished Keisha and rewarded Emily. People learn prejudice as children before they exhibit it as adults. Therefore, prejudice is a social phenomenon, an acquired characteristic. A truly pluralistic society would lack unfavorable distinctions caused by prejudicial attitudes toward and among racial and ethnic groups.

Holding ill feelings based on a person's race or ethnicity is cause for concern because the United States is so increasingly diverse. Figure 2.1 shows the increase in minority presence in the first decade

Figure 2.1 Change in Minority Population by County, 2000–2010

The minority population has grown across the United States, even in many areas that previously had few racial and ethnic minorities.

SOURCE: Data from Humes, Jones, and Ramirez 2011:21.



of the twenty-first century. Many counties far removed from urban centers, as well as areas with historically large Black and Latino populations, saw minority population increases between 2000 and 2010. The likelihood that prejudices will be expressed, dealt with, or hidden increases and becomes a nationwide phenomenon as more and more communities experience majority-minority interaction.

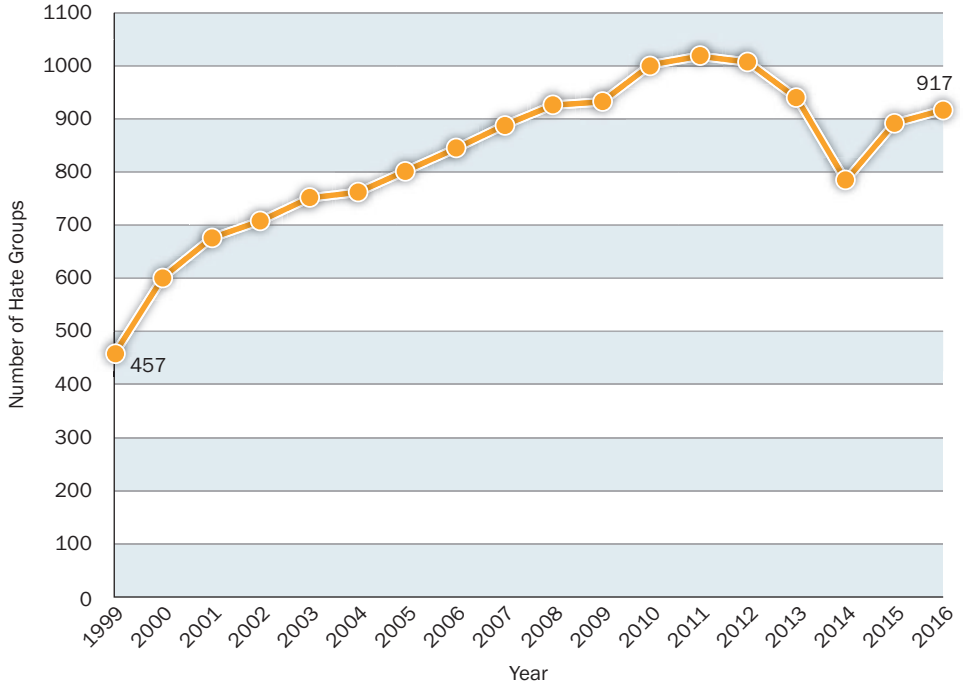
Ill feeling among groups of different races, ethnicities, or cultures may result from **ethnocentrism**, the tendency to believe that one's culture and way of life are superior to all others. The ethnocentric person judges other groups and other cultures by the standards of his or her own group. This attitude makes it quite easy for people to view other cultures as inferior. Within the United States, we see a woman wearing a veil and may regard her as strange and backward, yet we are baffled when other societies think U.S. women in short skirts are dressed inappropriately. Ethnocentrism and other expressions of prejudice are often voiced, and such expressions sometimes become the motivation for criminal acts.

A very troubling part of contemporary life in the United States and elsewhere is the rise of organized hate groups. Research indicates a fluctuating but larger number of hate groups than a decade ago (Figure 2.2). The Internet and social media platforms give these groups visibility far beyond their numbers. Hate groups include White supremacists, neo-Confederates, and neo-Nazis, as well as anti-White, anti-Jewish Black supremacist minority groups. Collectively, these hate groups target Muslims, immigrants, racial and ethnic groups, and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community (Potok 2016; Wines and Saul 2015).

Figure 2.2 Active Hate Groups, 1999–2016

The number of hate and extremist groups has fluctuated over the past 15 years but has remained at well over 750 for several years.

SOURCE: Data from Southern Poverty Law Center 2017.



Prejudice and Discrimination

2.1 Differentiate between prejudice and discrimination.

Prejudice and discrimination are related concepts but are not the same. **Prejudice** is a negative attitude toward an entire category of people. The important components in this definition are *attitude* and *entire category.* Prejudice involves attitudes, thoughts, and beliefs—not actions. Prejudice often is expressed using **ethnophaulisms**, or ethnic slurs, which include derisive nicknames such as *honky*, *gook*, and *wetback.* Ethnophaulisms also include speaking to or about members of a particular group in a condescending way, such as saying, "José does well in school for a Mexican American" or referring to a middle-aged woman as "one of the girls."

