I. Is “race” a scientifically valid concept?
   A. Anthropologist Ashley Montague calls this “Man’s Most Dangerous Myth” (in 1942 book)
      1. Says concept promotes damaging stereotypes, but has no validity
      2. Says should substitute concept of “ethnicity” for “race”

II. What is the difference between “race” and “ethnicity”
   A. Ethnicity: based on cultural (socially produced) differences—e.g., nationality, language, religion

III. Scholarly Critique of “Race”: most biologists say “race” not “meaningful” in biological sense
   A. Number of races: experts don’t agree; it is purely arbitrary—anywhere from 3 to over 100; 3-way “Caucasoid-Mongoloid-Negroid” categorization is oversimplified; where put Aborigines, Maoris?
      “as so many scholars have demonstrated, the idea that human can be classified into four or five distinct races is scientifically untenable, at best absurd, and avaricious at worst (Gould 1996; Montagu 1974)” (Croucher, 2004, Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World, p. 119)
   B. Blurred differences in phenotype: because migration and invasion eliminated pure gene frequencies (genotype). Phenotypes are “visible anatomical features” (e.g., skin color, facial shape)
   C. Nonconcordance: very different ‘racial’ classifications produced by different traits:
      1. If use Scooped-out shape of back of front teeth: a standard “Asian” trait; Native Americans and Swedes also have these shovel-shaped incisors and therefore could be categorized in the same race.
      2. If use Blood types: New Guineans & Germans in 1 race; Estonians & Japanese in another
      3. Problem: 99% of human variation unaccounted for by race: differences among individuals of “same race” are greater than differences between “races”; therefore, racial categorization is “futile;”
         “If we were to select any two ‘black’ people at random and compare their chromosomes, they are no more likely to be genetically similar than either would be when compared to a randomly selected “white” person (Begley 1995)” (Croucher 2004: 120).
   D. Superficial characteristics only: claims that race causes morality, intelligence, or behavior have no scientific basis and are a product of racism
      1. The Bell Curve (Herrnstein and Murray 1994): claim low IQ is a cause of poverty, crime, other social ills and say group difference is largely genetic; their claims rejected by most scientists
      2. Social factors could 100% explain group differences even if 90% of IQ is inherited
         a. Thomas Sowell (1978) “Race and IQ”: shows increase in immigrant group scores the longer in the U.S. because of acculturation & improved SES (income, ed)
         b. Sowell (1995:74-75): “IQs of both Italian Americans and Polish Americans. . . rose substantially over a period of decades. . . follows the rising patterns found among Jews and among American soldiers in general between the two world wars, as well as rising IQ scores in other countries around the world. . . . The implications of such rising patterns of test performance is devastating to the central hypothesis of those who have long expressed the same fear as Herrnstein and Murray, that the greater fertility of low-IQ groups would lower the national (and international) IQ over time.” (in Steve Fraser, ed., The Bell Curve Wars: Race, Intelligence, and the Future of America. Basic Books)

IV. Social and political significance of “race”
   A. No biological significance, but perceptions result in different treatment (discrimination)
      1. W.I. Thomas: if myth is socially defined as true, then real in its consequences; it is self-fulfilling prophecy: “false definition” of a situation generates behavior that makes that definition later appear to be true; e.g., if sent to poor quality schools, black student will perform less well on standardized tests, confirming false view student has less ability
B. Racism has two levels:

1. Personal or overt: attributable to individuals (“micro” level)
   a. Prejudice (attitude): statements or beliefs about a group that are: 1. negative, 2. rigid, 3. Emotional; based on feeling; beliefs are deeply embedded; not changed by facts; linked to stereotypes (exaggerated/inaccurate “pictures in our heads”); prejudice unlike stereotypes is ALWAYS negative overall (Archie Bunker—racist TV character—thought Jews more “intelligent” so as to “cheat” others; idea of black “athletic” superiority fits slaveholder’s mentality that “physical prowess” (e.g., brute strength) opposes intelligence or leadership
   1. 1990 survey by Larry Bobo: Blacks and Hispanics seen as less intelligent
   2. racist (wrong) belief: physical characteristics limit/define group’s culture (Nash 1962)
   3. stereotypes (Buchanan and Cantril 1953): “do not exist until…events demand their creation” (Marger:54); symptomatic rather than causative; rationalizes adverse action
      a. during WWII, Japanese seen as “evil/cruel”; after war, seen as “clean/efficient”
      b. Allport (1958): competition turns positives into opposite: e.g. Jewish “thrift” and “hard work” become “cheap” and “overambitious” when Jews seen as threat
   4. Richard LaPiere (1934); in 1930s, refused hotel service only once when traveling with Chinese couple; yet in later survey, most proprietors say they would “refuse service” to Chinese patrons; shows “situational pressure” rather than “prejudicial statements” may in some cases predict discrimination; proprietors may fear boycott by white patrons
   b. Discrimination (act) favoritism not based on qualifications or performance; acts such as avoidance, denial, intimidation, physical attacks; “micro-discrimination” that is intentional
      1. Hilary Silver’s study of federal workers fired in 1992:
         a. Blacks comprise 16.6% of workers, but are 39% of those fired
         b. Race better predictor of firing than experience, discipline, performance ratings
         c. Hispanics no more likely to be fired than Anglos; Asians less likely
      2. Jury Bias: Rand Corp. Study of civil jury trials in Chicago, 1965-1979:
         Black litigants less likely to win and receive less when winning
   c. Racial steering: blacks shown (steered to) housing in black areas by real estate agents

2. Structural: not individual but institutional inertia in system coming from past discrimination; “structural” discrimination is not intentional; product of “normal functioning” of societal institutions, which indirectly and subtly, maintain subordinate group disadvantages
   a. not based on intentions, but unequal education, income, power, housing, etc. that persists
   b. basis for Voting Rights Act of 1965; do not need to show overt discrimination
   c. example: 2 criteria for attending university: pay tuition, high test scores; these are more likely met when coming from a high “SES” family; black SES (income, educ) is lower
   d. example: outlying location of commerce and industry has effect (not intentional) of hampering black jobs because of distance from segregated housing (spillover effect)
   e. example: black neighborhood schools hamper entering top universities (spillover effect)
   f. example: grocery chain charges higher prices in inner city to offset higher insurance (crime)
   g. unconscious: “individual only has to conform to the operating norms of the organization and the institution will do the discriminating for him” (Baron 1969:143); not dependent on actions “of specific individuals or even organizations” but “standard working procedures” (Marger 61)
LECTURE 2: Opposing Theories of Racial Discrimination and Prejudice (see Marger, chapter 3)

Overview: “prejudice and discrimination are not innate human characteristics” (Marger, 2012:62); all social science perspectives agree that prejudice and discrimination are learned; sociologists focus on situational factors and power structure; psychologists tend to view prejudice rooted in certain personality types

Classic Psychological Theories

I. Pathological/irrational attitude (e.g., prejudice) causes discriminatory behavior
   A. Mental/individual focus: must change what is in people’s heads to combat racism
   B. Two classic approaches:
      1. Frustration-Aggression Theory (John Dollard 1939): has 2 premises
         a. Frustration causes aggression: interference with goal striving causes aggression
         b. Scapegoating: if source of frustration is too strong, a weaker substitute target is selected
            1. Example: Germans frustrated by WWI defeat and reparations; Jews weaker than allies
            2. Subordinate groups are convenient/safe targets of displaced aggression (M 2012:63)
      2. Totalitarian or Authoritarian Personality (Theodore Adorno et. al., 1950): from Freudian (psychoanalytic) perspective, this personality type is more prejudiced
         a. Dogmatism: rigid views, no gray areas; anti-intellectual and anti-scientific
         b. Conformism: conform to traditional values; fear things that are different; resist social change
         c. Authority: unquestioning obedience; bullying arrogance toward inferiors; subject children to strong disciplinary action; attracted to movements requiring submission to authoritarian leader
         d. Childhood source of personality (Freudian): repression by harsh, strict, and cold father
            Note: theory is seen as “flawed” today because it reduces authoritarianism to personality trait, whereas prejudice can be consensual, e.g. Nazism appealed to broad spectrum of German society
   3. Other personality theories: focus on prejudicial way of thinking for some; cognitive processes thought to be different; Hartley (1946) reports prejudice toward fictional groups in a survey

C. Critique of psychological theories: Schermerhorn (1970): situations in which people think/act not given sufficient attention regarding their effect on thought and action; “prejudice is a product of situations, historical situations, economic situations, political situations; it is not a little demon that emerges in people simply because they are depraved” (1970:6); not only personality causes racism
   1. Overly focused on negative feelings: paternalism, pity, even affection may accompany domination, in which the central motivator is desire for control rather than antipathy (Jackman 2005)
   2. Critique from standpoint of “normative theories:” discrimination is a product of situational norms by which we feel compelled to abide; we understand that such actions are expected of us, and in most cases we conform even if we have desire to disobey; norms are group standards that define how people are expected to act in particular social situations; there are positive sanctions (rewards) for conforming and negative sanctions for deviating from norms of discrimination (66)
      a. unconscious transmission: negative attitudes toward a group are learned in the same way as learning to eat with a knife and fork; this socialization is subtle and largely unconscious; prejudice and discrimination need not be taught directly and intentionally (Marger, 2012: 66)
      b. most learning through observation and imitation: not direct teaching methods; children and adults take cues from their peers and other important reference groups as well as mass media; through this process, ethnic-racial attitudes start to crystallize by age 4, and by age 6 are clear even to children who have had no contact with other racial/ethnic groups (Van Ansdale and Feagin, 2001); racism may be no more indicative of defective personality than taste in food
      c. Impact of changing reference groups (Pearlin 1954): southern white women “most strongly affiliated with their pre-college membership groups” (M:68) were most prejudiced; those who had weakened these ties & had increased ID with college groups were least prejudiced; study of college women shows adoption of racial attitudes of reference group (liberal college view).
d. Robert Merton’s 4 ideal types demonstrate “situational norms:” (1) All-weather liberals (unprejudiced nondiscriminators): attitudes and behavior are consistent, (2) Active bigots (prejudiced discriminators): also consistent; (3) Timid bigots (prejudiced nondiscriminators) shows the effect of situational contexts on behavior (e.g., La Piere study; Lewis Killian (1953) study of white working-class southerners (“hillbillies”) as travelers to Chicago who praised segregation and complained blacks were “taking over Chicago,” but peacefully adopted northern norms of treatment unheard of in South before 1960s; (4) fair-weather liberals (unprejudiced discriminators): also succumb to situational norms because they do not desire to undermine their social status or break law (NY Times, in 1987, reports an apparently non-prejudiced pharmacy owner in Tifton, Georgia who dismissed a black student—placed in the pharmacy for training—because of fear of antagonism from white patrons (Marger 2012:70).

e. Statistical discrimination (Van den Bergh 1997) is situational: “where information is in short supply and costly, people will rely on stereotypes” (M:71); is based on rational self-interest rather than prejudiced personality only insofar as “guidelines” can be changed by facts; whites stereotype blacks as “criminally inclined” despite age and class being more predictive than race; whites having little interaction with blacks discriminate because race more obvious than class; banks act similarly, charging higher interest rates or making fewer loans to blacks, only in part, because of incomplete information in assessing risk; like racial profiling by police

Social Structural Theories

Overview: structural theories focus on the use of power to further group interests rather than on “individual personalities” or on the “constraints and demands of different social situations” (Marger 2012:72)—insofar as situations are shaped by the structure of power and wealth; structural theories assume that social dominance (behavior of groups) shapes legitimating ideology (surfacing in attitudes) rather than attitudes causing behavior

A. Gain is key: conflict theories focus on perceived gains (often economic) from discrimination (M:72);

An example is profit/wealth and other gains from slave systems, which are justified by racial ideology

B. Perceived threats (to dominance or privilege) result in blatant discrimination & even violence:

Texas fisherman in 1981 felt threatened when 100 Vietnamese shrimpers began competing with them in Galveston Bay, so whites enlisted Ku Klux Klan to engage in physical attacks & arson (Hein 1995)

I. Power Imbalance/ Conflict Theory: group use of power to sustain privilege (discriminatory behavior) causes ideological legitimation (or prejudicial attitudes); opposite of psychological theory; 3 premises below:

1. Conflict: inevitable group conflict (not individual) over scarcity (wealth, etc.) leads 1 group(s) to dominate

2. Power sustains privilege: dominant group (controlling resources) uses its power to maintain privileges;

Examples are property owners and governing elites (often white) whose position is protected by police, courts, prisons, and military; split labor market theory (Bonacich 1972, 1976) is another example, which focuses on threat of cheap labor (e.g., immigrants or blacks), often used as strikebreakers by employers; higher priced labor (often white) uses racial discrimination to combat fear of threat to wages/employment

a. Makabe (1981) finds support for split labor market theory: in British Columbia, Canada, before WWII, white workers engage in hostile rejection of Japanese workers, who were paid lower wages by employers when entering workforce at bottom (resulting in white demands to halt immigration); in Brazil, Japanese entered with skills/financial resources superior to native employees (often former slaves), so there was little competition or conflict because not seeking the same occupational positions

b. Feelings of superiority not sufficient to create prejudice/discrimination (Lawrence Bobo 1999):

also must be perceived threat from subordinate group to dominant group privileges

example is white southern political strategy of manipulating white fears of blacks:

1. Alabama gubernatorial election in 1958 (Frady 1968): after losing to “a candidate more avowedly racist than himself,” George Wallace said he would never allow this to happen again

2. Willie Horton used by Republican ads in 1988 presidential campaign: Horton was a convicted murderer who, during furlough from a prison, raped a woman; imagery of black male used to frighten white voters while characterizing the Democratic candidate (Dukakis) as “soft on crime”

3. Post-WWII upward mobility of Jews and Catholics: did not antagonize dominant group because “nonzero-sum-mobility” (prosperity advanced everyone) did not threaten privileges

3. Ideology: dominant group legitimizes privileges with ideology (system of ideas) of superiority; this is more
effective than application of superior force or power, which is a scarce resource that is quickly expended; Marxist version examines how dominant class (e.g., capitalists) use ideology to divide subordinate classes (e.g. workers) as a ‘divide and conquer’ strategy (e.g. create split between black and white workers)

Example of Social Structural Theories: Colonial/Neo-Colonial Model

I. 500 Years of Colonialism create Global Racial Stratification--clarifies race relations today
   A. Scope: At one time or another Europe ruled 85% of global land surface
      1. One tiny island (England) controls 26% of global land surface and population
      2. Whites rule over people of color
   B. Examples: French West Africa, Belgian Congo, British Guiana
   C. Theme 1 of Model: global stratification system created by force (at gunpoint):
      1. Europe first to head toward industrialization and superior military technology

II. Theme 2: Global Racial Stratification System Institutionalized in World Economy/Culture
    A. North/South legacy: income differential partial by-product of colonialism:
       1. Per capital GNP (1978): Africa $500, Asia $280 vs. $9600 U.S./Canada
       2. Economic dependency: trade, investment, aid, jobs controlled by former colonizers

III. Theme 3: Racial ideology legitimates Colonialism
    A. Argues power/privileges produced by merit (superiority): once “white man’s burden”
    B. Argues privilege bestowed by nature rather than social oppression—stifles rebellion
    C. De Gobineau, Galton, Chamberlain advance racial theories at height of colonialism
       1. No accident this happens in last half of 19th century when colonial rule expands rapidly

IV. Theme 4: Stratification within countries by-product of global colonial system
    A. Slavery: Africans incorporated in bottom strata of U.S. through colonial slave trade
    B. Indian’s forcible removal: colonizer’s weapons force Indians onto worthless land (reservations)
    C. Treaty of Guadeloupe-Hidalgo (1848): Mexico loses 1/3 land; Spanish language not respected
Lecture 3: Eugenics Movement

I. Objectives Achieved by U.S. Eugenics Movement:
(Eugenics is a pseudo-science concerned with improving human stock through selective breeding)

A. Restrictions on marriage: by 1914, >½ states restrict marriage when mental defects
   1. anti-miscegenation predates; 1896 Conn.1st pure eugenic law

B. Sterilization of genetic undesirables: 30 states+Puerto Rico pass laws
   1. More than 63,000 sterilized, more than ½ against will, 1907-1964.
   2. Supreme Court upheld laws in 1927, declared unconstitutional in 1964
   3. U.S. provide foundation for 1933 Nazi Eugenics Law, which sterilizes 2 million

C. Restrict Immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe: fear of dangerous race mixing leads to emergency legislation in 1921 and 1924.
   1. Said to be round-headed using cephalic index: morally/intellectually inferior
   2. Alpha and Beta tests used for WWI recruits show intellectually inferior
      a. IQ tests are necessarily culture-bound, but these are especially biased

II. Eugenics Movement arguments based on pseudo-science: rooted in biological determinism, which has pattern of ignoring, discarding, falsifying evidence

A. I.Q. testing predated by:
   1. Physiognomy: facial angles used to determine inborn characteristics
   2. Phrenology: examines surface of head for bumps showing poverty, wisdom, etc.
   3. Cranio: cephalic index (width/length of skull) to measure intellect, morals

B. Cranio demonstrated:
   1. Anatomist Burt Wilder (1909): shows no difference between black/white brains
   2. Franz Boas in 1912 (1940): makes 18000 measurements of immigrants to U.S.
      a. Cephalic index of American-born descendants differ from parents
      b. Importance of nutritional differences for longer heads
   3. Yet after Boas disproves, Harvard University’s Hooten uses to oppose unemployment relief in book, Apes, Men, and Morons (1937)

C. Thomas Sowell (1978) in article, Race and IQ, shows increase in IQ scores of various immigrant groups the longer they have lived in the U.S.
   1. Group IQ differences could be 100% from environment despite individual dif.
   2. Improvement due to acculturation and improved education/income of families

D. Impact of environment: Alpha/Beta tests show that blacks in 4 states (Penn, NY, Ill, Ohio) have higher IQ scores than whites in 4 states (Miss, Kentucky, Arkansas, Georgia)
   1. McDougal (psych. chair at Harvard U) and Brigham (1923) dismiss findings:
      Saying that higher IQ blacks with greater admixture white blood went north

III. Politics disguised as science: the bias of IQ testing

A. All 3 pioneers of the IQ testing movement in America were in eugenics movement
   1. Lewis M. Terman: Every feeble-minded woman is a potential prostitute”
      develops Stanford-Binet test assuming it measures innate ability
      a. Ignores Alfred Binet’s warning: no single measure of intelligence and cannot separate innate from learned intelligence.
   2. Edward L. Thorndike: “ positive correlation between intelligence and morality”
   3. Henry Goddard: the Kallikak Family claims to show 3 generations of criminals

B. Based on alpha and Beta tests given to WWI recruits (Goddard, Yerkes, Terman), Yoakum and Yerkes concludes that 47.3% of the American people are morons.

IV. Eugenics and racism not simply product of prejudice or ignorance:

A. Eugenics courses taught around turn of century at Harvard, MIT, Brown, etc.
B. Eugenics supported by presidents Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, Coolidge
LECTURE 4: Ethnic Stratification (See Marger, chapter 2)

I. Ethnic Stratification systems: hierarchical arrangement of ethnic groups
   A. Minority: not size, but “group’s marginal location” that determines minority status (Marger, 2012:30)
   B. Middleman minority: mediators between dominant and subordinate ethnic groups; between capitalist and worker; between producer and consumer; independent professionals, small business owners (often retail), middle-management; historically shopkeepers, traders, moneylenders; e.g., Jewish businesses in black ghettos recently replaced by Koreans: intermediate position makes vulnerable to out-group hostility (34)
      1. Out-group hostility: toward Jews in 1965 LA riot; Koreans in 1992 LA riot (see LA is Burning)
      2. Natural scapegoats: in times of stress (Blalock 1967); numerically and politically powerless (35)
      3. In-group solidarity: (seen as clannishness) and business success create outside antipathy, reinforcing high level of ethnic solidarity (35)
      4. Shock absorber: depends on dominant group for protection, while insulating from resentment below
      5. Jews in medieval Europe: disliked as money lenders (Christians see as sinful); below landed elite
      6. “Overseas Chinese” in Southeast Asia: highly successful businesses, but target of prejudice and discrimination by Filipinos; are 3% of population in Indonesia, but account for 70% private business activity; Indonesians resent as “clannish” despite presence since 19\textsuperscript{th} century; target of violence (35)

II. Mobility in Ethnic Stratification Systems: difference between class and caste
   A. Mobility in class-based systems: in Mexico and Peru, Indians can move upward into dominant, mestizo group by replacing Indian language with Spanish, huaraches (sandals) with shoes, adopting dominant culture; physical visibility not insurmountable obstacle; to lesser degree, true of Brazil (37)
   B. Little mobility in caste systems: highly restricted by custom or law—e.g. India; pariahs or outcasts are stigmatized by physical or cultural characteristics; endogamy or marriage within caste is essential feature
      1. Burakumin in Japan: pariah group is physically indistinguishable; myth that they “are descendants of a less human ‘race’ than” other Japanese” (De Vos and Wagatsuma, 1966); were required to wear identifying clothing, live in segregated area, and do low-status work; endogamy often enforced today
         a. IQ differential: score 15 points lower than other Japanese in Japan, but not when tested in U.S.; caused by difference in socio-economic status and self-fulfilling prophecy/Thomas theorem
      2. Northern Ireland: religio-ethnic groups, Protestants and Catholics, mingle/live in segregated areas and schools; little intermarriage (endogamy); some believe they see physical differences!
      3. Group separation: sustained by “a perception of . . . profound and unbridgeable differences” (38)
      4. Nazis: forced German Jews, who were physically indistinguishable, to wear yellow stars of David

III. Ideological Legitimation of Ethnic Stratification
   A. Caste systems: outcasts seen as “polluted,” subhuman, or otherwise inherently inferior
   B. Class systems: posit mobility as “proof” that low strata lack individual achievement or “self-motivation”
      1. Overlooks proper staging: mobility from lower strata requires good education, job, connections

IV. Forms of Initiation and Responses to Ethnic Stratification
   A. Forms of Initiation: conquest, annexation, voluntary immigration, involuntary immigration (43)
      1. Voluntary immigration: main source of ethnic diversity in U.S., Canada, Australia, New Zealand
         a. Other societies chiefly based on immigration: Argentina, Brazil, Israel
      2. Involuntary immigrants: forced transfer, e.g. slaves in 17\textsuperscript{th}-19\textsuperscript{th} centuries, to U.S., Brazil, West Indies
         a. Conquest causes more long-term conflict because natives left with few options but resistance
      4. Noel (1968): competing for scarce resources causes stratification and ethnocentrism channels this
   B. Louis Wirth (1945): Four responses of subordinate strata—pluralism, assimilation, secession, militancy
      1. Pluralism: maintain distinct culture while participating in mainstream of polity and economy
         a. voluntarily segregate: not rejected by dominant group; Hutterites, Amish, Hasidic Jews
            i. contamination: these groups see threat posed to their culture by contact with larger society
         2. Assimilation: aim for absorption into dominant group; groups from northwestern Europe—Dutch,
Scandinavian, German—are today almost indistinguishable as ethnic groups in U.S., but this is rare
3. Secession: seek neither assimilation nor cultural autonomy; seek complete political independence
   a. Quebec in Canada: substantial portion of French-speaking population want independent Quebec
   b. Basque provinces of Spain: nationalist movement among Basque people with own language (47)
4. Militancy: goal is not withdrawal but domination; with break-up of USSR, Latvia became
   independent; replaced Russian political elite and imposed language and citizenship requirements on
   all non-Latvians, including ethnic Russians, who were downgraded to subordinate status (47).
LECTURE 5: Assimilation and Pluralism (See Marger, Chapter 4)

I. Theoretical Models of Ethnic Relations: 2 options: societies either blend together or remain segregated

A. Assimilation: groups become more alike culturally and interact with one another more freely

1. “a process of boundary reduction” (Yinger 1981:246)
2. No longer prevailing assumption: that multi-ethnic societies inevitably move toward fusion
3. Assimilationist bias: has been undermined by U.S. and global patterns of ethnic conflict (M:81)
4. Assimilationist societies: no recognized obligation or objective in protecting the retention of ethnicity; most groups retain only expressive aspects of their ethnic cultures beyond two or three generations; racially distinct are more segregated and the least structurally assimilated; stratified more by class than by caste; racist ideology is officially denied and more commonly expressed informally and subtly; nonetheless, competition—as opposed to colonial society in which people “know their place”—may lead to more low-grade interethnic and racial conflict than in pluralist societies

B. Pluralism: groups remain culturally distinct (cultural pluralism) and socially segregated (structural Pluralism) (M:80,92)

1. Equalitarian pluralism: multiculturalism with groups participating equally within common political and economic institutions; relations among ethnic groups are not “hierarchical and invidious;” group differences are encouraged but within the framework of agreed-upon principles (M:92)
   a. Corporate pluralism: formally declared equalitarian pluralism in which structural and cultural differences are protected by the state; examples are Switzerland, Belgium, Malaysia, and to some extent Canada; power is allocated on basis of ethnic formula with benefits (jobs/income) distributed proportional to population; cooperation among all leaders of all significant ethnic groups; political autonomy for each group locally
      i. Multilingualism is officially sanctioned: e.g., Switzerland’s 4 official languages—German, French, Italian, and Romansh—is the “most obvious and successful” system (McRae 1983); Canadian bilingualism (English, French) has been very divisive
      ii. Territorial basis: ethnic groups are concentrated in native areas in which they have historic roots; became part of larger nation through conquest or voluntarily to secure benefits; not like U.S. where most immigrants are voluntary, dispersed geographically, and sever most native roots
         a) Example: 80% French-speaking people in Canada are in one province—Quebec (M:94); different from ethnic concentrations in urban pockets or neighborhoods in U.S.
   b. Mixed results of equalitarian pluralism: Yugoslavia provided roughly proportional political power to ethnic nationalities living mainly in distinct territories, but the system broke up in 1991 unleashing brutal ethnic warfare; Switzerland’s harmonious interethnic relations are exceptional; Belgium witnessed some conflict between French-speaking Walloons and Dutch-speaking Flemings in 2007 but is mostly harmonious
2. Inequalitarian pluralism: state uses coercion rather than consensual legitimacy to hold ethnic groups together; state protect interests of dominant ethnic group; sustained or increased inequality is built into the system; high levels of prejudice and discrimination; interethnic interaction limited to functional contacts such as work and government administration; Kuper and Smith (1969:1) characterization: “Economic symbiosis and mutual avoidance, cultural diversity and social cleavage;” each group has its own schools, churches, and businesses (institutional separation and duplication)
   a. Economic interdependence: dominant group needs subordinate ethnic groups for menial labor
   b. Ideological legitimation: dominant group sees subordinate group as “childish, immature, irresponsible, exuberant, improvident, fun-loving, good-humored, and happy-go-lucky; in short, as inferior but lovable as long as they stay in their place” (van den Berghe 1978:27)
   c. Resembles caste system: strict segregation enforced in all areas of social life
   d. Paternalistic race relations: all people understand social place; stability assured if no deviation from ascribed roles;
   e. Competitive race relations replace paternalistic relations: when agrarian systems evolve into industrial societies, social roles must be assigned through competition rather than through ascription
IV. Factors facilitating or inhibiting assimilation:

f. Classic colonial systems: realize inequitarian pluralism in most extreme form

g. Expulsion or annihilation of subordinate ethnic groups: e.g. deportation of Chinese from U.S. in mid-19th century, detention of Ukrainians in Canada during WWI, Japanese internment in U.S. and Canada during WWII, Nazi treatment of Jews in 1930s and 1940s, ethnic cleansing by Serbs against Muslims in Bosnia and ethnic Albanians in Kosovo—all are outcome of inequitarian pluralism

h. Most characteristic of agrarian or pre-industrial societies: labor-intensive economies require large supply of unskilled labor—subordinate ethnic groups fulfill this need: rules of interaction explicitly defined and are enforced by both tradition and law; ethnicity and class overlap with no mobility; dominant group ordinarily entered as conqueror; prime examples are colonial and slave societies of 17th-19th centuries. Only example in modern age is South Africa’s former apartheid system, which unraveled starting in mid-1980s and was formally ended in 1994.

II. Dimensions of Assimilation:

A. Cultural assimilation: ethnic group adopts another’s cultural traits—language, diet, religion, etc.
   1. Can be additive rather than substitutive: if groups are not highly antagonistic or very disparate
B. Structural assimilation: increasing degree of social interaction among different ethnic groups; members of subordinate ethnic groups are dispersed throughout society’s various institutions and increasingly enter into contacts with members of the dominant group
   1. Primary (or informal): interaction within relatively small and intimate groups such as family and friendship cliques (emotional or “affective” relationships; face-to-face interaction; enduring ties); the degree to which friends and marital partners are chosen without regard to ethnicity or race
   2. Secondary (or formal): interaction within large, impersonal groups such as in schools, workplace, etc.
      a. Equality of access to power and privilege within major institutions: jobs, housing, schooling, political office, income, wealth, life chances, etc. are distributed without regard to race or ethnicity
      b. Measurement: degree of parity with the dominant group’s income, wealth, education, and power
      c. Synonymous to integration: participation in social institutions is unconstrained by ethnicity
      d. Generally precedes primary structural assimilation: formal relations precede intimate relationships
C. Psychological assimilation: change in self-identity so that ethnicity is no longer defining “who am I”
   1. Implies not only change in self-identification: but also a change in identification by others (M:84)
D. Biological assimilation: accomplished through intermarriage (exogamy)
   1. Progress toward long-range goal: Mexico most progress (Van den Berghe 1978) and Brazil some
III. Segmented Assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993, 1994): assimilation to a culture outside mainstream

A. Structural barriers today: economy no longer provides immigrant upward mobility via manufacturing
B. E.g., West Indian (Haitian, Jamaican, etc.) Immigrants: drift to black culture, not white middle class
C. Immigrant Asians resist: emphasize traditional ethnic values/identity to get children to excel in school
IV. Factors facilitating or inhibiting assimilation: What factors affect whether, to what extent, and the rate at which the members of a given group are included into dominant society?

A. Voluntary Entrance: makes for less conflict-ridden adjustment; conquest or involuntary migration leaves few options other than resistance.
B. Race: resistance of dominant group will be stronger in the case of a racial distinction and visible physical differences; 4th generation Asian-Americans get questions like “Where do you come from?” and comments like “You speak English so well.”
C. Size: rejection by dominant group more if subordinate group is relatively large or has grown rapidly; smaller groups have fewer resources and interact more frequently with out-group members
D. Similarity to dominant culture: will expedite assimilation.
E. Timing: earlier arrival (more time here) increases chance of assimilation. Lieberson and Waters found that among those describing ancestry as “American” in census of 1980, 98 percent had at least 3 generations’ residence in U.S. (1988:43). Also important is possibility of finding work, for example during periods of economic expansion when immigrants are welcomed. When unemployment is high, there is fear that “they are taking American jobs.
Lecture 6: European Immigration (See Marger, Chapter 5)

I. Creation of the Dominant Ethnic Culture

B. Anglo-Conformity Model: was the dominant ethnic ideology, upheld by U.S. government policy. The view was that groups should “shed their ethnic uniqueness as quickly and completely as possible” in order to assimilate into the dominant group. The expectation was that American culture replaces culture of origin country.

C. Melting Pot Approach: was that culture of ethnic groups and host group blend to create a new culture.
   1. Symbolically popular: yet never had many adherents nor was it implemented in government policy
   2. Frederick Jackson Turner’s Frontier Thesis (1920): western frontier was blender of cultures because adapting to harsh conditions required borrowing freely from different cultures

D. Assimilatist Cultural Pluralism: Horace Kallen argued ethnic groups need not give up own culture to be 100% American, but free to decide how much ethnic heritage to retain. All should master English language/culture (add, not substitute), & obtain full secondary assimilation., but friends/marriages could remain within own ethnicity/race. Identify as American, but can have second identity with own group.

THE “OLD IMMIGRATION”: THE FIRST GREAT WAVE (OR STREAM): 1820—1880

II. Colonial Irish (chapters 5 and 10)
A. From Ulster in Northern Ireland: primarily Protestants, many Scots-Irish
B. Many Scots-Irish escaping absentee landowners
C. Despite speaking English, stereotyped as drunks, prone to fights, ill-tempered, dirty
D. Seen as squatters (occupy land without purchasing it)
E. English destroy meeting house, mob arises to prevent landing, blamed for food shortage

III. 19th Century Irish (chapters 5 and 10)
A. Potato Famine causes exodus: 1821, then 1845/1846: nearly ½ million starve
B. By 1854, 2 million of all social classes leave Ireland (English create depend on potato)
C. Two sources of negative imagery: Roman Catholicism (establish church in U.S., 1825-1855) and machine politics (ethnic bloc voting) in Democratic Party

IV. Colonial Germans (chapters 5 and 10)
A. Reputation for thrift, diligence, farming skill? Were they therefore welcomed?
B. Said to squat illegally, have bad manners, thought to be disloyal
C. Criticized for Clannishness: build stone houses on adjacent lands and pass German language faithfully from 2nd and even 3rd generation; German-language newspapers
D. Sect Germans refuse to bear arms, pay taxes, hold public office

V. 19th Century Germans (chapters 5 and 10)
A. Potato crop failed in 1846, but not as bad as Ireland because of diversified economy
B. Germany contributed more immigrants to U.S. in 19th century than any other country
C. By 1900, largest minority in 27 states: in 1990 nearly 1/4 said they have German ancestry

THE ‘NEW IMMIGRATION”: THE SECOND GREAT WAVE

VI. Changing Pattern of Immigration--2nd Great Immigrant Stream (1880s-1924)
A. Begins after Civil War, when dramatic increase in immigrants from East/South Europe
B. However, first stream from Northern/Western Europe peaks 1880-1889.
C. 2nd stream becomes dominant after 1890: Italians and Russian Jew foremost, but also Austro-Hungarians, Bohemians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Croatians, Greeks, Slovaks, etc.
D. Over 10 million immigrants (E/S Europe) source of labor for emergent industrial economy

VII. Italian Immigrants (most important in 2nd stream)
A. 4 million 1880-1915 (half of them from 1900-1910)
B. Come from Southern region: they were called “contadini” (meaning landless, “ignorant” peasants)
C. Do they go into farming? No, frontier closed: go into factories.
D. Trapped in dirty, squalid slums; Italian culture rather than structural conditions blamed
E. Criminal Stereotype: every pizza parlor seen as front for Mafia
   1. No more crime-prone than other immigrants; crime-rate lower than natives
F. Ethnogenesis: (ethnic emergence) process of forming broader ethnic identity (e.g., as Italians) due to common experience in host country, namely discrimination.
1. Formerly see identity in terms of locality (Neopolitans, Calabrians, Sicilians) rather than nationality. Parallel experience of Latins in Southwest US (Latinos)

THE “NEWEST IMMIGRATION:” THE THIRD WAVE (OR STREAM)

VIII. Third Great Immigrant Stream (1946-present): Mainly third world
   A. Distinctive because of political refugees and labor migration from Third World
   B. New ethnic mix: from Europe (60% 1920-1959) to ½ Latin and 37% Asian 1981-1990
      1. Only 10% European in 1981-1990
   C. Why Hispanics mainly blue-collars and uneducated, Asians white-collar and educated?
      1.1965 immigration law (Hart-Cellar) priority on skills, PhD; Hispanics illegal

IX. 1965 amendments to INA (Hart-Cellar) revolutionary: end national origins principle
   A. Ceiling of 290,000 in 1968; 170,000 from Eastern Hemisphere; 120,000 Western Hemisphere
   B. 20,000 from each nation regardless of size; extended to W. Hemisphere in 1976.
Lecture 7: White Ethnics, Immigration Restriction, and Eugenics

I. Racial Restrictions on immigration and citizenship:
   A. Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882: only nationality to be barred from immigration by name. Repealed 1943.
      1. Chinese build transcontinental railroad, 1862-1869: cheap labor seen as threat
      2. Workingman’s Party has slogan “The Chinese Must Go”
   B. Naturalization law in 1790: for ½ centuries (until 1952) race is a criterion for naturalization in U.S.
      (in 1935, Hitler restricted citizenship to members of “Aryan” race, making U.S. and Germany only countries to have restriction based on race)
      1. 1790-1870: law states only whites can be citizens via naturalization; applicant must be “white” and ‘free”
      2. 1870-1952: After civil war ends slavery, blacks are allowed to naturalize, but not Asians or others
         (Chinese, coming from WWII ally of U.S., are 1st exception in 1943)
            1. white taken literally: Ozawa argued that to reject his petition would to “to excluded a Japanese who
               is ‘white’ in color. He argued that people from the city of Kyoto could be whiter than the average
               Italian, Spaniard or Portuguese. (Lopez, 1996: 82)
            2. Court’s position of skin: in ruling against Ozawa, Court “stated a simple fact: skin color does not
               a. Court rules that Takao Ozawa is not white because he is not “Caucasian”
         b. Supreme Court Decision in U.S. v. (Bhagat Singh) Thind (1923): the court repudiated its decision
            one year earlier based on the scientific community’s definition of “Caucasian.” The court instead
            ruled that “the words ‘free white persons’ are words of common speech, to be interpreted in
            accordance with the understanding of common man.” (Lopez, 1996:8) The court jettisoned so-called
            scientific explanations of race when science no longer supported popular racial prejudice.
            1. Science classified Indians as White: anthropologists classified people from Northern India not as
               “Mongolians” but as “Caucasians.”
            2. Court’s Racist reasoning: “It may be true that the blond Scandinavian and the brown Hindu have a
               common ancestor in the dim reaches of antiquity, but the average man knows perfectly well that
               there are unmistakable and profound differences today.” (Lopez, 1996: 89)
         3. Repercussions for Asian Indians: after the 1923 decision, the U.S. government started to strip
            naturalized Asian Indians of their citizenship, denaturalizing at least 65 people 1923 - 1927. One
            former citizen committed suicide after his denaturalization (Vaisho Das Bagai in 1928)
         4. The social construction of the White race: is manifest in the Court’s repudiation of science and its
            installation of common knowledge as the appropriate racial meter of Whiteness (Lopez, 1996:9)
            a. race over science: “race moved off crumbling parapet of physical difference and onto the
               relatively solid earthwork of social prejudice” (Lopez, 1996: 94)
         c. Immigration dependent on eligibility for citizenship: 1924 - 1952, persons ineligible for citizenship
            were not allowed to enter the United States. (Lopez, 1996: 15)
         d. Stripping of citizenship: women who were U.S. citizens were automatically stripped of their
            citizenship upon marriage to a non-white alien ineligible for citizenship, 1907-1931 (Lopez, 1996: 15)
         e. 1952 Naturalization Statute: “right of a person to become a naturalized citizen of the United
            States shall not be denied or abridged because of race or sex or because a such a person is married”
            a. Official end to barring naturalization on the basis of race.
   C. Birthright Citizenship: automatic citizenship by virtue of birth was linked to race until 1940.
      1. American Indians: in 1884 in Elk v. Wilkins the Supreme Court ruled that Native Americans owed
         allegiance to their tribe and so did not acquire citizenship at birth. Only in 1924 did congress pass an
         act conferring citizenship on all tribes (up to then piecemeal).