A prejudiced belief leads to categorical rejection. Prejudice does not mean you dislike someone because you find his or her behavior objectionable; rather, it means you dislike an entire racial or ethnic group, even if you have had little or no contact with that group. A college student is not prejudiced because he requests a room change after three weeks of enduring his roommate's sleeping all day, playing loud music all night, and piling garbage on his desk. However, he is displaying prejudice if he requests a change after arriving at school and learning that his new roommate is of a specific nationality.

Even short-lived expressions of prejudice can be very hostile. **Microaggressions** are the commonplace daily verbal indignities that members of a minority group experience—for example, calling on a Latina classmate or coworker to comment on immigration policy, or telling a prospective Black job candidate, "I believe the most qualified person should get the job. Regardless of race." Microaggressions can be intentional or unintentional, and the perpetrator is often unaware of the insult (Sue 2010).

Prejudice is a belief or attitude; discrimination is action. **Discrimination** is the denial of opportunities and equal rights to individuals and groups as a result of prejudice or for other arbitrary reasons. Unlike prejudice, discrimination involves *behavior* that excludes members of a group from certain rights, opportunities, or privileges. Like prejudice, it is categorical, with a few rare exceptions. If an employer refuses to hire an illiterate Italian American as a computer analyst, that is not discrimination. If an employer refuses to hire all Italian Americans because he thinks they are incompetent and makes no effort to determine if an Italian American applicant is qualified, that is discrimination.

Prejudice is a complicated aspect of human behavior and has been extensively researched. For a sample of some fascinating research on prejudice, consider the Research Focus, "Virtual Prejudice and Anti-Prejudice," which explores online expressions of prejudice.

Merton's Typology

Prejudice does not necessarily coincide with discriminatory behavior. In exploring the relationship between negative attitudes and negative behavior, sociologist Robert Merton (1949, 1976) identified four major categories (Figure 2.3). The label added to each of Merton's categories may more readily identify the type of person described:

1. The unprejudiced nondiscriminator—or all-weather liberal
2. The unprejudiced discriminator—or reluctant liberal

Research Focus

Virtual Prejudice and Anti-Prejudice

Increasingly larger portions of our daily lives are spent not directly talking with or seeing other people but rather online, in front of our phones, iPads, and computers. Sometimes we indirectly communicate with friends through social media, but many Americans also spend a large amount of time in some virtual world (such as Second Life) separated from reality. What impact can online activities have on reinforcing or undercutting prejudice?

Researchers have looked at video games and found that minorities are vastly underrepresented, and when they do appear it is usually as thugs or athletes. In addition, White players are more likely to recall Black characters as violent and aggressive.

Nonetheless, virtual society can seek to have a positive impact on race and ethnic relations. User-generated video sites (such as YouTube) abound with videos reflecting favorable representations of racial and ethnic groups. For example, one study found that images of American Indians tend to evoke positive responses in online comments. However, viewers seemed most positive when videos were historical rather than dealing with present-day situations. And if ill treatment toward contemporary Native Americans was central to the video, negative comments began to escalate.

The complexity of online representations and prejudice is highlighted in a May 2013 Cheerios advertisement. In the 30-second spot, a White mom tells her biracial daughter that Cheerios is heart-healthy. The six-year-old then scampers into the next room, spilling Cheerios on her Black father's chest while he is napping on the living-room couch. The comments were 10–1 favorable toward the biracial household, but General Mills was forced to disable the comment section because of all the racist remarks that were posted.

Researchers of online prejudice admit the depth of hostility is difficult to assess because many commercial venues and news outlets monitor comments (often at considerable expense) and selectively delete offensive comments, thus giving the casual online user an inaccurate view of how the general public is responding to racially charged topics. It also appears that many who wish to express racist views are retreating to Web sites where such rhetoric will not be challenged. As in everyday life, one cannot assume that the absence of overt prejudice means tolerance.

In the United States, with its historical support and constitutional safeguards for freedom of speech, the government is largely uninvolved in trying to limit online bigotry. However, this is not true everywhere. Germany limits anti-Semitic or pro-Nazi sentiments, and German lawmakers demanded in 2016 that Facebook do more to monitor and censor online hate speech.

Sources: Burgess et al. 2011; Hughley and Daniels 2013; Kenji America 2013; Kopacz and Lawton 2013; Nudd 2013; Scott and Eddy 2016.

3. The prejudiced nondiscriminator—or timid bigot
4. The prejudiced discriminator—or all-weather bigot

As the term is used in types 1 and 2, *liberals* are committed to equality among people. The all-weather liberal believes in equality and practices it. Merton was quick to observe that all-weather liberals may be far removed from any real contact with subordinate groups such as African Americans or women. Furthermore, such people may be content with their own behavior and do little to change it. The reluctant liberal is not completely committed to equality between groups. Social pressure may