II. Dark Chapter in Immigration History: U.S. Eugenics Movement succeeds in 3 goals
   (Eugenics is a pseudo-science concerned with improving human stock through selective breeding)
   A. Restrictions on marriage: by 1914, > ½ states restrict marriage when mental defects
B. Sterilization of genetic undesirables: 30 states + Puerto Rico pass laws
   1. More than 63,000 sterilized, more than ½ against will, 1907-1964.
   2. Supreme Court upheld laws in 1927, declared unconstitutional in 1964
   3. U.S. provide foundation for 1933 Nazi Eugenics Law, which sterilizes 2 million
C. Restrict Immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe: fear of dangerous race mixing leads to emergency legislation in 1921 and 1924.
   1. Said to be round-headed using cephalic index: morally/intellectually inferior
   2. Alpha and Beta tests used for WWI recruits show intellectually inferior
      a. IQ tests are necessarily culture-bound, but these are especially biased

III. The Emergency Quota Act of 1921
   A. First ceiling on immigration: about 350,000
   B. Quota: 3% of foreign born of particular nationality based on 1910 Census
      1. Biased against South/East Europe since more recent immigration (1890 onward)
   C. Cuts S/E European immigration to 1/4 of previous level

IV. The Reid-Johnson Act (Immigration Quota Act of 1924)
   A. First stage: ceiling of 165,000
   B. First stage: annual quota reduced to 2% of foreign-born already in U.S. in 1890 Census
   C. 2nd stage of same law: in 1929, ceiling further reduced to 150,000
   D. 2nd stage: national origins principle introduced: quota based on % of 150,000 of a given national stock (now includes descendants of foreign born) using 1920 Census
      1. Even more biased in favor of first immigrant stream
      2. Racist principle not eliminated until passage of 1965 immigration law

V. WHO ARE white ethnics?
White Ethnics are groups from SOUTHERN and EASTERN Europe — predominately Italy, Poland, Russia and Greece. These WHITE ETHNICS were once targets of considerable vitriol. Indeed, the eugenics movement characterized them as BIOLOGICALLY INFERIOR. Where do these groups stand today?
Contrary to expectations, the
SECONDARY STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION OF ITALIANS is striking.
A. Italian Americans have “made it” in American society—more so than many ethnic groups
   1. For example, Median household income: at $62,000, is well above the national average near $50,000.
      Contrast this with Italian “squalor” in the 1920s.
   2. Indeed, there was minimal occupational mobility for Italians—or other white ethnics—between the first and second generations. Most children of Italian immigrants did manual labor, just like their dads.
   3. Italian upward mobility began in the 1950s: a period in which the U.S. middle class grew substantially.
      a. The key to success of 3rd and 4th generation Italians?: education.
      b. In fact, regarding educational attainment, there has been a convergence of Euro-American ethnics
      c. The surprising result for Eastern Europeans—particularly in view of the eugenics movement casting them as “biologically inferior”—is their near parity in social class with Northwestern Europeans today
B. The social class mobility of Southeastern Europeans is matched by their growing POLITICAL power.
   1. Although the first two generations advanced little, recent gains have been dramatic.
   2. For example, CATHOLICS—most of whom are “white ethnics”—are more prominent in the Senate and House today—at 30%—than would be expected from their proportion in the population—at 24%.
   3. In stark contrast with the 1970s, when it was still possible to talk about a single “Catholic seat” or “Jewish seat” on the Supreme Court, by 2010 the two groups in question occupied ALL 9 Supreme Court seats—6 being Catholic and 3 Jewish. Astounding! In 2010, the previously dominant PROTESTANT group had no representation in the highest court of the land.
C. Another arena showing CONVERGENCE in secondary structural assimilation is in control of corporations
   1. Anglo over-representation in the corporate world is now in decline. However, in the 1950s, 85% of top corporate leaders were Protestant, mostly of British origin. Only 7 percent were Catholics. It was only after the 1970s that real changes start to occur.
D. The question raised by increasing structural assimilation is whether WHITE ETHNICITY is disappearing.
1. As white ethnics—with Southeastern European heritage—move up the ladder from laborers to middle class, their distinctiveness with regard to occupation, education, lifestyle, or friends is dissipating. In the end, all that remains may be “SYMBOLIC ethnicity”—vestigial and voluntary rather than determinative of behavior. That is, in the future, white ethnicity may no longer affect choice of residence, associates, or even one’s spouse.
### SES Table for 2009 (mostly from Marger 2012)

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<th>Percent Managers &amp; Professionals</th>
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*2009 rates from U.S. Census Bureau (2012) *Statistical Abstract of the United States*: Table 588
Lecture 8: Civil Rights Movement

I. A stimulus predating movement: WWII
   A. Segregated military until July 1948
   B. President Truman’s Executive Order 9981 forbids discrimination/segregation in military
   C. Inconsistency: blacks fight German bigotry but then come home to segregation

II. Two Major Tactics of Civil Rights Movement
   A. Nonviolent Direct Action: sometimes involves illegal, although nonviolent, protest
   B. Legal strategy: challenging constitutional status of segregation in the courts

III. A. Philip Randolph threatens march of 100,000 on Washington, D.C. in 1941
   A. Example of nonviolent direct action, modeled on Gandhi’s approach in India
   B. To prevent, Roosevelt’s executive order prohibits discrimination in defense plants

IV. Congress of Racial Equality or CORE (founded 1942)
   A. Organizes lunch counter sit-ins and, starting in 1947, freedom rides
   B. Another example of nonviolent direct action

V. NAACP’s Thurgood Marshall wins in Smith v. Allwright (1944)
   A. Supreme rules that whites primaries are unconstitutional--example of legal strategy

VI. Brown v. the Board of Education (1954)
   A. Chief Justice Earl Warren concludes separate education facilities are inherently unequal

VII. Montgomery Bus Boycott lead by Martin Luther King
   A. Rosa Parks refuses to yield seat to white passenger on 12/1/55
   B. Objective: end discourses to blacks, hire black bus drivers, end segregated seating
   C. King projected into national spotlight as American Gandhi

IX. President Eisenhower dispatches federal troops to Little Rock Arkansas, 1957
   A. Governor Orval Faubus orders National Guard to keep 9 blacks from Central High
   B. 1000 troops dispatched in state-federal confrontation

X. James Meredith Attempts to enroll at University of Mississippi (1962)
   A. Governor Ross Barnett asks statewide television audience to resist federal policy
   B. Several hundred federal marshals and troops ensure compliance

XI. Southern Christian Leadership Conference fights segregation in Birmingham (1963)
   A. Often considered most segregated city in U.S.
   B. Segregation of hotels and restaurants did not violate federal law
   C. King defies court order and continues protest--involves breaking law
   D. Violent response of white power structure to nonviolent protest:  
      1. Bull Connor’s police use dogs, beatings, fire hoses (pressure = 100 lbs./sq. inch)

XII. SCLC March from Selma to Montgomery to protest voting restrictions (1965)
   A. Peaceful marchers in prayer attacked by police using billy clubs on Pettus Bridge
   B. Skull of John Lewis (a leader of SNCC) fractured
   C. Later, 3 white pastors who joined demonstration attacked and James Peeb dies
   D. Viola Liuzzo, Detroit housewife who aided marchers, shot to death
   E. Helped pave path for Voting Rights Act of 1965
Lecture 9: Ku Klux Klan

I. Baffling Cycles: One of the nation’s first terrorist organizations, KKK first appears during Reconstruction and then almost disappears during Jim Crow era. It suddenly reappears around WWI, declines during Depression, re-emerges during Civil Rights era.

II. KKK first emerges after Civil War (Reconstruction era)
   A. Vigilante violence: lynching, floggings, shootings, mutilations
   B. Purpose: prevent blacks from voting; is invisible government officials could not control
   C. Membership by 1871: 550,000
   D. Upper/middle class leadership: editors, former officers and leaders hide behind sheets
   E. Declines after 1877 since North withdraws: Jim Crow renders invisible government unnecessary

III. First revival 1915-1920s (around WWI)
   A. 2 events set stage:
      1. returning white WWI soldiers compete with blacks for jobs
      2. massive immigration (10 million +) from eastern Europe 1900-1924
   B. Not restricted to south, but spreads to northern cities like Chicago
   C. Violent tactics: tar and feather lynching, use of acid to brand “KKK” into foreheads
   D. Targets: blacks, Jews, Catholics, Mexicans; also white Christian women sympathizers
   E. Lynching 1882-1927: over 3500 blacks and 1400 whites
      1. Cultural events; women, children invited; like circuses; black body parts as souvenirs
   F. Widespread support:
      1. At peak in 1925: 3-9 million members
      2. 1925 march in Washington, D.C. with 40,000 members
      3. Elect governors 4 states + senator from Texas
      4. Authorities tacitly support: Mayors, police, judges ignore, even participate in KKK
   G. 2 promotional gimmicks:
      1. Burning cross as emblem
      2. D.W. Griffiths movie: Birth of a Nation
         a. Depicts KKK as savior of white women
         b. Causes riots after shown
         c. President Woodrow Wilson says it is like writing history with lightening”
   H. declines to 350,000 by 1927 and is sidelined by FDR’s progressive politics of 1930s
      1. Unemployed councils were based on black-white unity

III. Re-emergence during Civil Rights Era in 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s
   A. Spark: Brown vs. the Board of Education (1954); response to “threat” of integration
   B. KKK responsible for many of 138 bombings, 1956-1963 (including M. L. King home)
   C. In 1960s reaches 40,000 members
   D. Negative public opinion+ Klansmen prosecuted and jailed in late 1970s and 1980s
   E. FBI acquiescence in 1960s: 1960-1965 Gary Rowe paid by FBI to infiltrate KKK
      1. In 1980 charged with murdering Civil Rights worker in 1960s.
   F. Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979: All-white jury fails to convict Klan/Nazi members
      killing anti-Klan demonstrators, even though caught on video

IV: Psychological Theories Do not Explain Klan Cycles
   A. Power imbalance theories: looks at perceived threats (voting, jobs, integration, etc.)
   B. After WWII: colonial theories of racial superiority lose political/scientific legitimacy
Lecture 10: Ironic Legacy of Anti-Semitism: Jewish Americans as a “Middleman Minority”

I. Population: 6 to 6.4 million, slightly above 2% of U.S. population; @40% of Jews worldwide in U.S. (2008)
   A. Approximately 1.4 million in New York City (1994) and over ½ million in LA and SE Florida
   B. Among most urbanized of ethnic groups: 1/5 in NYC and ½ in just seven cities (2008)

II. Three major waves of Jewish Immigrants
   A. First wave--Sephardic Jews: from Holland, Spain, Portugal in colonial times (1st arrive 1654); Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal in late 1400s go to Brazil, Holland, England, Caribbean Islands and then later to U.S.; speak Ladino (Hebrew/Spanish mix); 2500 Jews by 1776
   B. 2nd wave—Ashkenazi Jews from Germany in 1840s-50s: grow to 250,000 by 1880; start dry goods and clothing stores—a few developing into large chains, e.g. Macy’s, Bloomingdales, Saks Fifth Avenue, and Neiman-Marcus; though many started out as itinerant peddlers, by 1880s most were middle-class entrepreneurs and some intermarried into non-Jewish upper class; by 1900 they were so assimilated that they lost much of their ethnic identity except for religion
      1. Yiddish language (mix of Hebrew & German): spoken by 2nd and 3rd waves
      2. Identify as Germans: not so segregated in Germany; might assimilate in U.S. in 3 generations
      3. Reform Jews (vs. Conservative and Orthodox) & economically prosperous, seek to assimilate
      4. Embarrassed by 3rd wave, which interrupts assimilation: initially view 3rd wave as “illiterate, uncouth, and provincial greenhorns” who generated anti-Semitic backlash; by 1920s split gone
   C. Third wave—Ashkenazi Jews: @2 million from Pale of Settlement in Russia & Poland 1881-1924; (1880-1952, @3 million); Why leave? Almost ¼ Jews in Eastern Europe leave to escape pogroms starting Easter 1881 (after Tsar Alexander II had been assassinated); bloody pogroms are intrusions into Jewish ghettos to murder, rape, vandalize; different from worldly German Jews seeking assimilation, provincial E. European Jews are from shtetls or all-Jewish villages in which religion organized every aspect of life; are orthodox Jews with distinctive dress (black top hat or yarmulke, etc.) who concentrate in lower-class ghettos (unlike earlier waves)
      1. NY Lower East Side: 350,000 per square mile pack into squalid quarters with poor sanitation
         a. Imagery: provides grist for anti-Semitic and racist stereotypes
      2. Entrepreneurial mode of adaptation: own ethnic enclave in garment industry (middle-man)
         a. Cottage industry/sweat shops: exploitive piece-rates (paid by dress completed); average 35 cents per hour; includes women and children working 15-18 hours per day
         b. Like Asians, Cubans, Greeks—Jews create businesses & hire Jews to be upwardly mobile
      3. Resist cultural assimilation: many had died (in pogroms) for culture so stay Orthodox Jews

III. Anti-Semitism rampant in 1920s and 1930s and early 1940s; declines in 1950s and especially in 1960s
   D. Emergency Quota or Johnson-Reid Act (1924): immigration quotas keep most Jews out of U.S.
   E. Protocols of the Elders of Zion: fake document showing Jewish conspiracy to conquer world governments via communism & banks; Russian czars once used to legitimate oppressing Jews
      i. Henry Ford publishes in his Dearborn Independent; Detroit paper is anti-Semitic in 1920s
   F. Overt: Jews attacked openly and viciously and millions support
      G. Discrimination peaks during this period, then declines:
         i. Harbinger in 1877: financier Seligman barred from Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga, NY
         ii. University Quotas 1922: Harvard president Lowell cuts enrollment of Jews from 21% to 10%; Columbia 40% to 10% to solve so-called “Jewish problem” in Ivy league schools
         iii. Faculty exclusion 1920s-40s: 2% of faculty; by 1960 up to 9%; 20% in elite colleges
   H. Negative image of Jews peaks during this period, then declines:
      i. Power: 1938, 41% say Jews have too much; peaks 1945 at 58%; by 1962, only 11% say
         a. Notions of Jewish power contradictory: said to lead world capitalist conspiracy (take over private banks) and said to lead world communist conspiracy; party based on legacy of 19th-century Rothschild banking family in England, Germany, Italy, France, Austria (yet few modern Jewish bankers) and money-lending in middle ages; also, as highly educated victims of discrimination, Jews are ideal spokespersons for subordinate groups and are visible among radical intelligentsia-leadership but not bulk of rank-and-file; most Jews are not radical; examples fueling myth—Marx and Trotsky
I. Surveys measure Decline in Anti-Semitism since 1940s
   i. Jobs: Jewish ethnicity makes a difference if you were hiring: 1940, 43%; 1962, only 6%
   ii. Neighbor: if next door, makes difference: 1940, 25%; 1962, only 3%
   iii. Colleges: should limit the number admit: 1935, 26%; 1962, only 4%
   iv. Presidential candidate: say vote for “well-qualified” Jew: 1937, only 46%; 1969, 86%
   v. Honesty: @½ in 1938-39 say Jewish businesspeople are less honest; by 2009, only 12%
   vi. Image today (2006): 77% had favorable option vs. 7% unfavorable (16% no opinion); rating is a bit higher than rating for Catholics and much higher than for Evangelicals; yet in 2009 more than ¼ of Americans wrongly say Jews are responsible for death of Christ; 90% of Jewish baby boomers say they had no experience of discrimination, but 80% either strongly or somewhat agree that anti-Semitism “is a serious problem” in the U.S.

IV. Correlates of Anti-Semitism: According to Glock: (1) SES: lower education, income, blue-collar; (2) conservative Protestants: (doctrinal differences may contribute: no path to salvation except Christ subjects nonbelievers to damnation), (3) race: black and white anti-Semitic stereotypes about the same, although blacks less supportive of discrimination; Robin Williams (1977:6) notes black anti-Semitism is rooted in “situational antagonisms rather than deep-seated traditional hostilities”—e.g., confronting Jewish pawn shops/business in inner city (now mainly replaced by Asians so this is now declining); in general, increased education of Americans is causing anti-Semitism to decline (Glock and Stark 1966; Lipset 1987)

V. Assimilation (SEE FIGURES 1 & 2)
   A. Cultural: in U.S. (not outside U.S.) starting with second generation, most Jews have now moved from Orthodox to Conservative or Reform branch, which has more Americanized practices and doctrines
      1. Synagogue today: religious aspect less important; key institution for expressing ethnic identity, for socializing with other Jews, and for introducing children to ethnic heritage
      2. Involved or Affiliated Jews: only @ ¼ of Jews are immersed in Jewish life; includes ultra-Orthodox
      3. Identity sustained by: (1) Nazi holocaust and (2) creation of state of Israel, though this link waning
   B. Structural: Jews—as a group—rose from bottom to top of stratification system in just two generations; using nearly any measure of status—income, occupation, education—rank above most ethnic groups
      1. Residential: @1900 ½ live in NYC; today <20%; Jewish neighborhoods mainly in cities with large Jewish population; Waxman 2001: 2/3 of baby boomers (Jews) say neighborhood is little/not all Jewish
      2. Income: by 1989, median household @ $10,000 higher than average for U.S.; by 2008, 46% of families have income above $100,000 compared to only 18% of families in U.S. population
      3. Occupation: 56% prof/managerial vs. 30% white males; by 1995 are 7.6% of corporate elite
      4. Political influence: 13% of Senate and 7% of House (with @ 2% of population) (see Domhoff 2006)
      5. Education (2008): 59% with college degree vs. 27% for US; 35% with graduate degree vs. 11% U.S.; learning permeates Jewish culture and is highly esteemed even in Biblical times
     6. Why?—economic enclave built with cultural capital: before coming, Jews were not peasants but urban people in commerce/manufacturing, giving them experience/knowhow (in middle ages Jews are barred from owning land in Europe; to remain mobile, they turn to stigmatized occupations such as money lender, traders, or professions). By late 1800s in the U.S., only 16% of Jews were blue-collar workers or farmers; “East European Jews were part of the working class for only one gene
      a. Jewish small businesses cooperate and hire Jews: create niche in clothes, jewelry, meat, and leather
     7. Overcome “Einstein Syndrome” or restriction to “Jewish Jobs:” brainwork jobs—data, legal, sales, accounting—but Jews not executives in oil, auto, banks; in 1973—not 1 in 176 senior executives for 15 largest commercial banks are Jewish, yet Jews are 12-15% of living grads of Harvard Business School
      a. By 1990s: had broken through “syndrome” of doing brainwork for Gentiles but not being in charge.
     8. Primary structural assimilation: 1990, all Jewish friends--45% religious Jews, 12% of secular Jews
      a. Exogamy rate (intermarriage): 1940 (in New Haven) 6%; 1980s—55% (only 1/3 of children from mixed marriages are raised as Jews); among all married Jews today, @ 1/3 are intermarried (2008)

VI. Jews in other immigrant societies: upward mobility like in U.S in Canada, Argentina, and South Africa
Lecture 11: Causes of the Holocaust

I. 2000 years of religious anti-Semitism?
   A. Diaspora under Roman rule: after 3 major revolts, Rome destroys Judea, Jews fan out
      1. Yet some emperors were pro-Jewish
   B. Crusades: Jews must convert or be massacred: in 1099 Jews in Jerusalem burned alive
   C. Black Death (1347-1350): 1 out of 3 Europeans die; Jews blamed and slaughtered
      1. Not in Islamic Europe; only where image of “Christ killer” makes into a target
   D. Spanish Inquisition: tries root out false Christian converts--many Jews flee to Poland
   E. Pogroms in Russia/Poland begin Easter 1881: murder of Jews causes exodus 1880-1920
   F. Reformation & religious pluralism: reduce anti-Semitism in W. Europe, not E. Europe

II. The Holocaust
   A. Turning point for Jews of Europe--Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany on 1/30/33:
      would lead to death of 6 million Jews, managed/sanctioned by modern technocratic state.
   C. Final Solution: Nazi bureaucratic code for elimination of 2000 years of civilization
      1. 2/3 of the world’s Jews live in Europe in 1939.
      3. Over 75% Jews killed in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland vs. 1% Denmark

III. Is Christianity the Cause?
   A. Christianity initially seen as competing Jewish sect; must distinguish from parent religion
      1. Competition: many converts to Christianity in turn converted to Judaism
      2. Mutual antagonism/intolerance results, much as in family feuds and civil wars
   B. Christianity becomes official state religion under emperor Constantine:
      1. Sets in motion 16 centuries of persecution
         a. Pope Eugenius IV bans bathing, eating, living with Jews; special clothing
         b. Pope Paul (1555) reinstates special clothing for Jews; uses as slave labor
      c. Martin Luther, Of Jews and Their Lies (1543): anti-Semitic tract
   C. Hitler refers to messianic mission in Mein Kampf
   D. Jews do better in pagan times, in Roman empire, and in Moslem world
   E. Yet(1) Jesus, apostles are Jews; Jews write 3 Gospels; (2)anti-Semitism decrease in West

IV. Real Cause: Secular Eugenics Movement with Colonial Ideology of Racial Superiority
   A. Race is central doctrine in Mein Kampf--Jews seen more as a race than a religion
      1. Aryans must prove themselves by conquering living space to the East
      2. Jews seen as part of international Jewish conspiracy
   B. Not only Jews targeted: partial exterminate Slavs (3,000,000 non-Jewish Poles, 3.3 million Russian prisoners of war); 250,000 Gypsies killed; gays; socialists; mentally ill.

V. Why didn’t the Jews Resist?
   A. Given limited opportunity and no help, Jews did resist. Examples:
      1. Warsaw Ghetto uprising, April 1943
      2. Uprisings in Treblinka, August 1943
   B. U.S. and Britain don’t aid Jews: many die in holocaust because of immigration policy

VI. Does Rabid German Anti-Semitism Explain?
   A. Germany was a relatively good place for Jews from 1870-1933.
      1. Education: Jews over-represented as students, faculty: 1% pop, 19% prof (1910)
         a. 1905-1931, 10 Jews out of 32 Germans get Nobel prize for science
      2. Income: prosperity indicated insofar as pay 4% of income tax, only 1% of pop
      3. Exogamy: in 1933, 44% marry non-Jews
      4. Over-represented in national legislature
   B. Didn’t Germans vote for Hitler?
      1. 1/3 did, 2/3 did not; Hitler was appointed chancellor; military coup gives power
      2. Many voting for Hitler wanted strong leader to pull out of chaos of depression
C. *Kristallnacht* (11/ 9/38): “Night of the broken glass not supported by many in German public
  1. SS, SA, Hitler youth burn synagogues, destroy businesses, arrest and kill Jews
  2. Because divisive: Propaganda Ministry bans news on anti-Jewish measures

**VII. Dynamics of Power and Privilege, Colonial Legacy of Eugenics Explain Holocaust**
A. Hitler gained support from two pillars of power: industrial elite, military elite
   1. Delivered on promise to eliminate trade unions and socialists
B. Jews were at wrong place at wrong time: most accessible target for eugenics ideology
   1. Ideology legitimating European colonialism makes “race” a central focus
C. Holocaust made possible by (1) highly centralized dictatorship, (2) cover of wartime
   1. Opponents terrorized by what happened to the Jews
   2. Secrecy of wartime, belief that rumors of death camps were war propaganda
D. Industrial world including U.S., not just Germany, implicated in eugenics/anti-Semitism
Lecture 12: The Conquest of American Indians: Phases I and II

Phase I: Colonial Expansion Leads to Broken Treaties and Forcible Removal

I. English colonial policy leads to partial decimation
   A. Demographic hemorrhage: decline from at least 2 million to 250,000 by mid-1800s
      1. Killed by white’s bullets, encroachments, disease
   B. Can’t lump into one ethnic group: 300 tribes, 150 languages

II. The Legacy of Colonial Power: Forcible Removal onto Reservations
   A. Proclamation of 1763: all land west of the Appalachians declared Indian Territory
      1. Anticipating the future: English government can’t stop settler encroachments
   B. The Trail of Tears: fate of 60,000 members of “five civilizes tribes” in southeast U.S.
      1. Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, Creek: settled agriculture, cabin houses
      2. Cherokee: written language, bicameral legislature, appellate judiciary, own slaves
      3. Gold discovered on reservation: Georgia nullifies Cherokee council, raffles land
      4. Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831); Worcester v. Georgia (1832):
         a. Cherokee autonomy, jurisdiction over land, upheld by Supreme Court
         b. President Andrew Jackson refuses to enforce
   5. Indian Removal Bill of 1830: 1/4 perish, shallow graves mark trail to Oklahoma
   6. After Civil War: treaties broken, 5 tribes get less land; made part of Oklahoma
   C. Trail of Tears for Seminoles of Florida
      1. Treaty of Payne’s Landing: calling for Indian’s to decide if want to exchange
         territory in Oklahoma for land in Florida ignored by Congress and President
      2. Leads to Second Seminole War, 1835-1842: most Seminoles forced out
         1. White lies: Osceola (war chief) tricked by truce: dies in chains
   D. Custer’s last stand and the battle of Little Bighorn (1876)
      1. Ideological legitimation: Indians depicted as savages engaged in massacre
      2. Reality: gold found; asked to leave reservation mid-winter despite 1868 treaty
      3. Defeat after victory: deprived of rations for 2 years, forced onto smaller lands
      4. Denial of hunting and gathering way of life feeds millenarian movement
         a. Ghost Dance religion: calls for return of buffalo, whites to disappear
         b. Indians massacred at Wounded Knee--compensated century later

III. California: the last frontier for military suppression of Indians
   A. Murder of Indians legalized and publically subsidized in California
      1. 1851/52 Cal authorizes > $1 million for vigilantes suppressing Indian hostilities”
   B. Indians primarily viewed as obstacles to be removed rather than as free labor power
      1. Exception: slavery in South Carolina for limited duration; enslavement experiment fails
      2. California: Act for the Government and Protection of Indians (1850-1863)
         a. Indian Children auctioned off at $50-$200 after parents murdered
         b. Indentured servitude for up to 10,000 Indians is close to slavery

American Indians in Phase II
Post-Colonial Policies of Cultural Subversion and Control

IV. The Second Phase of American Policy: BIA subversion of Indian culture
   A. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) founded 1824: originally within War Department
      1. No other ethnic group subject to such control by single bureaucracy
      2. Control exercised much like total institutions (e.g., prisons, mental institutions)
         a. Agent’s powers: over schools; is judge, jury, police; could expel, cut hair
         b. Indians have no say; dependent on bureaucracy in Washington, DC
         c. Agent’s social life segregated from Indians, like British in India
         d. Indian’s viewed as helpless because of dependency created by BIA
   B. Full citizenship not granted until 1924
1. Supreme Court ruled in 1880s that 14th Amendment does not apply to Indians
C. BIA 4-pronged policy of cultural subversion and control (first three are from Edward Spicer)
1. Religious replacement: Code of religious offenses; missionaries assigned to reservations
2. Compulsory education: children sent away from parents to boarding schools
   a. Objective of weaning off blanket—meaning to eliminate culture
   b. Mental and physical abuse: were common in these schools
3. Individual landholding: Dawes Act of 1887
   a. Contrary to collective possession in Indian culture (which is spiritually ordained)
   b. Reformers want to destroy tribal identity, create self-sufficient individual
   c. Allotment of 40-160 acres to each family, sell rest to whites
   d. Main results: Indians lose 2/3 of land, become more dependent on BIA
4. Centralization and secularization of political authority: Indian Reform Act 1934
   a. repudiation of ½ century of Dawes Act
   b. recognizes tribal identity
   c. allows for election of reservation board
   d. Contrary to Indian culture (Edward Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*)
      1. Southwest Indians had collective leadership—adult males over 40
      2. Chief collectively recognized for wisdom
      3. Chief is ritualistic-moralistic leader: no power to formally punish (jails, etc.)
      4. Administrative-executive leaders turn world upside down
         a. Like putting war leaders in charge during peacetime

V. Termination Policy of 1953
   A. Doesn’t recognize contradictions created by forced removal as basis of white’s prosperity today

Legacy of Conquest: American Indians Today

VI. Position in stratification system (secondary structural assimilation)
   A. Median household income: about 2/3 that for non-Hispanic whites; similar to blacks and Hispanics
      1. Two poorest counties in U.S are Sioux reservations in South Dakota: legacy of U.S. treaty violations
      2. Much variation between tribes: Cherokee better off, but none come close to U.S. average
      3. Reservation Indians: poor education & geographic isolation make poorest; cutoff from capital-lec 14
   B. Poverty rate almost triple that for whites; unemployment rate is almost double that of whites
   C. High school dropout rate: highest of all ethnic groups; only 13% are college graduates vs. 31% Anglos

VII. Shift in U.S. policy in 1990s—improved relations with U.S. government and some upward mobility
   A. Valuable resources give leverage: Indian lands contain about 1/20 of U.S. petroleum reserves
   B. Taxes: U.S. government does not tax tribes or their wealth
   C. Indian’s largest income is legalized gambling; 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act aids self-sufficiency
      1. 420 casinos and bingo parlors operated by 227 tribes in 30 states: raised $27 billion in 2009
      2. Source of capital enabled: funds from once worthless land used for schools, health clinics, housing
      3. Mashantucket Pequots in Connecticut: operate world’s largest casino with 13,000 employees
      4. Only few tribes near population centers have successful gaming: 23 tribes take half of casino revenue
Week 8: STUDY QUESTIONS FOR “L.A. IS BURNING: 5 REPORTS FROM A DIVIDED CITY”

The overall theme is this: How do black, Anglo, Hispanic, and Korean perspectives differ? Why are these groups talking past each other? Be prepared to explain each ethnic perspective. **You may want to write answers to this question and the questions below on a separate sheet of paper (numbering your answers) so that you will be prepared for possible exam questions!**

1. **Trigger for 1992 Riot:** officers who beat Rodney King found innocent by all-white jury in Simi Valley.

2. **Ownership:** After the commentator mentions that 51 percent of those arrested were Hispanic, listen for the answer to the following question: What was the difference between East L.A. and Pico Union that explains differences in the tendency for Hispanics to riot (or not riot) in these areas?

3. **Anglos:** What is the perspective of prosperous, middle class whites toward black rioters? Note the response of the Los Feliz Hills attorney and his neighbors when the talk about blockading their street and having automatic (“semi-automatic!”) weapons. Later on, note the theme in Richard Reeves’ (columnist) story about his 85-year old mother’s purse clutching episode. What does this have in common with Angela Oh’s commentary on post-traumatic stress syndrome and Tim Rutten’s commentary on communities walling themselves in (Windsor Hills).

4. **Blacks (militant perspective):** What is the view of younger black males toward the conditions in the ghetto and toward the reasons some of them participated in the riot? Take note of the comments of Deacon Alexander (“I’m going to hit you on the head”) and Danny Bakewell, community activist. Also, take note of the comments of young blacks in front of a burnt-out Korean store and the Jordan Downs Housing Project. What is the logical framework for this perspective? Is Art (“I’ve tried to make it”)--the black store owner who has his truck windows broken by a crowd--sympathetic to this logic?

5. **Equal justice?:** What is the significance of the Latasha Harlins shooting by a Korean Grocer (Soon Ja Du)? How does treatment of this incident by the Anglo (white) power structure differ from the treatment of the Reginald Denny beating allegedly committed by Damian Williams? What is the critical distinction

6. **Koreans:** Within the Korean community, what are some of the different perspectives on the riot and its aftermath? Do Koreans see themselves as gun-toting vigilantes or a scapegoat? Why? What does Edward Chang (Korean professor of ethnic studies) mean when he speaks of being “a symbol of the oppressor” and when he says the L.A. City Council is engaging in “pure ethnic politics” when investigating liquor licenses?

7. **Hispanics:** How does the Latino perspective on the riot and conditions in Los Angeles differ from the perspective of blacks? What does the “News for America” spokesman (Xavier Elmosio) say? Take note of the scene where 35-40 blacks disrupt work of a white employer and two Latino construction workers. What does this theme have in common with complaints voiced during a meeting of the Watts Century Latino Organization?

8. **Blacks (middle class perspective):** Paul Parker (brother of defendant Lance Parker) takes a militant perspective, seeming to suggest that Reginald Deny got what he deserved (“Now you know what it feels like to be a victim”). What is the perspective of middle class blacks such as Maxine Waters (in the U.S. House of Representatives) when they throw support to the “L.A. Four Plus Defense Committee?” How do they see the criminal justice system? Is this perspective shared by Sheryl Lee Ralph (actress) and Brenda Shockley (attorney)? Shockley speaks about “a critical distinction,” contrasting the beatings of Rodney King and Reginald Deny in a way similar to the analysis of Edi Faal (Damian William’s defense attorney). Sheryl Lee Ralph reacts to the first Rodney King verdict as follows: “I felt like I had been punched in the face” and later on she talks of getting “more time for hitting a dog than shooting in the back of the head of a black woman.” What is the common theme here? What is the perspective of Georgiana Williams (mother of Damian Williams)?
Can whites with a different life experience be sympathetic to what she is saying? (Note: Williams got max-10 year sentence).
1. **Black perspective:** Blacks, both militant and middle-class, seem to agree that the criminal justice system is not fair. Consistent with the “functional equivalents” hypothesis (Sears and McConahay 1973), militant blacks see violent confrontation as a symbolic means of expressing grievances when denied legitimate channels (the criminal justice system, local government, and the chamber of commerce). Middle class blacks do not defend violent confrontation and do not defend the beating of Reginald Deny, but push for fair treatment (e.g., L.A. four plus committee). The video gives many examples of racial bias in criminal justice system:
   1. Damian Williams’ bail was $½ million vs. $5000 for police officers accused of beating Rodney King.
   2. Police officers beating Rodney King (official representatives of law) acquitted in first trial.
   3. For killing a black woman, Soon Ja Du was given community work with no prison.
   4. Harassment by police in Georgiana Williams’ neighborhood
   5. Paul Parker’s father killed but police do not want to file charges because of black-on-black crime

2. **White perspective:** Whites do not seem to be concerned with unfair treatment of blacks. As the “haves’ confronted by the “have-nots,” the major focus is on protecting white privileges, property, power structure, and security. This is epitomized by Richard Reeves story about his 85 year-old mother clutching her purse when she walks down Roosevelt Blvd. and sees four blacks guys coming the other way. She does not assume that they are on leave from Harvard medical school. This is similar to Angela Oh’s discussion of Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome, which she responds to Sheryl Lee Ralph (“Why do I hold my pocketbook closer to me when I see a young black man”). This is the theme behind the automatic weapons and communities walling themselves in.

   One scene, cut from the edited version of the video, shows wealthy white women being trained how to use guns to protect themselves in case of another riot. There is another scene focusing on police being trained for the next riot. Whites focus on rioters being criminals and thugs, and those attacking white justice as “being part of the problem” (Los Feliz Hills attorney says this). Whites are segregated (see only whites except for people who mow lawns and empty garbage), so they have no grasp of the black perspective or understand the black business experience (unlike owner Art Washington, who understands injustice and rioters despite being a riot victim).

3. **Korean perspective:** Koreans do not like being a “scapegoat,” inserted into conflict that was not their fault and which they do not understand. Edward Chang, Korean professor, says that Korea Town is sandwiched between white Hollywood and black South Central Los Angeles, making them a buffer. Also, he notes that “Koreans have become a symbol of the oppressor” meaning that they take the blame for discrimination, poverty, and powerlessness created by white corporate America and the white power structure. Although Koreans may be insensitive (“all you want is a nice cold bear”) because they come from a homogeneous society, they are simply small businessmen trying to make a niche for themselves. Because the police did not defend their property, they suffered more than ½ of the property damage. They had to call on a few armed Koreans to defend what they had—they are not armed vigilantes as the new media portrayed them. While blacks attacked Koreans as a symbol of white oppression, whites were more than willing to use Koreans as a scapegoat. When the L.A. city council responded to the black community by investigating Korean liquor licences, this was characterized by Chang as “pure ethnic politics.” He states that it is alright to limit liquor licenses, but all ethnic groups should be treated equally.

4. **Hispanic perspective:** because Hispanics are an economically depressed and politically under-represented, they resent being in competition with blacks for a share of the pie. Consequently, they complain that blacks get more attention and this needs to change. For example, Javier Elmasio (spokesman for “News for America”) states, “They Better Pay Attention and Listen to us! Unlike Blacks, we may not overcome, but we will overwhelm.” A second theme is victimization by violent blacks. The Watts Century Latino organization is
a forum for complaints about black (gang) violence toward Hispanics, which is also part of Elmasio’s complaint about blacks disrupting a construction cite using Hispanic workers in South Central Los Angeles. Like blacks, Hispanics without empowerment were most prone to riot (Pico Union) compared to those whose parents owned businesses (East Los Angeles). In 1967, Hispanics rioted in East LA, the incident being triggered by a police shooting of a prominent Hispanic reporter who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.
Lecture 13. People of Conquest vs. Exiles: The Contrast between Puerto Ricans and Cubans

I. Introduction: 50.4 million (16.3% of U.S. Population); 3 largest Hispanic groups in 2010 (U.S. Census)
   A. Mexicans: 31.8 million--63% of Hispanics (mainly in Southwest)
   B. Puerto Ricans: 4.6 million—9.2% of Hispanics (mainly in Northeast)
   C. Cubans: 1.8 million (3.5% of Hispanics) (mainly S. Florida)
   D. Hispanics (Lantinos) can’t be lumped together; different experiences in U.S.

Puerto Ricans

II. Puerto Rico: U.S. colony
   A. People of conquest: acquired from Spanish-American War in 1898 (Treaty of Paris)
   B. Governor appointed by U.S.; legislature could be over-ruled by Congress
   C. Citizenship granted by Jones Act 1917
   D. Commonwealth Status granted in 1948:
      1. can’t vote in federal elections or for President unless legal resident of mainland
      a. Not represented in Congress
      2. Don’t pay federal income taxes but get some federal grants in aid
      3. Subject to U.S. military service
      4. Courts part of U.S. system; may appeal to Supreme Court
   E. Underdeveloped Economy
      1. 1/3 below poverty line
      2. In 1982, 2/3 were receiving food stamps
      3. Standard of living ½ of U.S. mainland, but better than most of Latin America

III. Three factors account for Post-WWII influx: (from 70,000 in 1940 to 4.6 million in 2010; now about the same number of Puerto Ricans on the mainland as on the island)
   A. Legally citizens, therefore can’t be stopped
   B. Cheap Airfares to NY
   C. Low standard of living and unemployment in Puerto Rico

IV. Culture Shock: Color Bar and Discrimination encountered on mainland
   A. Demographic mix: native pop of island largely killed by white diseases
   B. Institution of slavery: large African heritage on island
   C. Color gradient in Puerto Rico: continuum from light to dark vs. dichotomy in U.S. (old 1 drop rule)
   D. 2 barriers account for low median family income on mainland:
      1. Color bar: labeled as blacks and discriminated against
      2. Language: employers want English, discriminate against Spanish speakers

Four Waves of Cuban Immigration

I. Golden Exiles (1959-1962) 200,000: although most are not elites, overrepresents top layers of Cuban Society
   A. Includes SOME former government officials, bankers, industrialists, large landlords initially
      (NOTE: A GOOD % OF ELITES ARE INCLUDED IN GOLDEN EXILES, BUT MOST GOLDEN EXILES ARE NOT ELITES!)
   B. Followed by many from managerial, technical, professional layers (about 1/3)
      1. Cuba looses more than half of doctors and professors to Dade County
   C. 2/3 white collar vs. 1/4 in Cuba; only 1/3 are high school grads but large compared to. 4% in Cuba
   D. Create enclave economy: Cuban society in embryo which absorbs following waves

II. Camarioca Exiles (1965-late 1970s): 250,000 Midlayers of Cuban Society

III. Marielitos (March-September 1980): 125,000
   A. Media stigmatizes: younger single males, 16% were in Cuba’s prisons, 1500 have mental problems
   B. 71% blue-collar, 40-50% black, lower education than Golden exiles but higher than in Cuba
C. Despite stigma, absorbed into community by 1990: unemployment low 5.6% (near national average)

IV. Balseros (1994) 30,000: to Guantanamo; finally enter U.S.; now 20,000 legal immigrants/year

I. Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo (1848): Mexico surrenders over 1/3 territory to U.S.
   A. Mexico must accept treaty after U.S. army invades during Mexican-American War
   B. 75,000 Mexican nationals: treaty says their land grants are protected & official documents bilingual
   C. Yet Spanish language not respected and within 10 years, much property lost through Anglo duplicity
      1. Mexican tradition, based on vague landmarks, is manipulated in Anglo courts
      2. Key to assault on Mexicans: Anglo hunger for Mexican’s land (physical capital) fuels conflict

II. Mexican resistance to abuse, land seizures in Southwest is labeled as “criminal”
   A. Bandito image used to denigrate rebellions (later, in 1970s, “Frito Bandito” ad revives image)
   B. Example of Cortina Wars and Red Robber Barron of the Rio Grande”
      1. Wealthy Juan Cortina had large land grant, was incensed by Anglo treatment
      2. Cortina kills sheriff seen pistol-whipping one of his mother’s workers
      3. Frees Mexican prisoners from Brownsville jail; to delegitimize, is labeled a bandit by Anglos
   C. Many Mexicans are lynched

III. Mexicans exploited as cheap, temporary workforce to be expelled when not needed; does not contain significant entrepreneurial class with business capital and skills (unlike Cuban Golden Exiles)
   A. Early 1920s: exempted from restrictive immigration laws since essential as cheap labor in Southwest
   B. Depression fuels repatriations in 1930s: 1 million returned to Mexico 1926-1939
   C. Operation Wetback in 1954: response to recession is to send back 3.8 million Mexicans in 5 years
   D. Message of Born in East LA: US citizens without papers sent to Mexico
   E. IRCA (Simpson-Rodino bill) in 1986: Hispanics at disadvantage--employer checks ID

IV. Discrimination
   A. Example of Zoot Suit Riots in 1943: 200 sailors beat up pachucos (Mexican youth) wearing Zoot suits while drive through LA barrio in taxis; 4-day rampage; police do not stop & even arrest victims
   B. Los Angeles city council makes wearing a zoot suit misdemeanor: baggy pants, long coats of youth
   C. Sleepy Lagoon Trial: Mexicans labeled criminal; teens jailed on evidence that is later thrown out

V. Mexicans deprived of cultural and physical capital (assets that create income and wealth)
   A. Physical capital: land, factories, other property that embodies or produces income and wealth
      1. Anglos take land, which is a major source of wealth in 1800s, from Mexicans
   B. Cultural capital: education, experience, skills, social contacts, reputation, etc. that get income/wealth
      1. Language as cultural capital: Guadeloupe-Hidalgo Treaty not honor, but enclave keeps for Cubans
      2. Segregation in barrios: cuts off from cultural capital—contacts with elites, good schools, jobs, etc.
   C. Importing & then returning cheap labor to Mexico: no access to education and U.S. avoids costs

VI. Contrast with Ethnic Enclave of Cubans, built from Cultural and Physical Capital; institutionally complete ethnic subeconomy permits Cubans to avoid temporary, low-pay jobs in secondary labor market
   A. Institutional completeness (Breton 1964): ethnic group’s needs met by institutions within the ethnic community—businesses, churches, newspapers, schools, etc.—so no need to use those in host society
      1. Shields from discrimination outside enclave: @ 10% of Hispanics say police/other authorities stop them in 2007 and asked about their immigration status; same % for US & foreign-born Latinos!
   B. Successes: >25,000 businesses in 1990; 40% of wealthiest Hispanics; small manufacturing sector employs Cuban immigrants; empowerment allows election of Cuban mayors/legislators
   C. Key: Golden exiles bring cultural and some physical capital to build economic enclave
      1. Provide ingredients for society in embryo absorbing future migrant waves
2. Cubans from all classes come voluntarily to create better way of life
3. Exile status, language, common experience create strong bonds; example of this is Elian Gonzalez affair in 2000, in which @all Cubans oppose return of 6-year old to father in Cuba, but most in U.S. disagree, creating polarizing 5-month standoff with U.S. Justice Department

D.3 Components of Enclave Economy (Alejandro Portes): in Miami, established by Golden Exiles
1. Ethnic solidarity transcending economic, contractual ties
   A. Rotating credit associations: informal credit based on reputation, not collateral or $ assets
   B. Informal benefits counteract lower wages: creates niche for Cubans as new competitors
      1. On the job training
      2. Rapid promotions
      3. Help in establishing own business later on
2. Some business--e.g., banking--competes with Anglos; not just on periphery of economy
3. Geographic concentration: close to ethnic clients, ethnic labor, other ethnic businesses
   A. upshot: can succeed in enclave without having to speak English (preserves cultural capital)
Lecture 15. Slavery: Brutal Incarnation of Colonial Expansion

I. The Slave Trade as part of the Atlantic Triangle in European Colonial System
   A. Modern period of enslavement begins: Spanish and Portuguese in 14th century
   B. 8-10 million African slaves brought to Western Hemisphere, about 5% to N. America
   C. slavery before colonialism, but powerful sys needed for massive transcontinental transfer
   D. slave trade outlawed by England and U.S. in 1808
   E. If no more than ½ million brought to U.S., why 4 million slaves by 1860?

II. What caused slavery?
   A. Why slavery in South Africa, West Indies, southern U.S., but not in Europe itself?:
      Economics rather than prejudice explain:
      1. Slavery develops where land is abundant and labor scarce
      2. Profitable Cotton, sugar, and tobacco require back-breaking gang-type labor
         a. Where land available for squatting, wages for labor driven up
         b. Involuntary labor therefore needed for profitable plantations
         c. unskilled, gang-type labor easily supervised by horseman with a whip
         d. Not for delicate, interdependent, easily sabotaged work (factory)
   B. Why were Blacks (Africans) enslaved?: power/privilege/control, security, profit)explain
      1. White involuntary labor (indentured servitude) volatile: potentially dissatisfied
      Class of whites dangerous; also fraternized with blacks to escape, rebel
      2. Preference goes from white to black involuntary labor because of control, profit
         A. Control: Blacks can’t escape to Africa; don’t know terrain; easily identified
         B. Profit: growth of slave trade makes cheaper; own for life plus children
      3. Indian slavery in South Carolina (1/3 of slaves in early 1700s) not successful
         A. Overblown: nomads poor slaves; many Indians engage in agriculture
         B. Security problem: know terrain, can escape to tribe; military threat

III. Institutionalization of Slavery
   A. First blacks indentured servants; four decades before become slaves
   B. Slave system: slavery for life/inherited; property to be sold; no rights; based on force
   C. Slave codes: control belies ideology of “happy” slaves; white fear of rebellion, escape
      1. Dependence: slaves can’t buy/sell, inherit, make contract, have will or property
      2. Slave cannot quarrel with or use abusive language toward whites
      3. Cannot travel without pass
      4. Fear of blacks organizing: against law to teach to read, even Bible, or write
   D. Slave Breeding: especially after trade banned in 1808, becomes very profitable source
   E. Major economic engine: 12,000 Southern plantations (12% of total) have ½ of slaves
      1. White big landowners’ profit; poor scared by prospect of cheap labor pool if freed
   F. Not simply prejudice of individuals, but institutionalized at core of American society
      1. Constitution counts slaves as 3/5 of person
      2. Fugitive slave law of 1793 required all citizens to help return slaves
   G. Economics supersede Northern conscience in shaping Civil War
      1. William Lloyd Garrison represents minority; abolitionists not free of prejudice
      2. Northern factories and import barriers conflict with Southern-European trade
      3. Emancipation Proclamation does not include 800,000 slaves in border states
   H. Political and economic forces shape slavery: belief in happy slave did not reflect reality
      1. Numerous slave revolts: New York City 1712, Cato 1739, Nat Turner 1831

I. Massey and Denton claim: Blacks only ethnic/racial group to be ghettoized in U.S.
   A. Ghetto became permanent, enduring feature of black life by 1940
      1. Inhabited exclusively by members of one group (connotation of being trapped)
   B. Puerto Ricans are only Hispanics whose segregation as great
      1. Possible explanation: greater African heritage
         2. Not so in Miami-Dade; Mexicans most segregated (Homestead) (Boswell, 1993)

II. U.S. Trends
   A. Do blacks have less residential segregation today than in 1900? No!
      1. In 1900 blacks still on white plantations as tenants (debt slavery)
      2. Ghetto a 20th century creation: occurs as blacks move North, esp. WWI / WWII
   B. Northern whites respond by boycotting businesses catering to blacks and violence
   C. After 1910, restrictive (racial) covenants insure segregation
      1. Only 3/4 of residents need sign; all bound not to sell, lease, or rent to blacks
      2. South-African style apartheid in U.S.!: legal until Supreme Court eliminate 1948
   D. Residential segregation peaks between 1950 and 1960
   E. Dissimilarity Index measures segregation: % that would have to move for racial balance
      1. 30-60 moderate range
      2. Reduced only 2.3% in North during 1980s; need 60 yrs to reach moderate range
      3. 10 points lower in South than in North; Cleveland, NY, Chicago above 80
      4. Currently in mid-60s to 70 nationwide

III. Trends in Miami
   A. 1940, 1950, 1960, Miami most segregated major metropolitan area in U.S (Index=98)
   B. In 1920s, 25,000 crowded in 50 blocks called “colored town” because of racial zoning
   C. 1956 plan for I-95 purposely displaces blacks, destroys “Harlem of the South”
   D. Invasion-succession in Northwest quadrant: creates black belt to Opalocka, Carol City
   E. By 1950s, 10 black pockets in South Miami, Goulds, Perrine, Homestead, Florida City, etc.
   F. 1951, KKK organizes bombing of Carver Village, murders Harry T. Moore of NAACP
   G. 1960, 96% of blacks in 10 pockets, by 1980 down to 71% (see Boswell, 1993)
   H. Hispanics’ chain process creates 2 wedges: Hialeah; from Little Havana to Sweetwater.
   I. Hispanic black/white residential separation is less; many black Hispanics in Allapatah

IV. Causes of Segregation
   A. Redlining: HOLC 1933, FHA 1937 “security maps” code black areas red & deny loans
      1. Private banks, mortgage companies use maps--stops capital inflow in black areas
      2. no financing for mortgages, home improvement causes property values decline
      3. Denies blacks appreciating home values--one of the pillars of middle class status
   B. Atlanta Constitution study (1989): 11% rejection for whites, 24% blacks for loans
      1. In 3 out of 5 years, high income blacks rejected more than low income whites
   C. Not black choice: 95% willing to live in neighborhoods 15-70% black
   D. Cause racial steering: audit studies show guiding to black areas by real estate agents

V. Effects of Segregation:
   1. Poor schools and inferior services, 2. blocked socioeconomic mobility via increased property values, 3. effect of oppositional ghetto culture on black educational performance (Rosenbaum), 4. black English vernacular (Ebonics) causes job discrimination--employers see as disrespectful, undependable, 5. oppositional culture devalues work, schooling, marriage, 6. Ticking time bomb behind explosive race riots.
Lecture 17: Discrimination against Blacks in Miami and Race Riots
(from Marvin Dunn, Black Miami in the 20th Century)

I. Discrimination
A. Economic: black business banned in white areas, including downtown/ Flagler St.
   but whites have businesses in black areas (from 1896)
   1. Also denied entry labor unions until 1960s
   2. 1995: first banking services--Republic National Bank--in Overtown
B. Education: blacks must leave county for high school; Booker T. Washington 1st in 1927
   1. Whites believed blacks suited for manual or domestic work
   2. Segregation in 1969: 1/5 public schools all black
      a. board rules black schools not good enough for whites, infuriating blacks
      a. Until 1960, must go to Florida A & M
C. Criminal justice: black patrol officers 1st hired 1944; couldn’t arrest whites until 1963
   1. Shock treatment: electric wires applied to genital areas in 1920s (outright torture)
   2. Kier case: El Comodoro Hotel doorman shot for telling guest that white wants to meet
D. Public facilities
   1. No beaches; Virginia Key opened for blacks 1945
   2. Banned from Manor Park Pool (city swimming facility) until 1960 Court order
   3. Could not use public parks until 1960s
      a. Crandon Park 1958
E. Political: Could not vote in Democratic primary,1904-1946(1946 separate voting boxes)
F. Consumers: couldn’t try on clothes in department stores, eat at lunch counters
   1. Also, required to sit at back of bus
G. Residential:
   1. 1920s, blacks 1/3 of pop, occupy 1/10 area in 50 blocks in “Colored Town”
      a. By 1940s, no plumbing, electricity in most houses
      b. 1930-1960, Harlem of the South--NW 2nd St. (Great Black Way)
         1. Whites invade area to see famous black performers
         2. Jackie Robinson in Colored Town; rest of team in Miami Beach
H. Bus segregation ended 1957
   1. Charles Nesbitt (black passenger) hit by money changer; suffers lacerated face

II. Four Major Riots in Miami
A. 1968 Republican convention; before police hold Robert Owens naked over Miami River
B. 1980: Arthur McDuffie beaten to death for traffic violation; all-white jury doesn’t convict
C. 1982: unarmed Nevel Johnson shot by Luis Alvarez in game room
   1. After riot, In 1984 all-white jury finds innocent
D.1989: William Lozano kills Clement Lloyd, Alan Blanchard on motorcycle; later acquitted
Lecture 18: Haitians

I. Independence 1804: only successful slave rebellion; recognized by France 25 years later, by US 60+ years

Before: maybe richest colony in world, France established 1665; 40,000 whites, 452,000 slaves

U.S. Invasion 1915: oust Germans, control finances; treasury gold go NY; to 1934

II. Immigration: 400,000-500,000 settled in U.S.—NY, Miami, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia

A. 1st: start en masse @1950s, elite, middle class flee Duvalier to NE U.S., later working-class

B. 2nd:boat people: start 1972,climb to 25,000 in1980 (700-mile trip), takes 10-14 days

1. Males: unskilled work, especially field-cropping, some repair work in Haiti
2. Women: petty commerce in make-shift stands, flea markets, door/door
3. Average education: less than elementary school, 5% high school grads
4. 85% settle in S. Florida: remaining 15% NY and New Jersey

C. “Boeing People” (educated) come by plane: most in Miami from NE: Montreal, NY

1. occupations: establish businesses, toehold in law enforce, education, medicine
   a. In Miami: dispersed in Middle Class neighborhoods, @20,000

D. Little Haiti in Miami: settle Edison-Little River area, poverty-stricken zone

1. Not economic enclave: too small to support countrymen, no wholesalers
   a. formal sector: over 400 Haitian-owned companies in 1990s
   b. middle class: no buy from/hire, don’t want mistake boat people

2. Informal economy: childcare, restaurants, unlicensed taxi, repair, construction, in part because explicitly rejected by formal economy

3. Bifurcated assimilation: most have segmentary assimilation to black underclass; in contrast, middle-class keeps pride in Haitian culture and pursues greater education achievement

III. INS Rejects Asylum Claims/Due Process: since 1970s, yet Haiti persecutes

A. Bad image: illiteracy., poor, drain resource, 70’s-many fired due to Tuberculosis rumor, ‘80s—risk HIV by CDC,‘90s Food/Drug Admin. bans blood donations

B. Collectively denied refugee status: INS labels economic and not political,

C. Mariel Crisis: transport to Krome in Everglades swamp, poor sanitation

D. 1980s Reagan:1.halts resettlement undocumented,2.interdiction stops arrival
   a. Interdiction: Coast Guard intercept 1981, interview on ship, force return
   b. Over 10 years: 28 of 25,000 Haitians interviewed given pol. Asylum!
   c. Dubious distinction: highest rejection rate of pol. Asylum applicants

E. 1990s go Guantánamo: 9/91-3/92, 34,000 detained,2/3 repatriate,1/3 asylum
   a. Bush Kennebunkport Order: all back, no hearing when interdict at sea
   b. Bias: test for HIV, unlike Cubans; HIV+ sent Camp Buckley where mistreated

H. Clinton: attacks repatriation policy in campaign, but continues when President

IV Haitian/Black-American Conflict: blacks see immigrant make-it mentality suspiciously; blacks seen as fatalistic, as blaming whites and having an inferiority complex and as an undesirable underclass

V. Religion:¾ attend church weekly (>all immigrant groups), @40% Protestant, @all Christian

A. Voodoo: majority in U.S. do not believe, although traditional religion of Haiti

B. Black magic, zombies (dead returning life): not essence Voodoo; use spirits to harm others is similar to Satanism in Christianity; animal sacrifice similar to Xmas Turkey

C. Voodoo vilified: justify U.S. slavery after 1804, legitimizes 1915 invasion.

D. Voodoo both Catholic/African: appeal spirits (ancestors), like Saints; tongues

VI. Creole Language: vocabulary mostly from French; grammar different; 5-10% speak French

A. Ethnic marker: all speak, but upper class may disdain; French is power language

B. Informal language: of intimacy, humor, & via proverbs, wisdom of lower class
C. Noireiste movement: 1920s&30s leads to an official language in Haiti in 1987
Lecture 19: Discrimination against the Japanese Before 1952

I. Early Japanese Immigrants
   A. In 1880s, many perform menial labor in mining, lumber, railroad construction industries
   B. later become migratory agricultural workers--popular with growers because work hard
   C. skilled farmers turn desert/marshes into productive land: in CA,1% land,10% crop value

II. Alien Land Law 1913
   A. Response to threat of cheap labor/competition is not to welcome, but exclude
   B. Denies land ownership to those ineligible to be citizens; target Issei (1s gen. Japanese)
   C. 1880s, Supreme Court rules for excluding Japanese from naturalization(reversed 1952)
   D. Encourages urban self-employment among Japanese: small businesses

III. Other Anti-Japanese Developments
   A. Japanese and Korean Exclusion League 1905, later renamed Asiatic Exclusion League
      1. Mainly labor union representation, opposes immigration and intermarriage
   B. From 1905-1945, every session of CA legislature considers anti-Japanese measures
   C. 1907 proposed separate Asian schools in San Francisco opposed by Japanese government
      1. Leads to Gentleman’s Agreement: revoke school segregation in return for voluntary restriction on immigration initiated by Japanese Government
   D. Picture Bride Invasion: men/women is 7 to 1, so Japanese brokers find wives in Japan--seen as uncivilized by Americans charging fertility would “over-run” U.S.
   E. 1921 immigration Act respects Gentlemen’s Agreement; 1924 Act bans Asian immigration

IV. Japanese Internment in Concentration Camps during WWII: Executive Order 9066
   A. Response to bombing of Pearl Harbor 1941: Secy. of Navy blames Japanese-Americans
      1. Accused poisoning drink water, blocking traffic, signaling pilots--never proved
   B. Executive order calls for evacuation of West Coast for security reasons, yet not Hawaii
      1. Japanese too central to Hawaiian economy--would have destroyed it to remove
   C. 113,000 of 126,000 Japanese Americans on mainland interned: 2/3 were U.S. citizens
      1. In USA, but no trial/due process, no specific charges--simply ancestry condemns
   D. 1st stage of evacuation: weeks to report to assembly centers: fair grounds, race tracks
      1. At Santa Anita track, bathe in horse showers in which stench of manure lingers
      2. Camp “Harmony” in Washington houses in converted pigpens
      3. sell property in weeks: economic ruin, lost $400 million (Federal Reserve est.)
   E. 2nd Stage of evacuation: concentration camps in remote places/desert
      1. Families in crowded in single room, bare light bulb in long wooden cabins
      2. Surrounded by barbed wire, armed sentinel towers
      3. Not allowed to speak Japanese or practice culture
   F. Peruvian Japanese interned in U.S. under Enemy Alien Act of 1798
   G. Little Opposition: Earl Warren carries out enthusiastically as CA attorney General
      1. Survey of American Civil Liberties Union in 1942 shows strong support
      2. Yet any act of sabotage/espionage by Japanese Americans never verified
      3. Supreme Court upholds until Endo v U.S. in Dec, 1944, when ordered released
   H. Why Japanese, but not Italians or Germans?: Presidents Carter’s Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians concludes 3 reasons:
      1. Wartime hysteria, failure of political leadership, racism
      2. Recommends $20,000 to each survivor; payments begin in 1990!
Lecture 20. Black vs. Asian Assimilation

I. Asian Demography: 3rd largest minority; in 2010 Asians are almost 5% of U.S. population; 2000, 4%; 1990, 3%; 1980, 1.5%
   A. Foreign born: @2/3 of Asian Pacific Americans (APAs) > Hispanics (@1/3 foreign born) vs. 13% of U.S.

II. Asians are Model Minority? Are cultural factors the primary reason for success?
   C. bimodal distribution: APAs concentrate at extremes—high/low SES
      1. Median income (2009): $19,000 greater than median income for all American families
      2. At low end of bimodal distribution: Cambodians, Hmong

D. Geographic: concentrated in metro areas in high cost-of-living states: 3/5 in 3 states: NY, CA, Hawaii
   i. Number of wage earners: greater in Asian households; also more unpaid family members in family-owned businesses contributing to family income

E. Structural variables explaining higher education and status:
   i. pre-immigration: training or commercial experience, access to capital
   ii. Family borrowing: provide $ for educational pursuits or business ventures
   iii. Rotating credit associations: +some access large-scale venture capital firms
   iv. Entrepreneurialism (self-employ) creates launching pad
   v. Structural barrier aid self-employment: language barrier, no transfer credent/degree

   1. Why no black business?: slaves not have own plots & denied cultural capital

III. ASIAN OCCUP/INDUS CONCENTRATE; UNDERREP IN MANAGEMENT:
   F. Predominance: 1982, 3X more likely be scientist/engineer than % in population would predict
   G. Low ratio Managers/Professionals: APA managers/officials are less than 1/2 their proportional representation in professional jobs.
   H. Discrimination: Times show college-educated APA in manage earn 38% < white col grads
   I. Old boy networks: put at disadvantage.
   J. Stereotype disinterested in management: bosses likely ignore good candidates

IV. ASIAN IMMIGRATION
   A. RESTRICTION
      1. Gentleman’s agreement 1907
      2. 1924 Nat Origins Act: Japanese only from Western Hemisphere were allowed to immigrate
      3. Japanese barred law practice: South California grads require citizenship
      4. Only Nazi Germany has U.S. racial restriction: on naturalization
   B. INDIAN’S RACIAL STATUS:
      1. U.S. v. Balsara (1910): rule high-caste Hindus are whites; eligible for citizenship
      2. Thind (1923): Court rules Asians are nonwhite; are not citizens and therefore are subject to Alien Land Law of 1913 (not allowing aliens ownership of land in California)
   C. FILIPINO IMMIGRATION:
      1. Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934): recategorized Filipinos as aliens and thereby restrict U.S. entry

V. ASIANS: HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE GLASS CEILING
   K. < returns for > yrs ed: APAs with college degree earn $36844 vs. $41094 whites; Asians earn >whites because choose higher-paying occupation that require more education (2000 stats.)
   L. Employer’s reasons exclude management: leadership, social skills, non-academic
   M. Ed attainment: 38.2% APA’s bachelor’s or >; vs. 24% of whites, 35% of Arab Americans, 13% of blacks, 9.3% of Hispanics (2000)
N. Admission rates: medical school acceptance rate is below whites
   i. 1 reason Overrep: math, science, engineering, 1/5 are med students v 4% of U.S. pop
O. Problem of linguistic racism: discriminate against persons who do not speak English well.
P. Glass Ceiling: faculty get smaller returns; 1996 < 1% executives at 4 year colleges; < tenure
VI. ASIANS AS A “MIDDLEMAN” MINORITY: Small ghetto businesses are established because Asians have been traditionally restricted from pursuing top-level professional and white-collar positions; this is partly due to accent in spoken English and absence of citizenship, etc.
   A. Mid-management: glass ceiling restricts Asians to position between white executive & lower-level minorities; serve as racial edge or shock absorber—serve termination notices to employees
A Comparison of black and Japanese Assimilation
   Japanese
I. Cultural
   A. Low for Issei (1st gen), higher for Nisei (2nd gen), highest for Sansei (3rd)
      1. Issei retain Buddhism, pass down language, have traditional values
      2. Sansei & Yonsei (4th)--high degree cultural assimilation by substitution
II. Secondary
   A. Organizational: majority of Sansei and Nisei belonging to groups name a non-Japanese organization as their favorite
   B. Residential: as income & education rise, more likely to be integrated (spatial assimilation)
      1. Average (mean) dissimilarity index: 46.
   C. Occupational: quite a bit among Sansei--prominent entrepreneurs
   D. Income: median family $ over $10,000 above that for Anglos
III. Primary: most Nisei/Sansei report at least 1 of closest friends not Japanese
IV. Marital: Sansei as likely to marry outside the group as within it
   Blacks
I. Cultural: high although not identical to middle class Anglo
II. Secondary
   A. Net worth: median net worth black household 1/10 that of white household
   B. Residential: dissimilarity index drops from 86 (1960) to 64-69 (1990)
      1. 20 points above average score for Asians and Hispanics
   C. Occupational: 1940-1980, occupational dissimilarity fell from 43 to 24
   D. Income: 1989, black families get 62 cents for each $1 for white families
   E. Unemployment: black rate double or more white rate; after 1970s, gap grows
   F. Education: near parity with whites for illiteracy, school enrollment
      1. Yet whites twice as likely get advanced degree; higher % of whites graduate from college
III. Primary: Hallinan & Williams(1989): find few hundred cross-race friends per million
IV. Marital: 1% exogamy rate for black females 1st marriage in 1990; bit higher for males
   A. Black-white intermarriage nearly doubled in the 1980s and 1990s
   B. 2/3 of whites disapprove of racial intermarriage (GSS 1991), 1/5 of blacks
Explanations/Theories
1. Cultural view: Japanese traditional values compatible with middle class culture
   a. Family/community organization forge conformity conducive to achievement
2. Middleman Minority Theory: Bonacich 1973: sojourners work hard and take risks
3. Ethnic Enclave: forged by cultural and physical capital of top layers of society
   1. Versus truncated middleman minority (Butler): segregation cuts off blacks
   2. Versus selective mobility (WJ Wilson): black middle class escapes ghetto
Lecture 21: South Africa: Society in Transition (see Marger, Chapter 13)

I. The Development of Racial Inequality
A. Indigenous population: area inhabited by Bantu-speaking peoples as early as 16th century
   1. Khoikhoi (Hottentots) and San (Bushmen): are among these peoples
B. Dutch settlement in 1652: Dutch East India Company established a colony in Capetown
   1. Import slaves: from other parts of Africa and from Dutch East Indies because labor needs not met by local Khoikhoi and San
   2. Miscegenation: produces group that is today called “Coloureds”
C. Trekking Movement: Dutch, German, and French Huguenot colonists established farms in the interior; these settlers became known as “Boers;” this trekking movement lasted 150 years; the Boers clashed with Africans in the interior in the “Kaffir wars,” which lasted several decades; Boers increasingly distanced themselves from their European roots; these subsistence farmers disengaged from colony
   1. Distinct Boer culture: a unique Dutch dialect developed into “Afrikaans language;” Boers (later Afrikaners) adhered to a variant of Calvinism whose ideas of predestination and rugged individualism fit rural conditions; they saw themselves in Biblical light as “chosen people” destined to prevail over Bantu and later the British; the “chosen people” narrative helped propel Boers to resist change; sense of isolation and permanence explains much about determination to defend way of life, a view that was not altered until the 1980s.
D. British colonize the Cape colony in early 1800s: more liberal & cosmopolitan, they clash with Afrikaners
   1. View toward black Africans: British see in “paternalistic” frame, whereas Afrikaners see as a threat to their ultimate survival as a people; key difference is Boer concept of “baaskap”—direct domination without any pretense that black Africans were being guided toward civilization;
   2. British abolition of slavery (1834): & lifting legal restrictions against non-whites—motivates 2nd trekking movement (Great Trek); Voortrekkers are pursued by British colonial advances, and in 1838 form Natal as separate republic, eventually annexed by Britain in 1843; subsequently, Afrikaners push northward and create Orange Free State and Transvaal, which become heart of Afrikaner culture—in both white supremacy is a fundamental principle
   3. Second Boer War in 1899: British interned Boers in concentration camps, including women and children, where 26,000 died from disease, thereby sparking militant Afrikaner nationalism
   4. 1910 merger: the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal become part of union, in political compromise between Boers and British, laying foundation for segregationist practices to follow
E. Afrikaner ascendancy: in 1948 with victory of Afrikaner-led National party, ending balance with British; the National Party represented the most extreme wing of Afrikaner nationalism, which saw itself spearheading a God-ordained mission to create a system of white supremacy called “apartheid”

II. Racial Stratification—based on caste system with endogamy (prototypical “inequalitarian pluralistic” society
A. Herrenvok democracy: state providing democratic features to whites while ruling blacks dictatorially
B. Formal division of population: whites, Coloureds, Asians (mostly Indians), and Africans
C. Whites: less than 10% of the population, but completed dominated government until 1994
D. Afrikaners: for almost 4 decades control the political system; today Afrikaans language is under attack in the schools and media, where English is preferred; now many identify simply as “South African”
E. English-speaking whites: have higher ranking jobs, were better educated and wealthier than Afrikaners; opposed apartheid not on moral grounds, but because it was economically impractical and inefficient
F. Coloureds: created from sexual and sometimes marital unions between whites and blacks during early settlement of Cape; are thoroughly Europeanized and most speak Afrikaans; they are Christian (mostly protestant) and culturally indistinguishable from Afrikaners; have maintained some economic and political privileges compared to black Africans; mostly unskilled laborers, though now some middle class
G. Asians: mostly descendants of indentured servants brought from India in the 19th century to work in the sugarcane fields of Natal; live today in Natal, near Durban, the largest city in the province; although marginal in the South African system, include wealthy merchants to unskilled laborers; institutionally are in separate community; more privileged than Coloureds or Africans, but well below whites; are classic middle-man minority; “Indians are more resented by most Africans than are Whites;” tensions between blacks and Indians remain today

H. Africans: almost 80% of the population in South Africa today; not a single culturally unified group
1. Come from several Bantu tribes: the largest being Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho; nearly all speak native tongue
2. Assimilation into Western culture: tribal culture for most is residual except for those in rural areas
   a. Language: speak English or Afrikaans plus Bantu language
   b. Tribal boundaries: in urban areas are largely erased by common experience of past oppression
3. Crude economic hierarchy: mostly industrial workers in urban areas are much better off than subsistence farmers and agricultural workers in rural areas; migrants workers from neighboring states work in gold and diamond mines

III. Prejudice /Discrimination: dynamics of apartheid—legally enforced nonwhite subordination/segregation
A. Population Registration Act of 1950: cornerstone of apartheid for 4 decades; repealed in 1991
   1. Official racial classification of all persons: race classification boards rule on questionable cases
   2. Passbook system: detailed identification papers required of all Africans until abolished in 1986
      a. Criminal penalties: automatic assumption of criminal status if fail to produce papers on demand; 18 million arrests for violations over the years
B. Petty apartheid: “micro segregation” enforced by many laws segregating public facilities; included laws against intermarriage or interracial sex; like Jim Crow system without pretension of “separate but equal”
   1. Repealed in 1980s: today superficial interracial interaction occurs in public areas; stereotypes remain
C. Group Areas Act of 1950: each of four racial groups was given specifically demarcated living areas
   1. Townships: created migrant laboring system: Africans housed in separate areas next to white areas
      a. Africans designated officially as “temporary” residents or migratory laborers: solution to need for unskilled industrial labor entering white areas only to work and then leaving
      b. Soweto: township next to Johannesburg; more Africans there than whites in Johannesburg
      c. Self-fulfilling prophecy: Africans lived in squalor; were forbidden to bring families with them; high rates of crime, alcoholism, and violence in townships
   2. Influx control using passbook system: failed to curb the urban flow of Africans; eliminated 1986
D. Homelands policy: Nationalist government envisioned independent nations called “Bantustans” that were supposed to correspond to an area originally inhabited by the particular Bantu tribe
   1. Ultimate exclusion: called “macro segregation” by van den Burghe
   2. Unequal geographic distribution: 15% of land area for Bantustans, 85% of land area for whites
   3. Ideological legitimation: All Africans, although majority were actually living in white-designated areas, were declared “citizens” of one the homelands based on ethnic/tribal origins
      a. Nationalist goal: to declare that there were no Africans in South Africa, only guest workers
      b. Homelands were fictional creations: none of the areas could sustain economic independence; Africans living in cities had no social or cultural ties to the homelands; never recognized abroad
   4. Purpose: provide flow of cheap labor; dumping ground for aged, unemployed, infirm Africans
   5. Abolished in 1994: by black-dominated government
E. Economic Inequality: wage policies dictated grossly discrepant wages between blacks and whites
   1. System of job reservation: no black could advance above a white in the same occupation area
      a. Circumvention required: whites were unable to fill all higher-skilled jobs; by 1989 blacks accounted for 14% of professional and managerial jobs
2. Total control maintained: black trade union activity and strikes were outlawed
3. Post-apartheid back-white gap: although narrowing, white household income still 7 times greater
   a. Unemployment rate: 6 times higher for Africans than for whites
   b. College attendance: 4 times more likely for whites in 2009; although majority of students black in 2007, only 6% of Africans had attended college versus 31 percent of whites
   c. Schools: increasingly integrated, but many whites have left public education for private schools
F. Coercion: brutality, torture, murder were seen as legitimate tools for stifling opponents
   1. Soweto 1976: student protest ended with slaughter of more than 600 Africans; police fired on crowds armed only with sticks and stones.
G. Dutch Reformed Church: integral to Afrikaner nationalism; promoted self-image of chosen, superior people; supported apartheid; unlike English-speaking churches, maintained close link to Nationalist state
H. Unconscious transmission through “situational norms:” an American sociologist studying South Africa in the 1970s was surprised when thinking about his attitude change during his short stay: “One falls in with the culture and those with whom one must cooperate in assumptions and behavior. Even in my short stay I could observe the process occurring in myself: by the time I left I was beginning to unconsciously accept conditions that I found shocking when I first confronted them” (Mechanic 1978:137)

IV. The Dismantling of Apartheid
A. Reforms are response to internal contradictions: in 1992, F. W. de Klerk acknowledged that apartheid had failed and basically declared its official end; according to Mallaby (1992:78), “de Klerk had finally abandoned whites’ hopes of extending their privileges beyond the colonial age”
B. Failure of new constitution in 1983: created tripartite parliament representing Coloureds, Asians, and whites but excluding Africans; this fed into widespread civil unrest and violent protests in the townships
   1. Black resistance: rent strikes, labor protests, consumer boycotts, student agitations, national marches
C. State of Emergency declared in 1985: provided for searches without warrant and detention without trial
D. Job reservation system collapses: whites alone can’t satisfy need for increasingly skilled workforce
E. Labor union ban relaxed: compelled by labor needs; union membership swells, strikes increase in 80s
F. Government in exile: opposition organization, African National Congress (ANC), had been banned during apartheid, but was granted legal status by de Klerk in 1990; government talks with ANC follow
   1. Nelson Mandela, ANC leader: released in 1990 after 28 years in prison
   2. Won election in 1994: blacks and whites vote for the first time, resulting in Mandela as president
G. Democratic national government solidly embedded: insofar as Mandela retired in 1999 as “the most widely supported and admired figure in South Africa—among whites as well as blacks—he remains a unifying symbol”

V. Racial Disparities in South Africa today
A. Growing gap between expanding black middle class and depressed black underclass
   1. Accompanies narrowing black-white income gap
B. Whites maintain control over most of wealth and cultural capital
   2. Black regime remains dependent on white managerial and technical skills, and capital
      a. Brain drain: past flight of top strata, such as medical professionals; therefore regime cannot afford to alienate whites who threaten to take their resources with them
      b. Public finance of big projects: depends on white-controlled business/wealthier white community
C. Problems generated by socioeconomic inequality:
   1. Crime rate: dramatically high: murder rate—10 times rate in U.S.—is highest in the world
   2. High rate of AIDS: one in seven South Africans is afflicted, more than in any other country; as a result, life expectancy has dropped in the last couple of decades
D. Racial peace has been achieved, but not social harmony (Besada 2007a)
Lecture 22. Brazil: Racial and Ethnic Democracy? (see Marger, Chapter 14)

I. Major Features of Brazilian Society
   A. Philosophy: ethnic assimilation has been predominant (Marger:395)
   B. Blacks: largest part of Brazilian population until 19th century because of slave influx greater than for U.S.
   C. Colonial power: Portugal (rather than Spain, which colonized neighbors)
   D. Unique tri-ethnic composition in Latin Am. (except for Caribbean): European, indigenous Indian, African
   E. Regional variation: Northeast is mostly black/mulatto, agrarian, poorest region after decline of slave-supported sugar economy, and has most evident paternalistic black-white relations; Southeast, with Sao Paulo at center, is most industrialized and urbanized, is core of wealth and power, is mainly European (mostly Italian); extreme South has German, Polish, Russian, Italian, and Portuguese farming communities, next to estancias or cattle ranches; extreme North and interior, especially Amazon basin, displays predominant Indian influence in the most isolated and primitive settings, largest population is combination of European and Indian ancestry

II. Historical Evolution of Brazilian Ethnicity
   F. Indigenous Indian population: reduced from @ 2.5 million to insignificance in 300 years; were made into slaves (unlike most of indigenous Indians in U.S.), and died from hard labor, small pox and measles
   G. Late 1500s: sugarcane becomes chief cash crop, requiring labor-intensive plantations; labor supplied by black slaves, who are many times more valuable than Indian counterpart, and more resistant to European diseases; 3-18 million slaves imported 1550-1850s (slavery abolished 1888)
   H. Gilberto Freyre (1956, 1963) and Frank Tannenbaum (1947) claim of “milder” form of slavery: because of high rates of miscegenation between Portuguese slave masters and African slaves; in Brazil, the slave still had a “soul” but was seen as an unfortunate human being suffering from fate; slavery was seen as a necessary evil derived from economic necessity rather than a result of biological inferiority (as in the U.S.); legally, slaves were not simply “chattel” or “property” as in the U.S., but could marry freely, own property, and were granted “manumission” (freedom) far more often and thereby automatically achieved full citizenship rights (unlike in U.S.) (Marger:400)
   2. Contradiction: slave rebellions occur more than in U.S., giving rise to Quilombos (slave settlements)
   3. explanation (not Portuguese/Spanish law more “humane”): colonial Brazil lacked Portuguese women
      a. Portuguese settlers mainly unaccompanied males: need native and slave women to satisfy sexual appetite; Harris (1964:68) states: “In general, when human beings have the power, the opportunity and the need, they will mate with members of the opposite sex regardless of color or the identity of grandfather.”
   4. Why more manumission?: Carl Degler (1986) hypothesizes that it allowed slave owners to shed responsibility and cost of taking care of elderly, sick, or disabled slaves; Marx (1998:52) notes that manumission “did not threaten the social order and freed blacks were often left worse off than slaves”
      a. Number of freed blacks 3 times greater than slaves in 1872: (16 years before slavery abolished), compared to less than 500,000 freed blacks out of 4.5 million slaves in U.S. around 1860.
   5. No fundamental Brazil/U.S. difference (Degler 1986): though church and state in both U.S. & Brazil recognized slaves as “human beings,” in neither was the law effectively protecting slaves
   6. Slavery ended in gradual, evolutionary manner in Brazil (unlike U.S.): no fundamental dislocation

I. European and Japanese immigration:
   3. Bulk of colonial (pre-1822) population: Portuguese colonials, African slaves, indigenous Indians
   4. European immigrant influx: starts mid-1800s (after independence 1822), mainly to coffee plantations because of slavery’s decline; especially Italians; by late 1800s go to Sao Paulo coffee estates; Sao Paulo becomes industrial core; Europeans viewed as more reliable labor than freed slaves/Brazilians
   5. Brazil’s Social Darwinist “whitening” policy: after abolition, import whites to dilute black population
a. Eugenics: Brazilian intelligentsia and leadership adopt Western thought: whiter is better
6. Peak 1870-1920: 3 million out of 5 million Europeans coming 1850-1950; most go to Sao Paulo, which is only 3% foreigners in 1854, but by 1934, 1st & 2nd generation immigrants are over 50%
7. Ethnic breakdown: Italians largest, but also Germans, Portuguese, and Spanish
8. Japanese: large influx starting 1908, settle in Sao Paulo/Parana as agricultural labor; today more than 1.5 million, mainly in businesses and professions

III. Racial Stratification
A. Color gradient (Latin America) vs. dichotomous “hypo-descent” (U.S.): racial classification in Brazil is based on social class (“money whitens”) and appearance—skin color (especially degree of lightness), hair texture (kinky, wavy, straight), and facial features (e.g., width of nose and lips)—& is a continuum (lighter to darker) rather than a dichotomy (white, black); whereas traditionally in U.S., “one drop rule” established two categories: person was black (not white) if any ancestry (in Louisiana more than 1/32 of blood) is black; in U.S. traditionally, descent (blood) established category regardless of appearance
1. U.S. example: in Louisiana (1893), a judge ruled that a woman was legally black, although as a child she was raised as a white person and she was only the great-great-great-grandchild of a black slave and white planter, but otherwise had white blood (based on Louisiana’s 1/32 black blood rule).
2. In Brazil, racial identity may change with upward (class) mobility: A famous Afro-Brazilian painter, in answer to a young black man’s complaint about color barriers to his diplomatic career, responds: “I understand your case perfectly, my dear boy, I was black once too (Ribeiro 2000:157)
   a. Plasticity of race: in different social milieus, race is subject, to some degree, to redefinition
3. Three major racial categories (not rigid or clear-cut) in Brazil: Branco (white), Preto (black), Pardo (mulatto, or brown), but there are dozens of specific terms to describe mixed racial origins (M:405)
4. Brazilians classify using “typos” (types) based on phenotype (appearance): are more conscious than North Americans about color distinctions: According to Jefferson Fish (1999:394): “The American system tells you about how people’s parents are classified, but not what they look like. The Brazilian system tells you what they look like, but not about their parents.”
B. Official racial proportions in Brazil (2005): 54% white (Branco), 38% mulatto (Pardo), 6% black (Preto) 1% Asian and Indian (Amarela—yellow—e Indigina) and 1% undeclared; mulatto % is underestimated
C. “The darker the skin, the lower the class” (Wagley 1971): Brazil is characterized by huge gap between rich and poor with nonwhites disproportionately on the bottom (M:408)
1. Afro-Brazilians: have prominence only in sports/entertainment
D. Whitening ideal: “purging blood” is goal of marrying lighter: ideal imparted to children often bluntly

IV. Prejudice and Discrimination
A. Overt interethnic conflict: rare
B. Stereotypes remain: blacks seen as criminally inclined, indolent, and intellectually backward (M:411)
C. Intermarriage: about ¼ of marriages are interracial (Telles 2004), but nearer to bottom of class structure; tolerance drops sharply with contrast of color in partners; negative reaction to mixing dark with light, which is pejoratively called “mosca no leite” or “fly in the milk” so that most marriages are between people of similar color and most mixed marriages between black and mulatto; mixed marriage more common in the Northeast where nonwhite population is larger, creating greater white-nonwhite contact
D. Patterns of discrimination: no blatant derogation, denial, physical violence as found in U.S. before 1960s
1. Individual discrimination: blacks may be excluded from clubs/hotels and suffer police harassment; apartment house elevators in Sao Paulo are marked “social” for residents or guests and “service” for maids or workman, but blacks are often guided into the service elevator regardless of status; in screening job applicants, ads will often use the phrase “good appearance” (meaning “white”)
2. Institutional discrimination: nonwhites underrepresented at university level, which is partly result of
self-fulfilling prophecy—assumption of less black ability legitimates less investment in educational resources for blacks, which in turn results in lower educational performance

1. Afonso Arinos law 1951 (updated 1989): Brazilians enact anti-discrimination law known generally to be unenforceable, reportedly in response to refusal of Rio de Janeiro hotel to provide accommodations for a visiting black American entertainer

2. Race and class: both affect socioeconomic status of nonwhites in Brazil

V. Racial Democracy in Brazil?

A. Amalgamation: racial intermixing more progressed in Brazil than virtually anywhere else, starting with system in early 1500s whereby white males had almost unrestricted access to black and Indian women; in last few decades, mulatto (mixed) category has grown as a proportion of the population (M:414)

B. Cultural assimilation: official ideal in Brazil is fusion into single racial and cultural group of Portuguese, Indian, and African components

1. West African religious rituals fused with Catholicism: in cults known as candomble and macumba

2. Assimilation initially resisted by Germans: who sought to continue their language, but by third generation they became a major part of the growing Brazilian middle class and elites (M:415)

C. Idea of racial democracy: accepted by most Brazilians, this idea impedes any civil rights movement

D. Radical shift in government policy: yet contrary to ideal, prejudice and discrimination are now openly acknowledged by government officials; affirmative action has been introduced in the 2000s with targets in government employment, university admissions, and businesses competing for public funds

1. Underrepresentation at public universities: only 3% of admissions are identified as black or brown; less than 20% are admitted from public schools, which most non-white students attend (M:420)

E. Debate: fear that “the marking of explicit racial boundaries” for affirmative action will, by looking at people in racial terms, be in effect “creating a race question,” and worse yet, prompt American-style racial divisions (M:420)

I. ETHNIC DIMENSIONS OF CANADA

J. Canada is not one nation but two: political autonomy is often sought when ethnic groups occupy a definable territory like the Francophones (French-speaking population) in Quebec; consequently they are nations within nations; Canada has an experiment in ‘national dualism’ with unresolved issues separating the English-speaking and French-speaking populations.

B. Non-English, Non-French groups: about 1/3 of the population; most are visible minorities, of which Chinese and East Indians are the largest group; diversity nearly unmatched by any contemporary nation.

C. First nations: Canadian Indians (indigenous) and Inuit (Eskimos); relatively tiny proportion of the Canadian population.

II. EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH-FRENCH DIVISION

A. English Conquest 1759: defeated French in Quebec, ending France’s colonial presence in North America; yet French population was granted the right to retain French civil law, French language, and practice of Catholicism; from then on, French Canadians consumed with avoiding assimilation into dominant English-Speaking group.

9. Exit of French commercial elite: after British conquest; business & finances become English domain
   a. French are subordinate economically: although they are numerical majority
   b. French remain mostly on the land: as subsistence farmers

2. After failed rebellion of French 1837: discriminatory measures enacted to assure Anglo dominance
   a. Helps conservatives among French dominate: claim only the church can sustain French culture
   b. Fosters traditional nationalism: combines a rural way of life with staunch Catholicism
   c. Church control of education: handicaps upward mobility of Francophones

   1. Church emphasis on humanities, classics, religion: deprived Francophones of commercial and technical skills required for industrial system; few French Canadians were prepared for skilled positions in business and science; consequently, occupied lowest-ranking jobs

B. Industrialization eventually undermines pastoral, clerical Quebec culture:

1. Traditional Catholic nationalism: its agrarian, ecclesiastical values oppose urbanism/industrialism
2. French most poorly paid workers in Quebec by 1960s: below newly arrived European immigrants
3. Industrialization of Quebec led by outsiders: English-Canadian, American, British
4. English of Quebec create own institutional structure: schools, businesses, churches, neighborhoods
   a. Institutional completeness: allows to entirely ignore French; no need to learn French language
   b. Jobs controlled by English: pressure on French Canadians to learn English rather then vice-versa
   c. Two solitudes: French and English living side by side but in different social worlds

C. The Quiet Revolution (1960s): powerful nationalist ideology espoused by Quebec leaders

1. Objective is metre chez nous: to be “masters in our own house;” redefined goals of French Quebec
2. Parti Quebecois (PQ) led by Rene Levesque: declares objective is political liberation of Francophones
   a. Sovereignty Association: political independence for Quebec with close economic ties to Canada
3. Front de Liberation due Quebec (FLQ): violent tactics and revolutionary ideology create 1970 crisis
   a. War Measures Act: invoked by Pierre Trudeau (prime minister) gave police power to detain/arrest
   b. 1976 PQ was elected as Quebec government
4. Referenda in 1980 and 1995: sovereignty-association rejected by Quebec in two different votes
5. Sovereignty less significant today: Quebec has become more multiethnic province
   a. Influx of immigrants: who have no interest in the issue of separation
   b. Montreal: like Toronto, attractive destination for immigrants, who choose to adopt English, which is seen as the more practical option in North America

D. Language at core of conflict: language is the very foundation of any people’s culture
1. Prime Minister Trudeau promotes bilingual Canada in 1960s: irrelevant to Quebec—want French key
2. French made official language of Quebec in 1974: access to any but French-language schools curbed
3. In 1977 Bill 101 mandated French as prime language: in official and business interaction
   a. stringent restrictions: placed on instruction in English, causing outflow of Anglophones
4. Today: French is the unchallenged language in all institutions in Quebec, which is territorial base

III. CANADA’S OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS: more than 200; one of the most heterogeneous societies in world
A. Before 1962 white-only policy: discriminatory policy favors northwestern Europeans, especially Britain
B. Asian influx after 1962: Chinese, East Indians, Filipinos, Vietnamese, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, etc.
   1. East and South Asian countries leading source of immigrants today
C. Blacks mainly from Caribbean
D. Visible Minorities: have dominated immigration to Canada in last 40 years; by 2017 will be 1/5 of pop
   1. composition: mainly black and Asian
E. Immigrants:
   1. Toronto: almost ½ of population is now immigrants, % unsurpassed by any urban area in N. America
   2. Today: immigrants make up 1/5 of population, higher than U.S., only exceeded by Australia
   3. Highest per capita rate of immigration in the world!
F. Aboriginal peoples: 4 percent of the total population: includes Native Indians, Inuit, and Metis (mixed)
   1. reserves: contain about ½ of this population (like U.S. reservations) established by the government
   2. Metis: French fur traders often lived with or married Indian women, giving birth to mixed children
      a. offspring developed mixed culture: partly European, partly Indian, which is distinctive
         1. intermixture occurred: in geographically and socially isolated environment
         2. recognized as distinct people until 1940: Canadian government then reversed its position
   3. Inuit: isolated geographically in far North; not qualify for special political status; not Indians
      a. Inuit autonomy agreement in 1999: creation of new territory “Nunavut” (“our land”) for Inuit
         1. 135,000 square miles in Northwest Territories: 1/5 of Canada’s land mass
         2. Payment: @ $1 billion to Inuit over 14-year period
IV. ETHNIC STRATIFICATION: John Porter, Canadian sociologist, calls “vertical mosaic” in 1965; social
   class and ethnicity are associated; increasingly egalitarian ethnic system is a relatively recent development
A. Three-level ranking: (1) British & French charter groups, (2) later arriving Europeans, (3) native peoples
B. British-French gap biggest historically: French origin once concentrated in lower-status & low-pay jobs
   1. British old-boy network (1943): “French Canadians, as a group, do not enjoy that full confidence of
      industrial directors and executives that would admit them easily to the inner and higher circles of the
      fraternity—and fraternity it is—of men who run industry” (Hughes, 1943:53)
   2. Clerical emphasis: no technical & professional learning in church schools partly explains (see IIA2c)
   3. Needs of post-industrial economy: created more ethnically diverse workforce at all levels, causing
      ethnic inequality to decline; some now claim differences among white ethnics are nearly nonexistent
   4. End Anglophone dominance of Quebec economy: French now language of commerce; French elites
C. Aboriginals at bottom: 1/3 have less than high-school degree vs. 13% for non-aboriginals; have
   pattern similar to American Indians when migrate to cities: high unemployment, crime, alcoholism
   1. Natives on reserves: are most deprived; those in cities show some upward mobility
V. PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION: Canadians proudly reject explicit racism; yet ethnic conflict exists
A. After 1870: preference for British, along with northwestern Europeans, was outspoken policy
   1. Nativism at turn-of-century (@1900): confronts Jews, Italians, and other non-Anglos; much like U.S.
   2. Nonwhites least welcome: in 1923 law, Chinese & other Asians totally barred from immigration
      a. 1911 blacks from U.S. barred: on pretext of inability to adapt to harsh Canadian winters
b. Laws in 1962 and 1967: eliminate policies restricting nonwhite/Asian immigration; replaced by point system that objectively evaluates immigrant’s potential economic and social contribution

B. More tolerant than U.S.: accepting black-white intermarriage up from 55% (mid-1970s) to 92%(2007)

C. Negative attitudes toward Muslims: growing, yet study of 23 countries shows Canadians least bigoted

D. Violence/discrimination toward Chinese/Japanese workers: occurred around 1900 in British Columbia

E. Japanese Internment: during WWII, similar to U.S.

F. East Indians before WWII: could not vote or hold citizenship, denied entry into some occupations

G. Blacks: today only 2.5% of population; do not have level of residential segregation similar to U.S.

H. Discrimination today: 1/3 blacks & 20% of South Asians say experience discrimination sometimes/often

VI. MELTING POT VS. MOSAIC

A. Corporate pluralist society: Canada displays many elements of this conceptual category

B. Idea of Melting pot: fusing many immigrants into hybrid culture; became popular in U.S. in early 1900s

C. Mosaic: Canadian ideology stresses greater awareness and tolerance of ethnic separateness or pluralism within same polity/economy; Trudeau’s policy in 1971: “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework”
   1. 1988: 1st country to adopt national multiculturalism law; retaining ethnic cultures as official doctrine
   2. Two charter groups: insured that melting pot/Anglo-conformity would not have meaning as in U.S.
      a. Canadianizing people: became an empty notion when two dominant groups as reference point
      b. British-French conflict: created greater built-in tolerance for the perpetuation of ethnic identities
      c. Anglo Conformity in late 1800s: except in Quebec, guided government policy toward immigrants
   3. Significance of ethnicity declines with each generation: no evidence this is any different than in U.S.
      a. Canadian multiculturalism largely symbolic: no more retention of ethnicity than in the U.S.
   4. Complaint of French in Quebec: multiculturalism reduces them to simply one of many ethnic groups
   5. Canadians overwhelmingly favor official multiculturalism: more than 2/3 disagree with the claim that “a country in which everyone speaks the same language and has similar ethnic and religious backgrounds is preferable to a country in which people speak different languages and have different religious and ethnic backgrounds” (CRIC 2004)(in M:451)
      a. Ban on nonwhite immigration: fully 93% of Canadians were opposed to such a ban in 2006 poll
      b. Screening immigrants’ religious beliefs: 70 percent say they were opposed
      c. Obligation to learn Canadian ways: yet 88% say they agree that this is what immigrants should do
Lecture 24: Rwanda, Yugoslavia, and North Ireland (see Marger, Chapter 16)

I. Immigration Increases Global Ethnic Diversity
K. All global areas have become more ethnically diverse: as a result of immigration in the past half century
L. Shift in global immigration patterns after 1950:
10. 1850-1950: global migration mostly within Europe and between Europe and North/South America
11. After 1950: three streams encompass virtually all regions: (1) from LA/CAR to US, Canada, and Europe, (2) from south/east Asian countries to US, Canada, Australia, W. Europe, (3) from N. Africa, Mid East, S. Europe to northwestern Europe, US, Canada (M:457)
a. Few countries today: are not either sources or recipients of immigrants
M. Push-pull factors of labor markets: growing gap between rich and poor nations has accelerated migration
1. Economic recession, growing debt, and internal conflict: economic development of 1960s/70s slowed or reversed as a result, all of this creating incentives for migration to wealthier countries
2. Wars and political conflict: civil wars, internal uprisings, revolutions, political violence have created worldwide flow of refugees unprecedented in modern history (M:458)
3. Pull Factor in wealthy countries: labor is in short supply and immigrants therefore recruited to work
N. Immigration and ethnic change in Western Europe
1. 50 million immigrants today: greater in size than the foreign-born population of the U.S. and Canada
   a. Germany alone: 10 million immigrants; France has 6.5 million
2. Home to about one-quarter of world’s immigrant population: despite slowdown after 2000 recession
3. Problems of social integration when seen as “guest workers:” although vital component of host economy; hard for economies of France, Germany, and other countries in region to function without foreign workers; yet minimal effort to integrate workers socially; seen as temporary; remain marginal
   a. Marginalization: high unemployment; substandard housing; concentrated in low-paying jobs
   b. Germany’s citizenship: was based on ancestry, so that few 2nd and 3rd generation Turks, having lived only in Germany and speaking only German, were able to qualify for citizenship
      1. 2000 law making citizenship for foreign-born easier: did significantly increase naturalizations
   c. Prejudice and discrimination:
      1. Germany: by 1990s physical attacks against immigrants had become commonplace
      2. France: North Africans (half of immigrant population) are targets
      3. Italy and Sweden: though more tolerant & fewer immigrants, had racially motivated incidents
      4. Netherlands: largely Muslim immigrants from Middle East and N. Africa have sparked racism
         i. 2004 Radical Islamist murder of Dutch filmmaker (film criticized Muslim treatment of women) exacerbates anti-Muslim sentiments
d. Debate regarding compatibility of Islamic culture: in Germany, France, Netherlands
   1. Full-face veil: beginning of legislative restrictions in 2010 in France and Belgium on one of the most visible Islamic customs
O. Traditional immigrant-sending Ireland and Italy: until 2007 (recession), were major immigrant receivers

II. Ethnic Nationalism and Conflict
A. Emergence of Nationalism: in 18th century, when first nation-states in Europe and N. America organize loyalties around entire peoples sharing a common language and culture, ultimately transcending loyalties to kin, family, tribe, or community; after WWII, nationalism spread throughout world (M:464)
1. Civic Nationalism: includes all who subscribe to nation’s political creed regardless of ethnicity
2. Ethnic Nationalism: allegiance to ethnic group into which one is born or assigned: individual attachments are inherited, not chosen; one can’t join a nation by living in it or accepting its culture
B. The Rwandan Genocide
1. European colonial power sets stage: Germany and Belgium compete for control over Rwanda
a. After WWI: Belgium emerges as dominant power in region when Germany loses colonies
b. Prior to colonization: neither indigenous Tutsi nor indigenous Hutu saw other in ethnic terms
   1. Shared culture: same language and religion
   2. Stature: Tutsis tend to be taller than Hutus, but intermarriage caused fading differences
c. Western explanation: mass killings in Rwanda are result of “ancient” rivalries that “naturally” and “inevitably” cause hostility; this explanation is convenient for West; is rarely the case
d. Ethnic stratification: result of Belgium’s “divide and rule” strategy: Tutsis were placed in strategic positions in the colonial administration, and Hutus became an ethnic minority despite their numerical dominance; the Belgian colonialists had come to see the Tutsi as a “superior race” to the Hutu; it is not surprising that the Tutsis adopted this view readily, whereas the Hutus began to hate the Tutsi
   *Ethnic identity cards:* were issued by the Belgian colonial regime in 1926, thereby establishing an official basis for the ethnic division; racial ideology of Belgian colonialists was inculcated and put into practice to solidify control over the indigenous population

2. Conflict between Tutsi and Hutu
e. 1959: when Belgians began to leave, Hutus overthrew the Tutsi elite and established a Hutu-led republic; 20,000 Tutsis were killed and 300,000 were driven into exile in neighboring countries
f. 1990: Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), a Tutsi political organization in Uganda, launched an invasion across the border into Rwanda; the president of Rwanda, Juvenal Habyarimana, agreed to negotiate with the RPF to create a power-sharing government; this was seen by Hutu extremists as a sell-out reinstating Tutsi dominance and requiring extermination of Tutsi to counter the threat
g. 1994: an aircraft with the Rwandan Hutu president aboard is shot down, resulting in his death; this cataclysmic event culminates in genocidal terror over the next six weeks
h. Orgy of killings: “reached a level of almost unimaginable proportions;” anyone thought to be Tutsi was killed as well as Hutus considered to be political enemies or sympathizers to opposition parties; the popular view that Tutsi were taller and slimmer than Hutu led to many people being killed on the mistaken notion that appearance revealed ethnic origins; neighbors killed neighbors; relatives killed relatives; women were sexually abused before being murdered; babies were hurled into pit latrines or their heads were smashed against a rock; people were burned alive as their relatives were forced to watch; killing was carried out by ordinary peasants in addition to militia and other military units
i. Rwandan genocide: in modern history, can only be compared to Nazi Holocaust in the 1940s unlike the latter, was done with crude weapons, mostly machetes; ¾ of Rwanda’s Tutsi population was eliminated in 3 months; most estimates range from 800,000 to 1 million deaths; at the genocide’s peak, 8000 were killed per day, a rate faster than the Nazi Holocaust

3. Rwanda today: Tutsi-led government with no effective opposition party: Rwanda orderly and prospering by comparison with other central African countries; an ambitious national unity has been promoted, yielding a tenuous ethnic peace

C. The break-up of Yugoslavia: failed corporate pluralism (government distributes resources proportionally to officially recognized ethnic groups occupying distinct territories or geographic areas)
   1. System of 6 republics and 2 provinces: held together by Josip Broz Tito, a WWII hero who led the victorious Partisan guerilla army against the Nazis; with his death in 1980, ethnic rivalry erupted
   2. Major split: the republics of Croatia and Slovenia (Catholic & culturally oriented toward Western Europe) vs. Serbia (Orthodox Christian and more culturally oriented toward Eastern Europe)
a. Collapse of Yugoslav Communist Party in 1990: Croatia and Slovenia each move toward
independence and seceded from the federation a year later; Serbia left as main part of Yugoslavia

b. 1990s Serb-Croat conflict has roots in WWII: Serbs & Croats on opposing sides during war in which 1.5 million Yugoslavs died, mostly from interethnic fighting; in Croatia Hitler had established a puppet fascist regime run by the Utasha Party, which sought to purge the country of Serbs and executed hundreds of thousands (bitterly remembered by Serbs, who blamed all Croats for the killings); in Serbia, Chetniks (Serbian guerilla bands) fought against Nazis and Utashas, but also slaughtered many Croats; atrocities on both sides created venom/distrust

c. Role of Serb president Slobodan Milosevic: critics claimed incited ethnic emotions to serve political interests; Serb leaders and media fostered fear among Croatian and Bosnian Serbs that if territories in which they were living became independent, they would lose their rights and property; Serbian television often showed films of atrocities committed by Croatian Utashas during WWII

d. Ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Bosnian Serbs refused to accept Bosnia’s declaration of independence in 1992, wanting to remain part of Yugoslavia, which mainly was left with Serbia; aided by Serbia, seek to drive out secular Muslims having only a distant link with more traditional Islamic populations; Muslims were about 1/2 the population of Bosnia; Muslims were heavily concentrated in Sarajevo, the republic’s capital and largest city; secular Muslims are Sunni, not in sympathy with fundamentalist groups in the Middle East and North Africa; converted to Islam during 5 centuries of Ottoman rule of Bosnia, these Serb and Croat Muslims speak Serbo-Croatian

1. Decades of ethnic harmony: ironically, Bosnia had been the epitome of “pluralism and tolerance” (Rief 1995); Serbs, Croats, and Muslims had lived peacefully in a relatively integrated society; Orthodox churches were adjacent to Muslim mosques; intermarriage and integrated neighborhoods were common

2. Hostilities between Serbs, Croats, Muslims: “degenerated into the most ferocious conflict in recent European history” (M:472); most horrific atrocities were committed by Serbs in Bosnia as part of campaign of ethnic cleansing; mass executions, rape camps, savage mutilations and torture, and wanton destruction of homes, churches, and mosques occurred in 1993; in 1994, the U.N. documented 187 mass graves, each containing bodies of between 3000 and 5000 Muslims murdered by Serbs; 200,000 were killed or disappeared in conflict

3. Srebrenica massacre: “so monstrous as to border on the surreal” (M:472); city had served as refuge for 40,000 in U.N. shelter; was subsequently overrun by Serbian army, which was followed by hundreds being taken to a fields and warehouses where they were killed with automatic rifles and shoulder-held grenade launchers; incident prompted military and diplomatic efforts of the United States and NATO to end the war; one of many massacres.

e. A fragile peace in 1995: largely through U.S. efforts, Bosnia was divided into semi-autonomous regions along ethnic lines; Bosnia split in two—a Muslim-Croat federation with 51% of the territory and Bosnian Serb territory with 49% ; country was left partitioned into tightly enclosed ethnic enclaves, reflecting a system of educational and cultural apartheid (Cohen 2005; Hedges 1996, 1997); for example, Serbs refusing to accept Muslim governance of Sarajevo actually burned their homes and left: some even exhumed the remains of dead family members to carry with them, fearing that their graves would be desecrated

f. The expansion of Yugoslav conflict into Kosovo: because this was a province of Serbia known for giving birth to Serbian culture, its symbolic significance exceeds numerically small minority of Serbs living there; in the country’s mythology, Serbs here had stopped the Ottoman Turks in their path as they were advancing on Europe in the late 1300s; the most important monasteries
of the Serbian Orthodox Church are also located there; yet about 90% of the Kosovo population of 2.2 million was made up of ethnic Albanians with a segregated minority Serb population; ethnic Albanians, who were mostly Muslim, desired independence from Serbia or to be incorporated into Albania

1. In 1989 Milosevic government revokes much of Kosovo’s autonomy: delicate corporate pluralist balance created by Tito is dismantled when Kosovo is made an integral part of Serbia; repression follows in which Albanians lost their jobs to minority Serbs, Albanian-language schools were closed, and the police and Serb army become an occupying force

2. In early 1990s, Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) is launched: these Albanian guerrillas seek independence from Serbia

3. In 1998-1999 Milosevic-led Serb offensive is similar to “ethnic cleansing:” mass murders, destruction of entire villages, widespread raping and looting; within weeks, 90% of Kosovo’s ethnic Albanians were driven from their homes and towns, most fleeing to neighboring countries; Serb attackers spared no one, including infants, children, women and elderly; every building in sight was burned in an attempt to purge the province of much of its Albanian population; at least 10,000 were slaughtered by Serbian forces in the 3-month war

4. NATO’s 78-day bombing campaign: after Milosevic regime rejects peace agreement offered in talks, NATO forces occupied Kosovo and Serbian army and paramilitaries withdrew

5. Violent recriminations against Serbs: carried out by returning ethnic Albanians; within months, ¾ of Kosovo’s 200,000 Serbs were forced from their homes and villages, mostly to Serbia proper, producing in effect an “ethnically cleansed” region to which these Serbs were unlikely to return; one American present during the NATO occupation commented: “There is a degree of hate here that is far greater than anything I found in Bosnia; and also a degree of fear. I am searching for a word that means vitriolic squared” (quoted in Smith 2000:15)

6. In 2004 continued attacks on Serbians: five years after Serbian forces removed, dozens of Serbian communities were attacked, 400 homes and 30 churches destroyed

7. In 2008 Kosovo declared independence: as late as 2010 Serbia refused to recognize this

8. Conflict illustrates: ethnic nationalism carried to an extreme (M:475)

D. Northern Ireland’s “The Troubles”: 3700 deaths in conflict that never reached Bosnian/Rwandan level

1. Roots of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland: traceable to England’s colonization of Ireland and suppression of Catholics; this started in the early 1600s; in the late 1800s, support grew in England for home rule for Ireland, but this was resisted by Protestants in Ulster who were fearful of being absorbed into a Catholic majority; in 1920, six counties in Ireland’s province of Ulster, which today constitute North Ireland, were adamant in retaining their tie to Britain; so the rest of Ireland was partitioned and granted independence as the Irish Free State (now Republic of Ireland) with a Catholic majority; Northern Ireland was retained by England; North Ireland had a protestant majority, but large Catholic minority became a source of enduring conflict

2. Ethnic Conflict: religious identities simply mark off boundaries; Protestants and Catholics constitute two sharply divided ethnic communities whose differences transcend religion; each of the two groups maintains a separate, cohesive, and institutionally complete community; religious affiliation is quite simply the most important social characteristic, taking precedence over social class and even gender; each group maintains a distinctly different view of history and national identity; heritage is British for Protestants and Irish for Catholics

a. Ethnic markers are residence/education: no apparent physical distinction between the two ethnic groups, and except for religion, even cultural differences between Catholics and Protestants are not apparent; subtle cultural cues serve as markers, such as names common for English/Scottish
(Protestant) heritage or Irish (Catholic) heritage; other cues are accent, dress, and demeanor; surest ethnic markers (indicators) are education (which grade school was attended) and residence (address) because both are rigidly segregated

b. Colonial domination at root: “the troubles” in N. Ireland show that ethnic hostility does not require cultural or physical differences, but only the perception of an unbridgeable gap rooted in past colonial economic/political domination and ideology; legacy is ended only with establishment of a nonzero-sum game (all gain if cooperating) that governs an expanding post-industrial middle class.

c. Ideology legitimating dominant group (British/Scottish) privilege: stereotypes of Catholics that are used to justify Protestant privileges (status, wealth, power) are merely “the standard litany employed by dominant groups in Western multiethnic societies—lazy, dirty, shiftless, oversexed, ignorant, quarrelsome, and so on (Bell 1976; Fraser 1977)” (M:478); in contrast, for Catholics, anti-Protestant animosity stems primarily from a heritage of discriminatory treatment rather than any long-standing stereotypes; the key issue is not religion, but political/economic domination
d. Catholic economic subordination: ethnic discrimination has been both individual & institutional, particularly in employment and politics; in both areas, Catholics historically were the chief victims; during the past 30 years, the Catholic-Protestant gap has been narrowed in part due to efforts to promote ethnic parity; e.g., higher status professional and managerial jobs, at one time closed off to Catholics, have become more accessible;

e. Structural pluralism/caste separation: Protestants and Catholics are segregated in institutionally complete communities; each group maintains its own neighborhoods, schools, stores, voluntary associations, and even newspapers; much social and leisure activity occurs within the churches of both Protestants and Catholics, which further inhibits interethic contact; the separation of the two ethnic groups is further enforced by endogamy; apparently, the panoply of caste distinctions and separations do not require physical or even substantial cultural differences; it is not enforced by law (apartheid), but is effectively enforced by a deep-rooted customary system

1. Residential patterns mirror black-white separation in U.S: some working-class areas in Belfast are divided literally by a 20-foot-high reinforced wall ironically referred to as a “peace line”
   (a) Expanding middle class effect: some intermixing, especially in middle-class neighborhoods

2. School segregation: more complete than in housing; nearly every Catholic child goes to a Catholic school and Protestants attend state (de facto Protestant) schools; in these schools, different histories are taught—one featuring the British perspective and the other the Irish, reinforcing distinct national identities
   (a) Higher education effect: only at the university do the two groups mix; training required for expansion of post-industrial middle class (professional/technical/managerial elite)

3. Cycle of violence: in response to harsh British repression of peaceful protest tactics of the 1960s (calling for equal treatment of Catholics), the Irish Republican Army (IRA) reemerged as the protector of Catholic neighborhoods and began its campaign against the British army: in the 1970s and 1980s, there were bombings and assassinations carried out by paramilitary groups on both sides
   a. Cycle of Violence ends in 1994: paramilitaries on both sides declare a cease fire; talks, aided by the U.S. and in particular the efforts of President Bill Clinton, produce a peace proposal; direct rule by Britain will be replaced largely by a Northern Ireland’s own power-sharing system with elaborate checks and balances seeking to prevent domination by one ethnic group; this “Good Friday Agreement” is approved by majorities in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland in 1998; after several more years of distrust and frustration, a durable agreement was ostensibly reached in 2007; hard-core Protestant leader Ian Paisley committed to a power-sharing agreement between the Sinn Fein (mainly Catholic) and the Democratic Unionist Party (mostly Protestant),
thereby ending direct rule by London. In 2012, a watershed moment occurred when the Queen of England publically shook hands with the former leader of the Irish Republican Army.

III. If we examine *The Causes of Ethnic Conflict and Stratification from A Global and Historical Perspective*, three elements in the colonial-neocolonial model (Professor Girard’s distillation) are evident: (1) conflict over scarce resources, (2) power protecting privilege, and (3) ideological legitimation.

1. Lets start with conflict over scarce resources: There is never enough to go around when sources of wealth are land-based.
   a. There is always of a scarcity land itself, wildlife, crops, natural resources such as oil and gold, and even strategic advantage that comes with control over territory.
   b. None of these resources are infinitely expandable, hence competition for them is often a zero-sum game. For every winner there is also a loser.
   c. Accordingly, there will be conflict between groups for dominance and control of these scarce resources.
   d. Notably, colonial expansion was spurred by scarcity. Because Europe and Japan are relatively bereft of natural resources, their elites necessarily organized for outward expansion and domination. England and Japan enjoyed an advantage in this regard, because the surrounding oceans both beckoned forth and enabled maritime commercial and military adventures.
   e. By the same logic, because Africa is relatively rich in natural resources, it became a natural target for conquest.
   f. Ultimately, the divide & rule strategy of colonial expansion underlies much ethnic conflict today.

3. It was English conquest of Ireland that established Protestant, or English and Scottish, dominance over Irish Catholics.
   1. Similarly, colonial conquest by England and France created basis for ethnic conflict in Canada.
   2. And English and Dutch conquest in southern Africa laid the foundation for racial apartheid.
   4. It was Belgian expansion into Rwanda that pitted Tutsis against Hutus.

2. In contrast to conflict engendered by scarcity, cooperation is central to expanding post-industrial wealth based on creating and disseminating information. In a word, competition constitutes a nonzero-sum game. Information is infinitely expandable and its benefits often cannot be reaped without cooperation among competitors.
   a. A good example of this is the human genome project in which scientists from all over the world cooperated to decode human DNA.
   b. In the post-industrial age, labor and information flows render territorial boundaries increasingly permeable and irrelevant.
   c. Technical, managerial, and professional elites—constituting the upper level of the post-industrial middle class—have a vested interest in curbing ethnic conflict and territorial disputes that disrupt the free flow of labor and data generating wealth.

3. The second dimension of the colonial-neocolonial model is Power used to protect privilege: Colonial rule provided access to either wealth or strategic advantage. Colonizers controlled commerce and finance, whereas indigenous population provided poorly paid or forced labor and lost access to resources in their own territory. This was true for English, Dutch, Belgian, Japanese, Portuguese, and German colonial expansion.
   a. To protect their privileges, a common tactic of the colonizers was to divide & rule. For example, the British and Dutch created status hierarchies favoring Couloreds and Asians over indigenous Africans in South Africa. The Belgians elevated the Tutsi above the Hutu and thereby pitted them against each other. German Nazi occupiers pitted the Croats against the Serbians. In the end, cooptation and division were effective strategies for weakening resistance by the colonized.
3. The third dimension of the colonial-neocolonial model is *Ideological legitimation*: Europeans propagated ideologies that legitimized privilege and power. The key was to characterize colonized populations as inherently inferior and therefore incapable of amassing privileges. For example, the English characterized the Irish as shiftless and lazy. The colonial legacy of conflict, cooptation, and conceptual bigotry remains central to ethnic turbulence that rocks the world today.
Lecture 25: Arab Americans

I. Immigration
   A. First period: late 1870s to passage of Immigration Quota Act of 1924
      1. identity: referred to "Syrians" regardless of origin; later accept label of Syrian-American
      2. religion/race: mainly Christian, Caucasian
      3. naturalization: not ineligible in 1880s because "Caucasian"
      4. undesirables: seen as due to part 2nd immigration stream
      5. threat: seen enemies Christianity despite most were Christian
      6. Dow vs. U.S. 1915: denial citizen due "not white" reversed on appeal
      7. large Syrian Communities: 1st New York, 2nd Boston
      8. Peddler Networks: established in different locations, enlarged into small stores
      9. quotas: few admitted 1924-1948
   B. Second Period 1948-1965: some differences
      1. origin: 1st period: from Mt Lebanon; 2nd period: all Arab countries in mid-East, North Africa
      2. SES: 1st: poor, uneducated; 2nd: large proportion highly educated and professional
      3. religion: 1st predominately Christians; 2nd high proportion of Muslim
      4. destination: 1st favored towns villages, 2nd favored large urban centers
      5. Palestinians: may have been largest component, because of Israel
   C. 3rd Period: post-1965 larger immigration due Arab-Israeli, inter-Arab conflict
      1. wars: Arab-Israeli 1967, Lebanese Civil 1975, Israel invade Lebanon '82
      2. SES: like second period, disproportionately highly educated
      3. Different from 1st per: from >variety countries, >Muslim, >prejudice

II. Size and Assimilation
   A. 1980-1990: increased 42% to more than 1 million; 2010 U.S. census estimate is 1.7 million; may be underestimate; could be double that number
   B. Ancestry: 2010 U.S. census: >2/3 from Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Morocco, Iraq
   C. Lebanese and Syrians: predominantly native born comprise @ 60% of total
   D. Major concentration: Detroit/Dearborn largest (400,000), Los Angeles, New York, Chicago
      1. Dearborn: Arabs make up almost 1/3 of population and comprise 60% of public school students
   E. Los Angeles: Arab-American population may have surpassed Detroit/Dearborn
   F. Cultural assimilation: some claim has reached hi level, esp. native born
      a. Use of foreign language at home: only 16 percent of native born
   G. 2ndary: % receive education beyond bachelor's degree: > than American average for both 1st & 2nd generation
      a. income: native-born much > than American average, foreign-b little>
      b. poverty: native-born, but not foreign born, less likely to be in poverty
      c. Managerial/professional jobs: both native & foreign > likely to have than average American
      d. 2/3 of Egyptians: hold bachelor's degree and more than half are professionals
      e. Yet Iraqis: in contrast have lower household income than average American
   H. Exogamy: among native-born, over 80% have married outside group
   I. Post-1965 Muslim migrants: may enter Muslim community & resist assimilation; nearly half of Muslim Americans give their primary identity as Muslim rather than American.

III. Discrimination: 1st 3 months after 9/11 rate hate crimes against Asian/Pacific Island people doubled
   A. More than 40% of Americans: acknowledge openly prejudicial feelings toward Muslims
   B. Fewer than half: believe that Muslims are loyal to the United States
   C. Muslims should carry special ID: endorsed by 59% of Americans (Saad 2006).